FRANCE

AND ITS

REVOLUTIONS:

A

PICTORIAL HISTORY

1789—1848.

BY GEORGE LONG, ESQ.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT, 90, FLEET STREET.

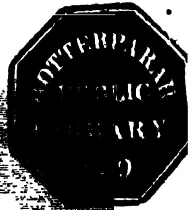
1850.

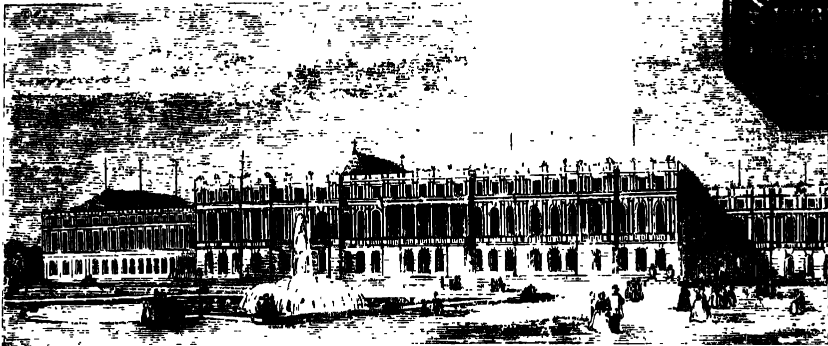
LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM TYLER,
BOLT-COURT.

CONTENTS.

CONTENTS.

FRANCE, AND ITS REVOLUTIONS.





VERSAILLES.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATES-GENERAL.

The 5th of May, 1789, was the day fixed for the opening of the States-General at Versailles. On the 2nd of May, all the deputies who were assembled at Versailles were presented to Louis XVI. A king of France had not seen the States-General since 1614, the last time when they had been called together. It was a moment of intense excitement, of mingled hope and fear. Most of the deputies were well disposed towards the king, but court etiquette converted a favourable opportunity for conciliation into a cause of suspicion and mistrust. The deputies were not received by provinces or districts, (*bailliages*,) which seemed most natural: they were received according to orders. The orders of the clergy and the nobility entered the king's presence first; and then, after a pause, the order of the Third Estate (*Tiers Etat*). This was a chilling reception for those who were really the representatives of the people, who were called together "to aid the king in his financial difficulties, and to establish order in every branch of the administration which concerned the happiness of the king's subjects and the prosperity of the kingdom." The inference was, that the Court was ill-disposed to the demands which the deputies of the Third Estate were instructed to make. They were also instructed by their constituents not to submit to any humiliating ceremonial.

On the 4th of May, a brilliant sun shone on the city and palace of Versailles, and on the thousands of spectators who had crowded from Paris to witness the imposing solemnity of a religious festival. The three orders, the king, the queen Marie Antoinette, and all the court, assembled in the church of Notre Dame at Versailles, where the Veni Creator was chanted. The whole body then went in procession through the streets to the church of St. Louis. All the deputies of the Third Estate (those of Paris were not yet elected) went first, distinguished by their modest costume; for even in costume the ceremonial of the States-General of 1614 was observed. Their dress was black: they wore a short cloak, a white muslin cravat, and a hat without feathers. The brilliant order of the nobles came next, with their rich embroideries, their cravat of lace, their swords and plumed caps. The order of the clergy followed, but it was a divided order,—a nobility and a body of plebeians: first came the archbishops and bishops in their episcopal costume; and then, separated from them by a band of musicians, the humble body of the curés in their black robes. The host was carried by the Archbishop of Paris, under a magnificent canopy, which was supported by the Counts of Provence and Artois, the king's brothers, and by the Dukes of Angoulême and Berri, the sons of the Count of Artois. The procession was closed by the king, the queen, and the court.

The wide streets of Versailles were lined with the French and Swiss Guards; the windows and the roofs of the houses were filled with people. At one of these windows a young woman, Necker's daughter, afterwards well known under another name,* was standing with Madame de Montmorin, the wife of the minister

* Madame de Staël, 'Considérations sur la Révolution Française,' c. 16. And as to the procession, 'Ferrières, Mém.,' vol. i.

for Foreign Affairs. "I was abandoning myself," she says, "and I admit it, to the most lively hopes at seeing, for the first time, in France, representatives of the nation. Madame de Montmorin, whose understanding was by no means of a superior character, said to me in a decided tone, which produced some effect on me: 'You are wrong in rejoicing; out of this there will come great disasters for France and for us.'" Madame de Montmorin perished on the scaffold with one of her sons; and all her family came to an untimely end.

The deputies of the Commons (for this was the name that they preferred, considering the name of Tiers Etat as a monument of their ancient servitude) were received with loud shouts of applause as they passed along: it was the people cheering their own representatives. The nobility were received with deep silence, though there were among them some friends of the popular cause: the Duke of Orleans alone was saluted with the cry of 'Vive d'Orléans!' The clergy passed in silence: no voice was raised to greet them. When the king appeared, the shouts and clapping of hands again commenced; but for the queen there was no salutation from the immense crowd, no sign of affection or respect. She attempted to conceal her emotion, and to brave the silent insult by a show of disdainful haughtiness; but on hearing the cries of 'Long live the Duke of Orléans!'—for Orléans was her enemy,—she was near fainting and had for a moment to be supported by the princess of Lamballe.

When the procession reached the church of St. Louis, the three orders took their place in the nave: the king and queen were seated under a canopy of violet-coloured velvet, sprinkled with fleurs-de-lis of gold; and the mass commenced. The Bishop of Nancy preached a long sermon, of which the leading idea was "that religion is the strength of states." His discourse was listened to somewhat impatiently; but there was one passage which produced a great sensation. After painting in lively colours the vices of the fiscal system and the misery of the cultivators, he said, "and it is in the name of a good king, of a just and feeling monarch, that these miserable exactors exercise their acts of barbarism." Loud applause followed these words, in spite of the place, and of the etiquette of the French court, which allowed no applause in the presence of the king, even at the theatre. The religious ceremonial was not over before four in the afternoon.

A vast rectangular chamber, supported by two rows of columns, called the Salle des Menus, and situated in the avenue to the palace, had been provided at Versailles for the reception of the three orders. It was the largest of the chambers at Versailles, which was not within the palace, and was spacious enough to contain the twelve hundred deputies, and a numerous body of spectators. At the extremity of the chamber, on a platform, magnificently decorated, and under a canopy with golden fringe, were placed the king's throne, the chair of the queen, and the seats for the princes. On the right of the throne were the seats of the clergy, on the left those of the nobles: in front of the throne was the place of the commons. The king himself had superintended the disposition of the drapery, which was intended to break the light.

The arrangements of the first meeting of the States-General seemed designed to insult the commons: at least, their feelings were not respected. They were introduced by a back-door, covered by a kind of shed, and were kept waiting, crowded together at the entrance, for several hours, until the royal family, the clergy, and the nobility, who were behind their time, had passed by the great door. Between nine and ten, the Marquis de Brézé and two masters of ceremonies began to arrange the deputies, according to the districts (*bailliages*) which they represented: this tedious ceremony took up two hours. Steps, raised in the form of an amphitheatre, had been reserved for respectable persons and well-dressed women—a kind of select body of spectators—who were soon replaced by a very different set of people. Amidst the crowd of civil and military personages, in their proper costume, Necker, the Minister of Finance, was distinguished by wearing his ordinary dress. His daughter, who was present, says that he was received with applause; and in truth, Necker was then at the height of his popularity. The Duke of Orléans was also well received by the spectators, especially when it was observed that he required the curé of the deputation of Crespy en Valois, to which he belonged, to take precedence of him. One deputy of the commons attracted universal attention, and was received with a murmur, but not of approbation. He was a man, whose name was known to all Europe by the scandals of his private life, the violence of his passions, his sufferings, and his abilities. His enormous head of hair, his striking ugliness, his commanding figure, fixed all eyes upon him. He walked proudly erect through the chamber, for he knew and felt his power. It was Mirabeau—one of the deputies of Aix, in Provence.

About one o'clock the king made his appearance, followed by the queen, and the princes and princesses; the deputies rose from their seats, and the whole assembly received him with acclamations, as he took his seat on the throne. Louis wore a large mantle, and a hat with feathers, the band of which sparkled with diamonds. The queen was pale, and her countenance showed that she was ill at ease. The business was opened by the master of the ceremonies announcing by a sign that the king was going to address the States. The king took off his hat, and commenced reading his address, which expressed his satisfaction at seeing himself surrounded by the "representatives of the nation." He spoke of the public debt, which, already enormous at his accession to the throne, had been still further increased during his reign: the cause of it was an expensive, but honourable, war. Increase of taxation, however, had been a necessary consequence of this expenditure, and had made the unequal distribution of it more keenly felt. He spoke of a general

uneasiness, an extravagant desire of change, which ha occupied men's minds, and which would end in a tot disunion of all opinion, if it was not speedily settled b wise and moderate counsels. It was with this view tha the king had called the States together; and he wa justified in his hopes by the disposition that the tw first orders had already shown to renounce their pecu niary privileges. The address spoke of considerable re trenchments which had been already made in the publi expenditure; that an exact account of the conditio of the finances would be submitted to the States; and expressed the king's confidence in the willingness o the assembly to propose the best means for puttin the finances in permanent order, and securing publi credit. The king declared that he took a most livel interest in the happiness of the nation; that they might and ought, to expect from him everything that coul be asked of a sovereign, the best friend of his people The speech said nothing of constitutional reforms; an yet there were near six hundred men right before th king's face, who were sent to ask for something mor than an equal distribution of the taxes, and genera promises of good intentions. The king read his speec with his usual simplicity of manner; but there wa wanting in his countenance the expression of firmnes and energy which characterised the deputies of th people. The queen stood while the king was address ing the assembly; her attire on this occasion was very simple, and she listened in an attitude of respect ful attention. The address was followed by long-continued applause; and the king, again taking his seat on the throne, put his hat on, and the clergy and the nobility did the same. Some members of the Third Estate also begun to put their hats on: others objected to its being done. Confusion arose, mixed with cries of "hats on!" "hats off!" till at last th king, to stop the disorder, took off his hat; and every body followed his example.* This trifling circumstance was an indication of a great change: of old, the Third Estate used to throw themselves on their knees, as soon as they were in the presence of the king; and this was the etiquette even the last time when the States-General had met, in 1614.

The Keeper of the Seals, Barentin, followed, with a tedious address, below the dignity of the occasion, and seasoned with ill-timed flattery of the king. He spoke, however, of the beneficent measures of the king's reign, of the freedom of the seas, and the independence of America, secured by the triumph of the French arms; of the abolition of torture; of the protection given to commerce and manufactures, and the like. He could not avoid uttering some wholesome truths, which were recognised in France long before the States-General were convened. It was just, he said, that the nobility and the clergy should share the burden of taxation; but the question of taxation was not all. There was not a useful project which the assembly could conceive; there was not an idea tending to the public good, which His Majesty had not already conceived,—which he did not desire to see put into execution. Measures for securing the liberty of the press, for maintaining the public security, and the honour of families; a reform of the criminal law, with a view to make a juster proportion between crime and punishment; the simplification of civil procedure, and the correction of abuses in the administration of justice, would engage the attention of the assembly. He further declared, that all useful professions were honourable; that all the citizens of the kingdom, whatever their condition, were members of the same family. At the last meeting of the States-General, in 1614, the spokesman of the nobility had declared "that there was as much difference between them and the Third Estate as between a master and his servant." The Keeper of the Seals seemed now to put the labourer and the gentleman on the same footing. Notwithstanding these new doctrines, the speech was vague and general: it gave a prospect of social improvement, but the means of securing it were not boldly stated. The speech was not well heard, owing to the feebleness of Barentin's voice.

After a few moments' silence, Necker, the Director-General of the Finances, rose. He had neither the figure, nor the voice, of a man who could command a large assemblage of people. He read a few pages of his address, and then handed it over to M. Broussonnet, Secretary of the Royal Society of Agriculture, who finished it. Necker's address was nearly all about ncy. With the exception of some vague generalities, it was finance, and nothing more. It is characterized, with some degree of truth, by a plain-spoken Englishman,* as "*a great opportunity, but lost*; great leading or masterly views—no decision on circumstances in which the people ought to be relieved, nd new principles of government adopted; it is the speech you would expect from a banker's clerk of some ability." The great events of history are reduced to miserable proportions, when they are exposed in their naked truth. Necker, a well-meaning man, fully sible of the crisis, and of the terrible consequences hat might follow the convening of the States-General, was more concerned about the style than the matter f his address. At a meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society he had heard Broussonnet read a discourse ith a powerful, piercing voice, that was distinctly eard at the greatest distance; and he asked Broussonet to read for him his address to the States-General. Broussonnet waited on Necker several times for his nstructions, and to make sure that he understood the nterlineations, which were made even after the speech as finished. He was with Necker the evening before he 5th of May; and yet the next day, when he came o read the speech, he found still more corrections and lterations which Necker had made after he had left m: "they were chiefly in style, and show how very licitous he was in regard to the form and decoration

* 'Histoire Parlementaire,' i., 356.

* Arthur Young, 'Travels in France, 1787, 1788, 1789.' ecker's speech is given at length in the 'Histoire Parlementaire,' vol. i., p. 363.

of his matter. The ideas, in my opinion, wanted this attention more than the style. Mons. Broussonnet himself told me this little anecdote."*

The most important part of Necker's address was the figures. He stated the various sources of the public income, the total of which was 475,294,000 livres. The particulars of the public expenditure were also stated: the total amounted to 531,444,000 livres. The plain conclusion was, an annual deficit of 56,150,000 livres.†

Necker's address enumerated, among reforms, the equal distribution of taxation, and the "abolition for ever even of the names of the taxes, which would preserve the vestiges of a disunion, of which it was urgent to efface the remembrance." He acknowledged that it would be a narrow view of the purposes of the States-General to consider them limited to finance, credit, and the interest of money. The States-General had a universal mission, both with respect to the present and the future. They would extend their views even beyond France; perchance one day they might associate in their deliberations the deputies of the colonies,‡ and cast an eye of pity on those unfortunate human creatures who were an object of traffic, who were crowded together in the holds of vessels, and transported to a foreign land, to receive the chains that were ready for them. But these generous aspirations towards something future and remote betrayed the weakness of the minister. He did not venture to touch the question, which he knew must soon be decided,—the important question, whether the three orders should deliberate and vote together as one body, or whether they should deliberate and vote separately by orders, each order having a veto on what the other two might agree in? Yet this was a question that had been already discussed out of doors: the instructions of the constituents to their representatives had made it a vital question.§

"The principal object of the States-General," says his daughter, Madame de Staël, "certainly was to make a constitution; but could they require the minister of the king to be the first to enter upon questions which could only be proposed by the representatives of the nation?" It certainly was not a fault in Necker's policy that he did not propose a complete constitution; his real fault was, not doing what he could have done; it was in his power to have determined that the three orders should have verified their powers in common, and should have formed, from the first, one assembly. Public opinion was in favour of that measure; and some of his friends urged him to it. He would neither take that decisive step, nor the alternative, which was also proposed to him, of having the powers of the deputies verified by the keeper of the seals. He was afraid of failure, whatever resolution he took; and he took the dangerous one of leaving the matter to be settled between the hostile parties, after having given the commons the potent argument of numbers. Necker had allowed to the commons double the number of deputies of each of the two other orders: out of the twelve hundred deputies, they had six hundred. But a double representation of the commons, without the power of availing themselves of their numbers, was a mockery—an illusion.

The king terminated the first sitting of the States-General by rising at half-past four. He left the chamber preceded by his guards, and attended by a numerous train.

It had been determined in the king's council that four chambers should be prepared,—one for each of the three orders, and one for the solemn assemblies of the whole body. The ministers saw that if the commons should occupy the chamber which had been used for the opening of the States-General, the people would look there for the central point of the national representation. And yet this was the very chamber that the commons did occupy. Four chambers had been actually appropriated, and M. St. Priest was instructed to get them ready. But one of the chambers was a riding-school, and the administration of the stables would not give it up. Thus, in spite of the power of royalty, the formidable body of the commons occupied the chamber which the ministers themselves had made the place of assembly for the three orders.

The following was the composition of the States-General, which were now assembled:—The deputies of the nobility consisted of two hundred and forty-two gentlemen, and twenty-eight members of the parliament: the deputies of the clergy consisted of forty-eight archbishops and bishops, thirty-five abbés and deans, and two hundred and eight curés, who were indebted to Necker for their admission to the order of the clergy. The deputation of the commons consisted of two ecclesiastics, twelve nobles, eighteen magistrates of towns, a hundred and two members of the bailiwicks (*bailliages*), two hundred and twelve advocates (*avocats*), sixteen physicians, and two hundred and sixteen traders and cultivators.*

This body did not contain a large number of distinguished individuals, though there were in it many esti-

* Arthur Young, 'Travels,' &c., p. 109.

† The livre may be reckoned at 10½*d*. See the table of 'Reduction of Livres' prefixed to 'Young's Travels.'

‡ The cahier of the Tiers Etat of Paris, observes:—"Our representatives shall support the demand of the colony of St. Domingo, to be admitted to the States'-General: they will also claim admission for the deputies of the other colonies."

§ The cahiers (instructions) to the representatives of the Tiers Etat unanimously declare that the deputies should be considered as representing the whole nation, as the two other orders scarcely composed the fiftieth part. Consequently, that the deliberations should be in one common assembly (*par tête et non par ordre*). Some cahiers, anticipating the refusal of the clergy and the nobility to allow the vote to be "by head," express an opinion that the deputies of the Third Estate should entitle themselves the National Assembly, and act as such with those of the nobility and clergy who might choose to join them.—'Histoire Parlementaire,' vol. i., p. 331. These were significant indications of the coming storm.

* These are the numbers given by Mignet, 'Histoire de la Révolution Française,' Introduction; but they do not make a sum total of 1,200.

mable and enlightened men. Most of the old nobility only bore illustrious names. The long peace had allowed no opportunity, even to those who might have sought it, to add fresh renown to the titles which they derived from their ancestors. The nobility of the second rank also had not had any opportunity of distinguishing themselves, for the career of arms was the only one open to those who, by the custom of France were gentlemen. There was still another and numerous class, the ennobled (*anoblis*), who figured in the ranks of the nobility, with sword and plume—a bastard and contemptible class; for their only title to be placed in the first order of the state was, that they had obtained an exemption from contributing to the public imposts: in this odious privilege consisted the whole of their political rights.*

Among the deputies of the nobility was Gilbert Mottier, Marquis de la Fayette. Though little more than thirty years of age, he had made some figure in the world. When the American colonies revolted against Great Britain, La Fayette offered his services to Franklin, who was then at Paris, and armed a vessel at his own cost, in which he proceeded to Charleston in South Carolina, in 1777. He was in the battle on the Brandywine, 11th September, 1777, as a volunteer on the side of the American colonists, and received a wound. The American Congress gave him the brevet of major-general, and he served under Washington's orders. In 1779 he returned to France, to get further supplies of men and money; for the French government had now acknowledged the independence of the American colonies. He was again in America in 1780, and contributed to the military operations which resulted in the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis at York Town, in Virginia, in 1781. Like other Frenchmen who had served in the United States, he came home with his political opinions formed on the model of the new institutions of those States. He had been returned to the Assembly of Notables which was convened in 1787, and had there spoken in favour of abolishing lettres de cachet, and in support of the claims of the Protestants to be restored to their civil rights. Without any pretensions to talent, his rank, his services in the revolutionary war of North America, and his reforming, if not revolutionary opinions, prepared him for a prominent part in the great drama of the French Revolution.

If not for his talent, of which he had little, yet for his rank as a prince of the blood, and as a man of enormous wealth, the Duke of Orléans claims a notice. Before the elections he had announced himself in favour of the most liberal opinions—security for personal freedom, liberty of the press, the inviolability of the secresy of letters, and periodical meetings of the States-General. He was elected for several places, but he chose to sit for the bailliage of Crespy en Valois, because the instructions (*cahier*) of the electors of this country were among the most decided in favour of a new order of things. It is said that the duke had naturally some good qualities; but he had abused his fortune, and given himself up to sensuality. He had no constancy of character: he was one day greedy of popularity, and the next day careless about it. If he had ambition, he had only enough to make himself suspected, but not to secure power. He had quarrelled with the queen, and was consequently out of favour at court, which was, perhaps, one of the chief causes of his popularity. As parties began to form, his name was used by those who thought that they could turn it to account; and probably his money, too, was employed in the same way.

The Comte de Mirabeau, though a representative of the commons, was a noble. His family was originally from Florence; and their Italian name, Arrighetti, had been corrupted into Riqueti. He was born near Nemours, in 1749. His father, the Marquis de Mirabeau, was one of the leaders of the school of the Economistes, as they are termed, and the author of a work which is not yet quite forgotten, '*L'Ami des Hommes*' ('The Friend of Man.') This friend of man was a harsh father; and his conduct towards his son probably contributed to hurry young Mirabeau into excesses to which his temperament inclined him. The scandalous criminalities of his early life led to his being shut up in prison by his father, under a lettre de cachet, in the fort of Jouy, near the Jura mountains, when he was twenty-five years of age. By his insinuating manners he gained the favour of the commandant of the fort, who allowed him to visit the neighbouring town of Pontarlier; and Mirabeau availed himself of the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the young wife of an aged magistrate, Sophie Mounier, whom he seduced, and carried off to Holland. The parliament of Dijon condemned him to death, on his non-appearance to answer the charge against him. Mirabeau, while in Holland, wrote for the booksellers. He was given up by the Dutch to the French police, and lodged in a dungeon in the castle of Vincennes. Confinement, to such a restless man, was torture: he relieved his long imprisonment by hard study, his 'Letters to Sophie,' and other works, amatory and obscene. After two-and-forty months, he was set at liberty in 1780. His work 'On the Lettres de Cachet and State Prisons,' which was published soon after his release, was an act of vengeance upon that system which had cut out from his life more than three years of the fairest period of existence.* Mirabeau was in England in 1784, 1785, where he became acquainted with Romilly, whom he introduced to Benjamin Vaughan, and Vaughan made Romilly acquainted with Lord Lansdowne. He brought with him to England the manuscript of a work which he had written against the order of Cincinnati, then lately established in America; and he persuaded Romilly to translate it for him. At this period of his career, Romilly's opinion of him was not altogether unfavourable. "His

* Madame de Staël, 'Considérations,' &c. c. 16.

* When Romilly was in Paris, in 1788, Mirabeau showed him and Dumont the dungeon in which he had been confined. —Dumont, 'Souvenirs sur Mirabeau,' p. 12.

vanity," he says, "was excessive; but I have no dou that, in his public conduct as well as in his writings, h was desirous of doing good; that his ambition wa of the noblest kind; and that he proposed to himse the noblest ends." * It is impossible to estimate tl conduct of this man in the assembly of the States General, where he took a leading part, without a know ledge of his character. Dumont, who was intimatel acquainted with Mirabeau, says, "that his activity wa immense; if he worked little himself, he made a grea many other people work: he had the great art of dis covering unknown talents, and of flattering those wh could be useful to him: he excited them by all tl insinuations of friendship, and all the motives of publi benevolence. His conversation, which was very inter esting and very animated, was like a whetstone, whicl he dexterously used to keep his tools in order. H lost nothing: he carefully picked up anecdotes, con versations, and thoughts: he appropriated to himsel the study—the reading of his friends: he knew how t employ what he had acquired, as if he had alway known it; and as soon as he had set his hand to a thing, one might see the work which he had onc begun, advance daily." Dumont's evidence as t Mirabeau's obligations to himself has sometimes been treated with disparagement; but there seems no sufficient reason to reject it. Romilly's testimony as t Mirabeau is the same as Dumont's. With respect t his speeches, Romilly says: "He on many occasions delivered in the National Assembly speeches as his own, which had been composed for him by others; and so much confidence had he in the persons who thus contributed to his reputation, that he has sometimes, to my knowledge, read at the tribune of the Assembly speeches which he had not even cast his eyes upon before, and which were as new to himself as to his admiring audience." † Yet Mirabeau was an orator, and a man of genius; but he had not the steadiness of purpose which makes a great, nor the singleness of heart which makes an honest man. With a blasted reputation and a consciousness of his powers, he looked to the assembly of the States-General as a theatre in which he could display his talents, satisfy his ambition, and command, if not respect, admiration and fear.

Early in the morning of the 6th of May a placard appeared at Versailles, in which the king informed the deputies of the Three Orders, that they should assemble on that day, and that the place (*le local*) of assembly would be ready for them at nine in the morning.* The deputies of the Third Estate repaired to the Salle des Menus, where they waited for the nobility and the clergy; but neither the nobility nor the clergy came. The two privileged orders assembled in their several chambers. The meeting of the commons was disorderly. After some discussion, they agreed, that until the powers of the deputies were verified, they could only be considered as a body of individuals presented for the States-General; as individuals who could confer in a friendly manner, but who had no powers to act. A little after two in the afternoon the commons learned that a large majority in the order of the nobles, and a much smaller in that of the clergy, had declared for a separate verification of the powers of the two privileged orders: in fact, they had declared against joining the commons to make one assembly; for it was clearly seen, that if the powers were verified in one body, the votes must be taken in one body; and the commons were as numerous as the two other orders together. The battle was begun. The commons rose, and adjourned the meeting to the next lay.

The queen had suppressed her emotions during the rocession of the States-General, and the insults to which she had been subjected; but on her return to he palace she could no longer control the violence of er passion. Her bracelets burst with the vehemence f her rage, and her women had to cut her clothes to llow her to breathe. Marie Antoinette was the centre f the court party—of those few who thought that ntrigues and petty measures could oppose the movement of a nation. At the apartments of Madame de Polignac, who was a favourite of the queen, there were tings, it is said, of the chief leaders among the obility and the clergy, to devise means of resisting e demands of the commons. Wherever the design riginated, the feeling of the court showed itself in a ublic act—a decree of the king's council of the 6th of May—which prohibited the appearence of any periodical without permission. The first number of the journal f the States-General had just been published by Mirabeau, and another decree was specially directed to he suppression of that journal. The popular suspicion as also excited by the movements of the troops. Two new regiments, Royal-Cravate, the cavalry of Bourgogne, and a Swiss batallion, had just entered Paris; and other troops were reported to be on their march. Mirabeau began his letters to his constituents,† in the first of which he vigorously assailed the government. The "measures to provide for the liberty of the press," of which Barentin had spoken in address of the 5th of May, were belied by the suppression of a journal, the object of which was to inform the people of what their deputies were doing. Mirabeau complained that the journals which were allowed by the government, were those which were

* 'Romilly's Narrative of his Early Life,' pt. ii. He gives two singular instances of Mirabeau's carelessness about truth. One of them is such a strange falsehood or blunder, that it is difficult to conceive how a man could invent the lie or make the blunder. In a letter to Romilly, written in 1785, which is printed in the 'Memoirs of Romilly,' Mirabeau gives a very particular account of a dispute that he had with Gibbon the historian, at the Marquis of Lansdowne's table, the day before the date of the letter to Romilly. But Gibbon was at that time at Lausanne. A signal instance of his impudent disregard of truth is given by Romilly, of his own knowledge, in his 'Narrative,' under the year 1789.

† 'Romilly's Narrative of his Early Life,' pt. ii., (1789.)

* Compare 'Hist. Parlem.' i., p. 391.

† 'Histoire Parlementaire,' i., p. 379.

calculated to mislead public opinion. One of them 'the Mercury,' he said, "contained perfidious insinuations in favour of the Estates deliberating by orders such were the public papers to which a corruptin ministry granted all its favours." He concluded i these words: "I continue the journal of the States General, the first two sittings of which are faithfully described, though not with sufficient detail, in the tw numbers which have just been suppressed, and whic I have the honour to transmit to you." In fact, th journal was continued.*

It was on this occasion that the commune of Pari first directly interfered in the general affairs of th country; it was an act the importance of which shoul deeply engage our attention in studying this momentou history. The representatives of this city were stil engaged in preparing their instructions (*cahier*) fo their deputies; they interrupted their labours on the 7th of May, in order to draw up the following resolution, which was made public: "The Assembly of the Third Estate of the city of Paris protest unanimously against the act of the council, which suppresses the journal of the States-General, and forbids it to be continued, and imposes penalties on the printer, without, however, meaning by this protest either to approve or to blame the journal. The Assembly protests because this act of the council is an attack on public liberty, at a moment when it is most valuable to the nation; because it violates the liberty of the press which is demanded by all France; because, finally, this act reminds us, at the first moment of the existence o national liberty, of a system of police and regulations which had been suspended by the wisdom and goodness of the king; and, consequently, the assembly of the Third Estate has unanimously determined that the present resolution shall be presented to the chambers of the clergy and of the nobility, and that they shall be requested to rejoin the Third Estate, in order to effect the revocation of the said act of the council, and to procure to the National Assembly provisional liberty of the press." The terms of the resolution were drawn up by Bailly and Duveyrièr.

This authentic document is the best evidence of the state of public opinion at the time: it was the commencement of the revolutionary movement.

On the 7th of May, on the motion of Mounier, permission was given to those members of the commons who chose to go as individuals, without any commission, to invite the nobility and clergy to join the commons, conformably to the king's wish. On the 11th, however, the nobility decided that their chamber was legally constituted of all those deputies of their order whose powers had been verified, pursuant to the resolution which they had already made on the 6th of May. The clergy, who were a more divided body, took no further steps than they had done. The great dignitaries of the church knew that many of the curés were secretly favourable to the popular cause, and they were, therefore, well disposed to try conciliation. On the 14th of May, Rabaud St. Etienne, a protestant and a deputy for Nîmes, proposed that a certain number of persons should be appointed to confer with the commissioners who had been named respectively by the nobility and the clergy; that the commissioners of the commons should endeavour to induce the other two orders to join the commons in the National Hall, but that there should be no surrender of the principle of the vote by head (*par tête*) and the indivisibility of the States-General. Chapelier, a Breton, and deputy of Rennes, proposed an amendment which was adapted to cut short all dispute: it declared that the deputies of the commons would not recognise any persons as legal representatives, except those whose powers had been examined by commissioners named in the General Assembly by all those who had been summoned to form it; that, after the opening of the States-General, a deputy was not the deputy of an order or of a province, but they were all alike the representatives of the nation. Maximilien Robespierre moved that the commons should not make any proposal to the nobles, for their pride would only reject it; they should address themselves to that order in which the modest and popular preachers of the gospel were mingled with proud prelates. The proposal came from a deputy who had no influence, whose voice carried no weight; but it was the voice of a man before whom, in a few years, all France trembled.*

The proposal of Rabaud was carried on the 18th of May, as being the most moderate; and a conference took place. The deputies of the nobles declared that they were ready to renounce their privileges—a sacrifice which their instructions had required many of them to make; and, indeed, a minority was well-disposed to give up privilege. But the nobles were resolved not to yield on the question of the vote in one body; and on the 26th the chamber of the nobles, upon the proposal of the Duc de Villequier, abruptly broke off the negotiations.

There was not complete union among the commons. There were men, like Malouet and Mounier, who were willing to go a certain distance, and no more; zealous in the popular cause up to a certain point, and then an obstacle to further progress. Target, a distinguished advocate, was another. As for Mirabeau, he was sure to lose himself in the end. Such were the opinions of Robespierre, who, from his obscurity, watched and noted down all the possible traitors to the popular cause. But he was encouraged by seeing around him, as he says, "more than a hundred citizens ready to die for their country.†

* It is, however, says the 'Histoire Parlementaire,' very much less complete than the 'Moniteur,' which authority, accordingly, the compilers of the 'Histoire Parlementaire' follow.

* Manuscript Letter of Robespierre, 24th May, 1789, quoted by Louis Blanc, 'Histoire de la Révolution Française,'

† Id. Ib., i., 279.

The elections at Paris were just finished, and on the 25th of May the twenty deputies of the capital entered the hall of the States; and among them Bailly and Sièyes. Bailly was a modest, unassuming man a little above fifty years of age. He entered the hall in the dress of etiquette, which many of the members had already laid aside, somewhat embarrassed at finding himself in his new position; and, as he says himself, like a child who has just left his father's roof and been sent into the world. He possessed in an eminent degree firmness and moderation; and both these qualities were soon called for.*

Sièyes was a priest. Before the States-General were assembled, he had put himself at the head of the movement of opinion by three pamphlets, skilfully adapted to the circumstances. In one of them he said there were three questions: "What is the Third Estate? All. What has it been hitherto in the political system? Nothing. What does it ask? To be something in the system." These were the titles of the chapters. He maintained that "the Third Estate was a nation complete." Sièyes was not an orator. He was of a weak and sickly habit, a reserved man, wrapped up in his own ideas, impatient of contradiction, presumptuous, and arrogant. But he had a capacity for speculation, and was a bold thinker. Society had been his study, and he had analyzed it, and reduced it, as he thought, to its true elements. He had studied government, and made it into a system. Indeed, one day, when he was in a more talking humour than usual, he told Dumont, who was walking with him in the gardens of the Tuileries, that "politics was a science which he had perfected."† He had a great contempt for the English constitution, though he was ill acquainted with it. The only thing that he admired was the trial by jury, and he did not understand even that well. He was grand vicar of the excellent Bishop of Chartres, and he used to spend a great part of the summer there, in seclusion. He read little, but he thought and wrote a great deal. His favourite works were, 'Rousseau's Social Contract,' 'The Writings of Condillac,' and 'Smith's Wealth of Nations.' At this time he was the real leader of the Third Estate, though he put himself forward less than any one. His third pamphlet, 'On the means of execution which the Third Estate could employ in 1789,' had marked out the course which the Assembly had to follow. It was said of him, that he formed the plan of battle, and stayed in his tent on the day of combat. And again: "He was to his party what the mole is to the grass: he stirs it and turns it up." What he really stirred and turned was—a Revolution.

On the 27th of May, on the motion of Mirabeau, it was resolved to send a message to the hall of the clergy, by a deputation of the commons. Mirabeau, in fact, had appropriated to himself Robespierre's motion of the 14th of May. Target spoke for the deputation: he told the clergy, "that the deputies of the commons prayed and adjured them, in the name of the God of Peace, whose ministers they were, to unite themselves to the commons, in the hall of the General Assembly, that they might together seek the means of establishing peace and concord." The Bishop of Chartres and other members of the clergy, were for joining the commons immediately; but a majority decided that they should discuss the proposition.

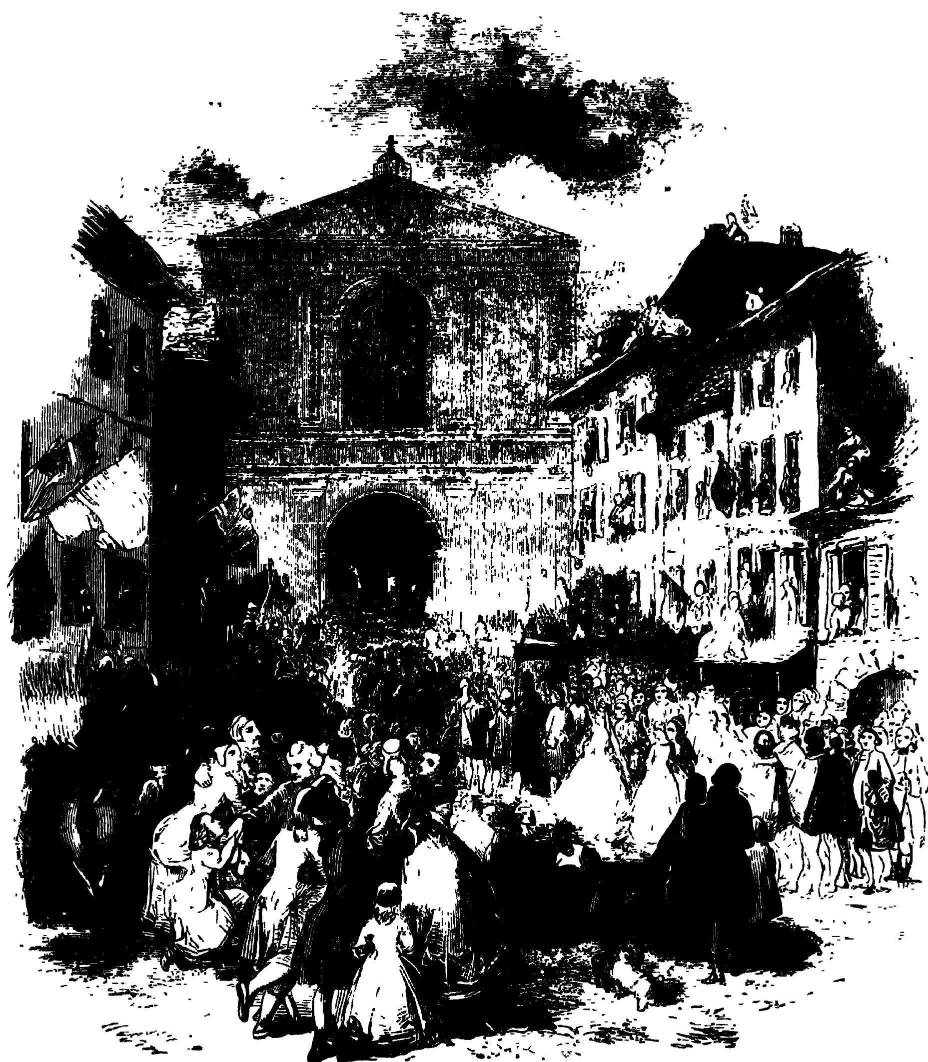
On the following day the commons were engaged in making some arrangements for keeping order in the Assembly. Bars were put up to mark out the part of the hall which was for the public, and to secure the rest for the deputies. Notice was also given that the spectators in the galleries should not make any tumultuous expression of applause or disapprobation at the close of any speech. "When I entered the hall of the States-General," says Dumont, who visited it a few days after the opening of the States-General, "there was neither subject for deliberation, nor any order. The deputies did not know one another, but they became acquainted by degrees. they seated themselves anywhere, indifferently; they had chosen the senior members as presidents; they passed the day in expecting, in debating on trifling matters, in hearing the news; and the deputies of the provinces became acquainted with Versailles. The hall was continually crowded with visitors, with idle people, who walked all about, and even took their place within the limits assigned to the deputies, without any jealousy on the part of the deputies—without any protest of their privileges. It is true that, as they were not constituted, they considered themselves rather as part of a club, than of a political body.*

To prevent the union of the commons and the clergy, the king was advised to send a letter to each

* Bailly was a man of letters, an astronomer, and the author of a 'History of Astronomy.' His scientific character does not concern us here. Bailly's father, who was an artist, had been employed at the French court as keeper of the royal pictures.—See the article, BAILLY, JEAN SYLVAIN, 'Penny Cyclopædia.'

† 'Souvenirs sur Mirabeau,' p. 64, (Note de l'Auteur.)

* Dumont, 'Souvenirs sur Mirabeau,' p. 43. Before the meeting of the States-General, the Count de Sarsfield wrote to Romilly, and requested him to send him some book which stated the rules and order of proceeding in the English House of Commons, as he thought it would be useful for the States-General. There being nothing which suited the French Assembly, Romilly drew up a statement of the rules of the House as well as he could, got it corrected, and sent it to Sarsfield, who set about translating it into French. Sarsfield died before he had done much, and the papers passed into Mirabeau's hands, who translated and published them. "It never, however, was of the smallest use, and no regard whatever was paid to it by the National Assembly, as the States-General were pleased, soon after their meeting, to call themselves. They met, having to form the rules and modes of proceeding. The leading members were very little disposed to borrow anything from England: they did not observe these rules, and they hardly observed any others. When I was afterwards present, and witnessed their proceedings, I had often to lament that the trouble I had taken had been of no avail."—Romilly, 'Narrative,' &c. pt. ii., (1789.)



PROCESSION OF THE STATES GENERAL.

of these orders (28th of May), in which he expressed his desire that the conferences should be renewed by the commissioners already chosen by these orders, before the keeper of the seals and commissioners whom the king would name. The clergy readily obeyed: the nobility, who received the king's letter during their sittings, also agreed to send their commissioners; but, as if to render all negotiation useless, they declared, by a majority of 202 to 16, that the deliberation by orders, and the veto of the several orders, were constituent principles of the monarchy. The commons decided that they would resume the conferences, according to the wish of the king; and, at the same time, that a deputation should be appointed to "present to his Majesty the respectful homage of his faithful commons, the assurance of their zeal, and of their affection for his sacred person and the royal family; their feelings of lively gratitude for his Majesty's tender solicitude for the wants of his people."* Bailly was now president in place of M. D'Ailly, who was suspected of intriguing with Necker, and had resigned. When Bailly went to ask the keeper of the seals about the deputation being presented to the king, the minister said that there were difficulties. The king, he observed, had no intention to insist on the old practice which did not allow the spokesman of the Third Estate to address the king, without going on his knees; but suppose the king required it? · "And suppose," said Bailly, "twenty-five millions of men won't have it?" Louis had lost his eldest son, the dauphin, a sickly child, the day before Bailly strenuously insisted on the audience. Bailly is charged by the court party with obstinate rudeness, in not respecting the king's sorrows. But he was instructed to obtain an audience; and he got it, without compromising the dignity of the Assembly. The king received him kindly, but did not enter into any explanation of his opinions.

The confe Necke proposed that the Three Orders should verify their powers separately, and communicate the results to one another; and in cases of difficulty, commissioners were to make a report to each order, and, if the decisions of the different orders did not agree, the king was to decide.† The proposal did not please any party. On the 9th of June the conferences were closed, and nothing was agreed on. The question of the verification, by orders or in one body, remained just where it was on the 6th of May.

The history of these weeks is the opening scene of the Revolution. "I observed," says Dumont, "on the spot, how much this period of inactivity had lighted up party spirit; all the germs of disorder were sown, and took root in this interval: the historian of the Revolution should pay particular attention to it." During this period some of the more violent members of the commons became impatient: "Let us declare ourselves," they said, "a national assembly; let us summon those members of the clergy and the nobility who are willing to join us, and let us then act as the sole representatives of the country." But the majority would not move; they persisted in doing nothing. Once, the clergy embarrassed them by a proposal which was calculated, and probably designed, to make the commons unpopular. Bread was very dear, and the people were suffering from hunger. The archbishop of Aix, who was sent by the clergy to the commons, drew a touching picture of the calamities of the people, and he pulled out of his pocket a bit of black bread, to show to what kind of food they were reduced. He invited the commons to send deputies to confer with those of the nobility and clergy, on the best means of relieving the condition of the poor. To reject such a proposal would seem indifference to the sufferings of the people: to accept it, would imply an acknowledgement of the separate powers of the Three Orders. Robespierre saved the commons from this dilemma. He bade the archbishop tell his colleagues to come and join the commons, the friends of the people, if they were so anxious to relieve the sufferings of the people; not to employ such petty means to make the commons abandon the resolution that they had taken; he bade them renounce their luxury, and return to the simplicity of their primitive condition; to send away the proud lacqueys who attended them; to sell their superb equipages, and to convert this vile superfluity into food for the poor.*

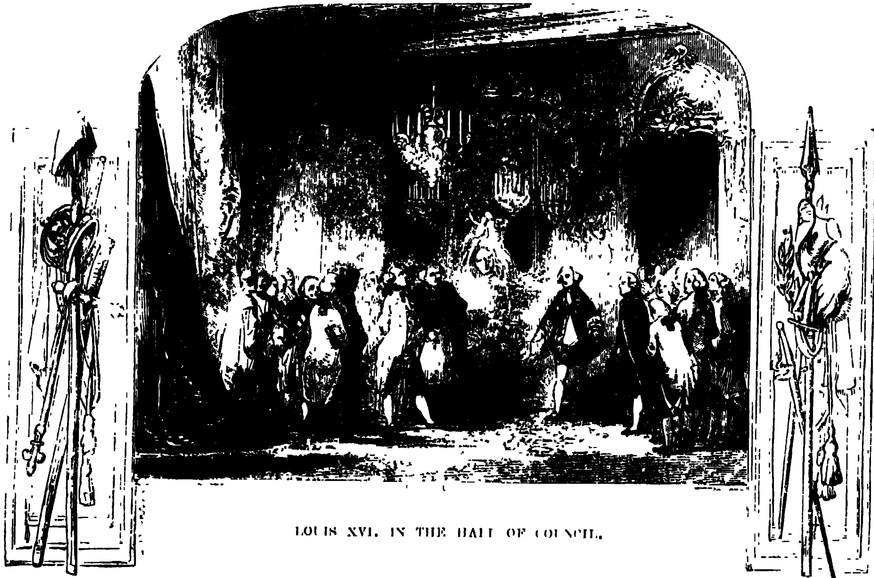
Everything was calculated to excite suspicion and mutual distrust. Necker had lost his credit with the court and with the three orders. Troops were assembling around Paris, enough to form an army: the court, it was supposed, feared or would provoke a contest. Paris was in a state of exaltation, and supported the courage of the commons whenever it was drooping. Th ah ed ulted by the people in the streets of Versailles. The provinces were unanimous; and nearly all France, from various causes, was armed or was arming. Scarcity and deficient employment had reduced large masses to absolute want, both in the towns and in the country, who formed themselves into bands, and went about plundering and burning. Rumour magnified their numbers, and the terror of these brigands kept people continually on the alarm. The regular troops were useless against bodies of men who dispersed as soon as they were threatened with attack, and formed again in another place. The Third Estate believed, or affected to believe, that the brigands were organized and paid by the aristocrats; others said they were paid by the court; others, again, that the Duke of Orleans was the prime mover. There were real causes enough to account for this disorder: famine, want of employment, and the inefficient administration

* 'Hist. Parlem,' i., 420, where the address to the king is printed.

† Ibid. i., 424; Thiers, 'Hist. de la Révolution Française,' i., chap. 2.

Dumont, 'Souvenirs,' &c., p. 59. This does not appear in the proceedings of the commons, as given in the 'Histoire Parlementaire.' Robespierre was yet of too little importance to attract much notice.

of France; and those who were driven to violence by hunger, were joined by those whose sole motive was rapine. The class of bourgeois, in many towns and most of the villages, took up arms and organised themselves in military form. Marseille set the example early in May, and the whole population of this great city was under arms. In Brittany, 40,000 young men enrolled their names, with the expressed object of preserving property from plunder, and supporting the deliberations of the Third Estate. Terror, and probably other causes not well ascertained, armed all France in the space of a few months. Pamphlets multiplied at Paris, most of which were secretly printed. The Palais Royal was already the centre of discussion; and every café was a club. All was agitation, confusion, exaggeration, and suspicion. But there was one opinion: the court was accused of a conspiracy; the commons were blamed for procrastination.



LOUIS XVI. IN THE HALL OF COUNCIL.

CHAPTER II.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

The hour was come for acting, and the man was ready. On the 10th of June, Mirabeau said in the assembly of the commons, that they could not safely defer any longer taking a decided step: a member of the deputation of Paris, he was informed, had a motion of the greatest importance to propose. The commons expressed their wish to hear it, and the abbé Siéyes arose. His motion was, to *summon* the nobility and clergy, for the last time, to join the commons in their hall; and to tell them, that within one hour all the bailliages would be called; that they would then proceed to the verification of the powers, and declare against those who did not appear. The motion of Siéyes was adopted, with two unimportant additions, and the word *summon* was altered to *invitation*. The invitation was sent, and the nobility and clergy answered that they would deliberate on it. On the 12th the commons proceeded to verify their powers by a general summons of the bailliages; the deputies were to place their credentials on the several bureaus to be registered; twenty bureaus were formed to facilitate the business. On the 12th, neither members of the clergy nor of the nobility appeared. On the 13th, three curés of the clergy of Poitou laid their credentials on the bureau, and took their seats: they were received with enthusiasm. On the 14th, the commons were still engaged in verifying the powers; and six more members of the clergy came, among whom were Grégoire and Dillon; but all of them belonged to the inferior clergy. This accession from the clergy gave a colour of right to the pretensions of the commons; but the accession was not so great as they had expected. A hundred curés had met by themselves to deliberate about joining the commons; it was known that they had determined to pass over, and they were expected. But the intrigues of an abbé, who was the agent of the Archbishop of Paris, prevented this step being taken. Report said that the queen had an

interview with the Archbishop of Paris, and that she encouraged him in his manœuvres. Whether this report was true or false, is unimportant: the report had just the same effect, whether it was true or false. There was the fact, about which there could be no dispute, of fresh troops continually assembling round Paris. It was necessary to be doing something decisive, and the commons knew that they had the sympathy of the people. Without impugning their courage, it is certain that they were not personally exposed to any danger: they had the nation behind them.

On the 15th of June the hall of the commons was crowded with people. The powers of those who had presented themselves had been verified; and it was now time, said Sièyes, to proceed to the constitution of the Assembly, which, as it appeared, was already composed of the representatives sent directly by ninety-six parts at least out of a hundred of the whole French nation. He proposed that the Assembly should assume for the present the title of the Assembly of the Representatives known and verified of the French Nation. Mirabeau proposed that they should call themselves the Representatives of the French People. "If," said Target, "People means the Commons, it does not express enough: if it signifies the whole nation, it expresses too much." He was for the motion of Sieyes. Mounier proposed that they should entitle themselves "The Legitimate Assembly of the Representatives of the greater part of the Nation, acting in the absence of the smaller part."

The 10th of June had alarmed Mirabeau: he was afraid of Sièyes. On the evening of that day, at his own solicitation, he had an interview with the minister, Necker, on whom, up to this time, he had showered nothing but abuse. There seems no reason to doubt the fact of the interview; but what Mirabeau's schemes were is by no means clear. Necker received him with insulting coolness, and asked him what propositions he had to make; and Mirabeau retired boiling with rage.*

Mirabeau's speech of the 15th is splendid declamation; it contained some just remarks, but there lurked beneath it the sophistry of insincerity. He urged that the term "People" was the best, being capable of extension, according to circumstances. The name that Sièyes proposed simply expressed a fact; but it was precise and true. The name that Mirabeau proposed was neither; but he explained it to mean the greater part of the nation. The meeting was adjourned to the 16th, when Mirabeau spoke again. He defended himself against the imputation of being favourable to the separation of the orders; and again maintained the principle of the royal veto, which had been attacked during the discussion. It had been said that when the people had spoken, the royal sanction was not necessary. "For my part," said Mirabeau, "I think the king's veto so necessary, that I would rather live at Constantinople than in France, if he had it not: yes, I declare, for the second time, I could not imagine anything more terrible than the sovereign aristocracy of six hundred persons, who might to-morrow declare themselves a permanent body, the next day hereditary, and might end, like the aristocrats of every country in the world, by seizing everything." He concluded by a splendid peroration, in which he defended his use of the word "People." "The exordium which I had made," says Dumont, "conciliated the attention of the audience pretty well; the argumentative part was received with mingled applause and murmurs; but this peroration, which Mirabeau pronounced with a thundering voice, and to which he compelled attention by a sort of terror,—what an effect did it produce! They were not cries; they were convulsions of rage; the agitation was general; a tempest of abuse fell from all sides on the orator, who remained standing and unmoved, while the poor author of this unfortunate bit, petrified in a corner, was groaning over this awkward affair, so unlucky to his friend and his cause."* After the tumult had somewhat subsided, Mirabeau, in a solemn tone, addressed the president, and said: "I leave on your bureau the passage which has excited so much dissatisfaction, and has been so ill understood. I consent to be judged by what it contains by all the friends of liberty." And he left the Assembly.

Sièyes asked permission to speak again. He wished to make an alteration in his motion: he proposed that they should assume the title of "The National Assembly." †

A stormy discussion followed. Some were for coming to the vote immediately; the minority attempted to prevent it by shouts. There were angry words and violent gestures, threats and cries. Bailly remained calm and unmoved. About midnight the violence of the opposition was exhausted; and, at the suggestion of the president, the vote was deferred to the following day.

There were five motions to put to the vote on the 17th. The first that was put, was the motion of Sièyes; the rest were to be put to the vote, if that of Sièyes did not get an absolute majority. There were 491 votes for the motion of Sièyes, and 91 against it. Mirabeau was not there. The Assembly was accordingly proclaimed "The National Assembly." A good many voices cried, "Vive le Roi!" An address to the king, to inform him of the result of this sitting, was voted.

The first act of the National Assembly was, to "swear and promise to discharge with zeal and fidelity

* See a different account of this interview in Dumont, 'Souvenirs,' &c., p. 53.

* Dumont, 'Souvenirs,' &c., p. 79, and the note. Dumont gives the particulars of the way in which this speech of Mirabeau was manufactured.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' i., 462. Legrand, in his speech, used the term "National Assembly;" but he proposed that the title should be "General Assembly." Thiers makes Legrand formally propose the title of "National Assembly," which is certainly a mistake. There is great discrepance among the French writers on many details belonging to this period. The name, "National Assembly," was familiar enough already; but it was something different to propose that the Commons should assume it under the circumstances.

the duties with which they were charged." In the presence of an enthusiastic crowd of four thousand spectators, the deputies stood up and made this solemn declaration. Bailly took the oath as provisional president.

After the oath, the National Assembly came to a resolution that the taxes, though they were levied without the consent of the representatives of the nation, and consequently were illegal, should be collected so long as the Assembly sat, but no longer; that after the separation of the Assembly, no taxes of any kind should be levied in any part of the kingdom, unless they had been freely granted by the Assembly; for the present, the public creditors were placed "under the protection of the honour and the fidelity of the French nation." The Assembly also determined to inquire into the causes of the dearness of provisions, and to endeavour to devise the best means of cheapening them. This resolution was ordered to be printed, and sent into all the provinces.

In the morning of the 17th, the keeper of the seals had requested Bailly to go to the chancery, to receive a letter from the king. The Assembly would not let him go. He went in the evening and got the letter, which was dated on the 16th, from Marly, a royal residence near Versailles. The address on the back was to "M. Bailly, dean of the order of the Tiers Etat." The letter was read at the evening sitting of the commons. It was in the usual court language, and is only worth notice as one of the open acts of the court at this crisis.

On the 19th, Barrère made a motion in the National Assembly for the appointment of commissioners to look for corn that was kept from market; a slight affair in appearance, in reality a serious one: the Assembly was undertaking to provide for the subsistence of the people.

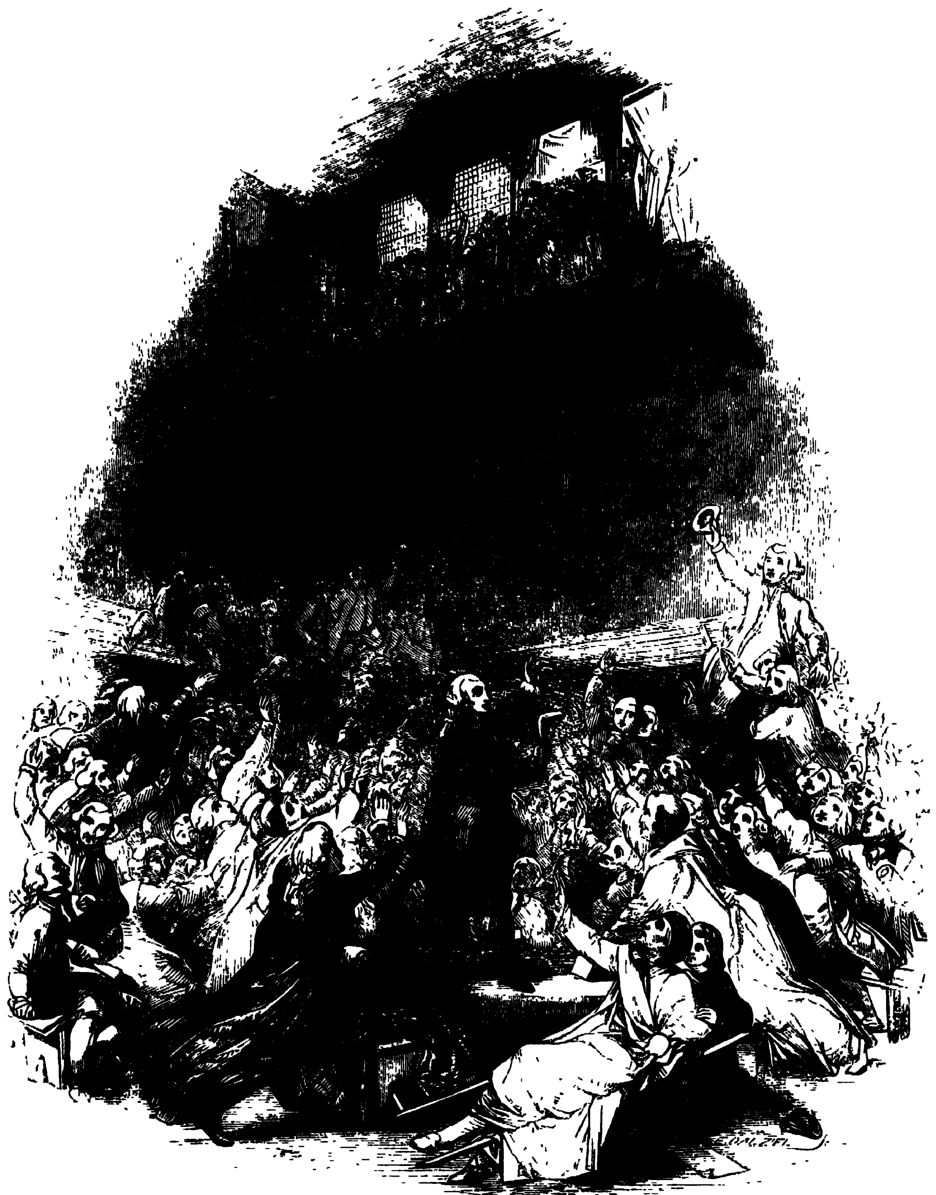
The court and the nobility were alarmed at the energy of the National Assembly. On the 19th they had fresh cause of alarm. The clergy resolved, by a majority of 149 to 115, "that the definitive verification of the powers should be made in the General Assembly, with a reservation of the distinction of orders, and reservation of their rights." The crowd was waiting outside the chamber for the result of the deliberations of the clergy: the members who had voted with the majority were received with applause; the rest were insulted. The Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld and the Archbishop of Paris hurried to Marly, to tell the king the news. At the court all was confusion. The queen, it is said, after the death of the dauphin, and the prospect of the troubles which threatened her, had lost her usual firmness. The Comte d'Artois, the king's younger brother, assumed a bold and threatening attitude, and displayed the same violence of character which afterwards cost him the throne of France. The nobility voted an address to the king, in which they protested against the assumption of power by the Tiers Etat; they declared that it was not their own interests only that they defended—it was those of the king, of the state, of the whole French people.

The court resolved to prevent the union of the clergy and of the National Assembly. On the morning of the 20th of June crowds were hastening to the hall of the National Assembly, when a proclamation was heard in the streets of Versailles, that a royal sitting of the States-General would be held on Monday, the 22nd, and in the mean time the sittings of the Three Orders were suspended. Bailly, the president, with the two secretaries, was at the principal entrance of the hall of the National Assembly at eight, the time fixed for the session. The hall was occupied by soldiers; and they were refused admission. Bailly called for the commanding officer, who told him that his orders were to prevent any one entering the hall, on account of the preparations that were making for Monday. Bailly protested against the sittings being prevented: he declared the Assembly to be sitting. He had some difficulty in checking the impetuosity of several young deputies who were on the spot. The officer allowed Bailly, with the two secretaries and twenty deputies, to enter the hall, to take such papers as they wanted. They observed that the greater part of the seats were taken away, and all the approaches to the hall were guarded by soldiers.

It was a dull, rainy morning, this 20th of June, 1789, when 600 men might be seen collected in groups in the great avenue of Versailles. It was the National Assembly of France. Shut out from their hall by armed men, at a moment's notice, the deputies of the people were turned into the streets without a place to shelter them. But they were resolved to meet somewhere; they had a mission to execute; and the instructions that they had received from their constituents were imperative and precise; and they had sworn to obey them. Some were for assembling at Marly, under the king's windows; some at the Place d'Armes; some were for going to Paris,—when it was stated that Bailly and the secretaries were in the Jeu de Paume or Tennis Court, in the street of St. Francis. Guillotin, a deputy of Paris, had suggested this place.

The Jeu de Paume was a large building, with bare walls, a table, and some benches. It was soon filled by the deputies, and surrounded by the people, some of whom climbed up to the windows. A chair was procured for the president, but he chose to stand like the rest. He opened the business by reading two notes, which he had received only that morning from Brézé, the master of the ceremonies, and by which he was informed of the king's pleasure. The Assembly was in a state of the highest excitement: the most violent were for removing the National Assembly to Paris; but others were alarmed at the proposition, less on their own account, than from fear of Paris being roused to fury. Mounier, one of the least zealous of the revolutionary party, made a motion, of which he could not foresee all the consequences; and yet, as he admits

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' i., 476. This is the real resolution, according to the 'Histoire Parlementaire:' it went no farther. The French historians state the resolution in different terms; but they give no authority.



MEETING IN THE TENNIS-COURT.

himself, it was done solely to prevent any stronger measure, and to frustrate the plans of the more violent deputies. He moved that the deputies should take an oath never to separate till they had made a constitution. The motion was supported by Target, Chapelier, and Barnave; and it was carried. Bailly claimed to be the first to take the oath, with the two secretaries. The oath was this: "We swear never to separate from the National Assembly, and to meet whenever circumstances shall require it, until the constitution of the kingdom is established and seated on a solid foundation." Bailly pronounced the oath in a loud, distinct voice that was heard even beyond the walls of the Tennis Court. The whole body of deputies pronounced the same oath, standing, with their hands stretched out towards their president. There were cries of "Long live the Assembly! Long live the King!" The king was not yet unpopular, at least with the deputies.

The different bailliages, senéchaussées, provinces, and towns were called in alphabetical order, and each deputy, as he answered to his name, approached to sign the declaration. A single deputy, Martin D'Auch, added to his signature "in opposition" (*opposant*): an obscure name is worth recording, when a single man is bold enough to dissent from five hundred and ninety-nine. There was a general shout of indignation. Bailly got on the table, to be better heard: he claimed for the non-assenting deputy permission to explain his reasons. His objection was, that "he could not swear to the execution of any resolutions which were not sanctioned by the king." Bailly argued with him, but in vain; and the Assembly decided that his signature should remain, as a proof of the freedom of opinion.

The Assembly adjourned to Monday, the 22nd, and resolved, that if the royal sitting took place in the hall of the National Assembly, all the members would stay there after the sitting was over, to continue their deliberations and their usual business.*

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' vol. ii., where the proceedings at the Jeu de Paume are stated very clearly. The preface to the second volume shows the value of this work. The 'Moniteur,' which is supposed to be so complete, is often very defective. The 'Histoire Parlementaire' is sometimes deficient in precision, and also sometimes incomplete, for some of the revolutionary documents are exceedingly scarce. Still, it is impossible to follow the events of the Revolution without paying the strictest attention to the 'Histoire Parlementaire.' The French writers often express themselves in such vague and exaggerated terms, that the plain facts are obscured in a mass of words.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROYAL SITTING OF THE TWENTY-THIRD OF JUNE.

At eight in the morning of the 22nd of June proclamation was made that the royal sitting was adjourned to the following day. It was not in order to allow time for the hall to be prepared, for that could have been done in a few hours. It was a sign that the court was undecided.

The National Assembly could not meet at the Jeu de Paume on the 22nd: the princes had given notice that they intended to play there. The Assembly met in the church of St. Louis, where they were informed that the majority of the order of the clergy had determined to join them, for the common verification of their powers, and that they asked for their place in the National Hall. The clergy were told that their place of precedence was ready for them; and they were received with universal acclamations. The Archbishop of Vienne placed on the bureau a printed list of those members of the clergy who had voted for the verification in common. Two of the deputies of the nobility of Dauphiné also joined the Assembly.

Necker had at last seen that it was necessary for the king to interfere, if his authority was to be maintained. He proposed a measure which he thought a bold one; but it was not his own.* It was the suggestion of Duroveray, a Genevese exile, who was a friend of Mirabeau, but he did not communicate it to Mirabeau, because of his impetuous character, and because he had not the confidence of any party; for it is important to know that Mirabeau never formed a party. The suggested measure was a royal sitting, in which Necker proposed that the king should annul the vote of the commons, by which they had declared themselves a national assembly, but at the same time should command the nobility and clergy to join the Third Estate, for the verification of their powers in common; he should declare that the king would permit the three orders to

* Dumont, 'Souvenirs sur Mirabeau,' p. 84. His story is, that Duroveray suggested the scheme to Malouet; that Malouet approved of it, and communicated it to Necker. He admits that there was no direct communication between Necker and Duroveray. Duroveray had been *procureur-général* (attorney-general) of Geneva, but, in the combat of parties, he had resigned when the aristocratical faction got the superiority, and he retired to England, where he had a pension from the English government. This was made a matter of charge against him one day at the meeting of the Tiers Etat, at which he was present, by a deputy, who accused him of meddling with their affairs. Mirabeau gallantly defended his friend before the Assembly. He said that his pension from the English government was a kind of civic crown decreed by that modern people, whom the tutelary genius of mankind appeared to have specially set over the worship of Liberty! This was rather extravagant talk, but it succeeded with the Assembly. Romilly, 'Memoirs,' &c., vol. i. has drawn a character of Duroveray.

deliberate together on *general* affairs; he should promise the abolition of all pecuniary privileges, and the admission of all Frenchmen to civil and military offices. It was a measure rather calculated to save appearances; but it was a different thing from what was finally decided upon. Necker's plan was discussed at Marly, where the king then was. At first, it was approved by the council, but, during the discussion, the king received a note, and the meeting was adjourned. The note was probably from the queen. The next day the king's two brothers were at the council, and Necker's plan was modified. After making some concessions he saw that he must yield, and he returned to Versailles, where he received information that his plan was entirely altered: it was now the plan of the court.

On the 23rd, the streets leading to the National Hall were filled with people from Versailles and Paris. Large detachments of the French and Swiss guards were under arms, with other soldiers, to the number of four thousand. There were, also, in the neighbourhood of Versailles six regiments ready to march. The deputies of the commons, according to the etiquette, were to enter the hall by a side door, different from that which was reserved for the nobility and clergy; and they were to wait till the two orders had taken their places. In the meantime, they were driven by a heavy rain to take shelter under a wooden shed. Bailly, the president, knocked at the door, but it was not opened: he knocked again, and was told that it was not time yet. Bailly threatened the master of the ceremonies that he would go away with all the members of the commons: at last the door was opened, and the commons found the clergy and nobility seated in their places, as if they had intended to make sure of them.

The king came next, surrounded by the princes of the blood, his ministers, except Necker, some dukes and peers, and part of his body guard. He was received with the most profound silence. After he had addressed a few words to the Assembly, one of the secretaries of state read his declaration.* It declared that the distinction of the three orders should be maintained in its integrity, as essentially connected with the constitution of the kingdom; but they might meet to deliberate together with the consent of the king; it annulled the resolutions of the Tiers Etat made on the 17th; it declared that the king would not allow the instructions given to the deputies by their constituents to be considered imperative; the Three Orders were to meet, during the present session of the States-General, only to discuss matters of general utility; it declared, as excepted from the matters which could be discussed in common, those which regarded the ancient constitutional laws of the three orders, the kind of constitution to be determined for the next States-General, feudal and seignorial property, the useful rights and the honourable privileges of the two orders; it declared that the king forbad any person, except the members, to be present at the meetings of the States-General, whether they were deliberating together or separately.

* 'Hist. Parlem.' ii., 15.

The king again spoke a few words, after which a paper was read, containing the "intentions of the king." Some of the intentions were positive and good, and would have been well received, if they had been announced at the opening of the States-General. Others were conditional: the king intended to sanction the renunciation of their pecuniary privileges by the clergy and nobility, when they should have formally consented to it. Some of the intentions were bad: they were nothing less than to preserve many abuses, which the Tiers Etat were instructed to get rid of. The king declared, in the most express manner, that he would preserve in its integrity, and without the slightest alteration, the constitution of the army, and all authority, police, and power over the military, just as the French kings had always enjoyed them.

The king closed the sitting with a third short speech: he declared that if the Assembly abandoned him in his endeavours to secure the public good, he would accomplish it himself, he would consider himself their sole representative; knowing their instructions, he said, and knowing the perfect agreement between the general wish of the nation, and his own benevolent intentions, he should be encouraged to proceed to the accomplishment of his objects with courage and firmness. This tone and language greatly irritated men's minds, not so much against the king, who was merely an instrument, as against the party among the nobles who had put the words into his mouth.

The king concluded by commanding the Assembly to separate immediately, and to meet the following day in their respective chambers, which the grand master of the ceremonies would have ready for them. He went away followed by nearly all the bishops, some curés, and a large part of the nobility. The rest of the deputies remained in their places, looking at one another in silence, not knowing what to do. If not alarmed, they were stupified by what they had heard.

Mirabeau rose. "What they had just heard," he said, "might be the safety of the country, if the presents of despotism were not always dangerous. But what was meant by this insulting dictation? The display of arms, the violation of the national temple, to command us to be happy! And from whom comes the command? who gives you imperious orders? He who should receive them from you." "Their oath," he said, "did not allow them to separate before they had made the constitution." At this moment Brézé entered, and uttered a few words in a low and timid tone. "Speak louder," was the general cry; and the grand master of the ceremonies then said, "Gentlemen, you have heard the king's orders." Bailly said to those who were nearest to him: "I think that the assembled nation cannot receive any order." Mirabeau relieved the president by usurping his functions. "Yes, sir," said Mirabeau to Brézé, "we have heard the intentions which have been suggested to the king; and you, who cannot be his organ with the States-General, who have neither place here nor right to speak, it is not your

business to remind us of what he has said. But to prevent all doubt and delay, I declare that if you are commissioned to make us leave this place, you must ask for orders to use force; for we will only quit our places by the power of the bayonet."* The Assembly applauded with one voice. "The Assembly," said Bailly to Brézé, "determined yesterday that it would remain sitting after the royal sitting was over. I cannot let the assembly separate till it has deliberated on the matter itself, and deliberated freely." "May I," said the grand master, "carry this answer to the king?" "Yes," said the president; and the Grand Master withdrew, walking backwards, as if he were in the presence of the king.†

A ridiculous attempt was made to interrupt the proceedings of the Assembly. Some workmen were sent in to take away the platform, which was a kind of amphitheatre constructed for the king and his train; and they actually began their work. But the calm aspect of the Assembly and their own curiosity soon made them stop; they began with listening, and they ended by applauding.

The deputies who spoke, boldly maintained the position of the National Assembly. "It concerns your dignity," said Barnave, "to persist in the title of the National Assembly." Glezen, a deputy of Rennes, said, "Absolute power is in the mouth of the best of kings, in the mouth of a sovereign who acknowledges that the people ought to make their own laws; it is a sovereign who speaks like a master, when he ought to consult you. Our courage shall be equal to the circumstances. We must die for our country." "You are," said Sièyes, at the conclusion of a short address, "you are to day what you were yesterday." The Assembly unanimously declared that they persisted in their former resolutions. Mirabeau proposed that they should declare the persons of the deputies inviolable. "This," he said, "is not a manifestation of fear, it is only prudence; it is a check on the violent counsels which surround the throne." The motion was carried by 493 to 34, and the Assembly separated after drawing it up in the terms of a formal resolution. There may have been no immediate danger to the deputies, but the hall was still surrounded by soldiers, and they were even at the doors. ‡

The nobility, on returning from the royal sitting, went to thank the Comte d'Artois for saving them and the nation. Monsieur, the Count de Provence, would have had their thanks also, if they could have found him; but he was prudent enough to be out of the way. They also visited the queen, who received them most graciously, and with smiles. She presented her young son to them, and said, "I confide him to the nobility."

The king had too much sagacity to join in the rejoicings. The silence of the people and of the deputies had told him the truth; and he returned to the palace dejected. When Brézé came to tell him that the deputies of the Tiers Etat were still sitting, and asked for his orders, the king walked about for some minutes, and then said, in the tone of a man who was wearied and tired out, "Well, then, leave them alone." *

Necker was not at the royal sitting, and he had given mortal offence to the queen by his absence.† He was the only minister who was not there. He could hardly be expected to sanction, by his presence, a measure of which he disapproved. His daughter says, that he determined not to take a part in the sitting, because of the alterations that had been made in his plan; and that when the court expressed a wish that he should go, he answered by sending in his resignation.‡ The rumour of Necker's resignation spread among the people who were waiting around the hall of the National Assembly until it broke up. They rushed towards the palace, and filled the courts and the gardens with cries for Necker, who had actually resigned. The queen was alarmed: she was yet a stranger to violence and insurrection. On the very evening of this unfortunate royal sitting, the king and queen sent for Necker, and both begged him to resume his place. The queen said that the king's personal safety depended on his remaining minister; for herself, she solemnly promised to follow only his advice. The crowd saw Necker enter the palace, and they saw him come out. He told the people he would stay; and they carried him in triumph to his house, amidst shouts of joy. Bonfires were lighted in the evening, and men with torches in their hands were running about the streets. Some of the nobility were insulted; and the Archbishop of Paris, who was accused of being implicated in the bringing about the resignation of Necker, was attacked in his carriage, and compelled to take refuge in the church of St. Louis.

Mirabeau was informed by Clavière, who could not keep a secret, of the real origin of the royal sitting. "Duroveray," he said to Dumont, in a fit of passion, "did not think it worth while to consult me. I know well that he considers me a fool who has lucid intervals." He said he could have told them what would come of it. Waxing still warmer on the danger of this sitting, he at last said in plain words: "This is the way that kings are brought to the scaffold."

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., 22. These appear to be the genuine words of Mirabeau according to the 'Moniteur.' The popular version was: "Go tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and that we will not go away but by the force of the bayonet."

† This is stated by an eye-witness. See Michelet, 'Hist. de la Révolution Française,' i., 66. Probably Brézé merely walked backwards from habit.

‡ Thiers, 'Hist. de la Révol. Franç.,' p. 32, says that troops traversed the hall; which is not credible. The main facts in the history of this period are certain; the accessories are doubtful.

* Michelet, 'Hist. de la Révol. Française,' i. 67.

† Madame Campan, 'Mémoires,' &c., ii., p. 45. The queen told Madame Campan that Necker had promised her the evening before that he would go to the royal sitting.

‡ Madame de Stael, 'Considérations,' &c. chap. 20. Compare Dumont, 'Souvenirs sur Mirabeau,' p. 95.

CHAPTER IV.

PARIS.

"The ferment at Paris is beyond conception; ten thousand men have been all this day in the Palais Royal; a full detail of yesterday's proceedings was brought this morning, and read by many apparent leaders of little parties, with comments, to the people."* It was said in a pamphlet printed at the time, "It is impossible to describe the sensation at Paris when the news was heard, 'The king has annulled every thing.' The signal was only wanted, and civil war was ready to break out. All the provinces are without trade, and almost without bread." The court thought there was danger of some outbreak; and precautions were taken against an invasion from Paris, by placing troops and cannon at the bridge of Sèvres, which led to Versailles.

Notwithstanding the royal sitting of the 23rd, the majority of the clergy joined the Tiers Etat on the 24th, for the verification of their powers in common, and to deliberate on the royal sitting of the 23rd. On the 25th, the minority of the nobility, about forty-seven in number, joined them; while the minority of the clergy, and the majority of the nobility, were still deliberating in their several chambers. On the 27th the king, by letter, invited the dissident nobility and clergy to join the deputies in the common hall; and the majority of the nobility, and the minority of the clergy, did join the Tiers Etat on the 30th, and by the will of the king, declared just four days after he had forbidden their union. There was great rejoicing at Versailles, and illuminations: there were even cries of "Vive la Reine." At Paris it was different: serious jokes were made on the union of the orders.—"The nobility and clergy," it was said, "are so much attached to the deliberation by order, that they have only joined the commons by 'order."—"The ecclesiastics and nobility have made haste to deliberate by head (*par tête*), for fear of being brought to deliberate without head (*sans tête*)."†

The dissident nobility and clergy had joined the National Assembly by necessity; and they took pains to show that it was so. They came in a body after the sittings had commenced, so as to look like a separate order: they stood behind the president's chair, as if they affected not to sit down. Bailly, by his prudence and firmness, prevailed on them at last to act like the other deputies. Though the vote by head might now be considered a settled question, the Cardinal de Larochefoucauld protested in the name of the minority, and affirmed that they had only joined the Tiers Etat to deliberate on general matters, and that they still maintained the right of forming an order. The Archbishop of Vienne replied, that the minority of the clergy could come to no decision in the absence of the majority, and could not speak in the name of the order. The reply was formally complete; to which Mirabeau added, that they could not protest in the Assembly against the Assembly: they should acknowledge its supremacy, or retire.

The distance from Paris to Versailles is about eleven miles; and there was constant communication between the two places. The electors of Paris, assembled in their sixty districts, had not separated after the elections. It is said that the ministry refused to give them permission to meet; but they did meet, either to give instructions to their deputies, or because they liked meeting, as men do in times of excitement. They had their adventures, like the deputies at Versailles. Their place of general meeting had been closed against them, and they removed to a kind of eating-house, as their Jeu de Paume; and then to the Hôtel de Ville, whence they kept up their correspondence with Versailles. There was yet no public journal that gave an account of the sittings and the proceedings of the National Assembly. The garden of the Palais Royal was the centre for the people: it was attached to the palace of the Duke of Orleans, who, from the windows, could see all that was going on. It was the rendezvous of strangers, of idle people, and of agitators.

The deliberations of the king's council during these three days between the 23rd and the 27th, are not accurately known; nor is it of any importance to know them. Facts explain the change in the king's councils, which led to his letter of the 27th. On the three days following the 23rd, there was great military display at Versailles. The people were prevented, by the king's order, from entering the hall of the Assembly, but they thundered at the doors, and were with difficulty prevailed upon by some deputies to retire. The Archbishop of Paris, Juigné, a good man, but an obstinate defender of privilege, was again attacked by the people, and only escaped through the speed of his horses. To satisfy them, he made a formal declaration, that he would join the National Assembly, and his declaration was read to the crowd. He kept his word, and went to the Assembly, accompanied by the Archbishop of Bordeaux. On the 25th the electors of Paris, at a meeting, voted an address to the National Assembly, which was presented on the 26th. On the same day the club of the Palais Royal drew up a letter to the Assembly, which received above three thousand signatures. The Assembly was encouraged by these manifestations of the electors of Paris and the people. The court was alarmed by the disaffection of the soldiers. The French guards had been confined to their barracks since the 20th, but on the 25th they broke out, marched along the streets in two files, with their subaltern officers at their head, and entered the Palais Royal, where they were received with loud acclamations. It was known, too, that there was a secret society among the guards, the members of which

* A. Young, 'Travels in France,' p. 119. Young was in Paris on this day, the 24th.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii. 30.



CAMILLE DESMOULINS IN THE PALAIS ROYAL GARDENS

had engaged not to obey any orders which should be directed against the National Assembly. The court therefore, could not trust the French troops: their only dependence was on the foreign troops in the king's service, and they began to concentrate them these regiments, some of them with foreign names barbarous to French ears—Diesbach, Bercheny, Esterhazy, Roemer,—others whose names showed that they were the mercenaries of the king—Royal Swiss, Royal Allemand. The National Assembly and Paris were both surrounded with troops. There was a park of artillery in the queen's stables, opposite to the Hall of the Assembly.

The court had against them the commons and the people: the king's speech on the 23rd made the French soldier their enemy. The king had declared that he would make no alteration in the "institution of the army," which meant that the nobility should still exclusively fill all the higher ranks, that the soldier must always remain a soldier. The French soldier was ill paid: the sum total of the payments to the officers exceeded the sum total paid to the men. The army offered no career to mere talent. Jourdan, Joubert, and Kléber had entered the army and quitted it. Marceau was then a soldier. Hoche, afterwards one of the greatest names of France, then a sergeant in the French guards, used to embroider waistcoats for the officers, and sell them in a café, in order to buy books. The soldiers complained that under various pretexts they were cheated of a part of their pay, which the officers spent. This was the "institution" that was never to be altered. It required no intrigues, though there probably were intrigues, to excite the soldiers to mutiny. The improvement of the organization of the army was one of the reforms that was expected from the assembly of the States-General.

A letter was printed and hawked about, of Maréchal de Broglie to the prince of Condé, in which he declared that the greater part of the national deputies were hungry wolves, ready to devour the nobility; that with fifty thousand men he would willingly undertake to disperse all these fine fellows, and the crowd of fools who applauded them. The letter, whether genuine or forged, was never disowned. The truth of many things that were said or done during this period is not of the least importance, viewed with reference to the events. What was believed, and almost anything was believed, gave the impulse.

There was fresh cause of irritation in the protests which the nobles placed on the bureau of the National Assembly on the 30th; their instructions, they said, imperatively forbade them to consent to the vote by head. They were discussing these protests in the evening at the Palais Royal, when a letter came, written in the names of eleven soldiers of the regiment of French guards, who had been put in the prison of the Abbaye St. Germain by the officers, for being members of the secret society; they were going, it was added, to be removed the same night to the prison of Bicêtre.* A young man* mounted a chair, and cried out, "These are the brave soldiers who spared the blood of our fellow-citizens at Versailles: let us go down and deliver them: to the Abbaye!" And to the Abbaye they went, a hundred or two, who became four thousand before they reached the prison. With axes, hammers, mallets, and bars, they broke open the doors, and released the prisoners.† As they were going out, some dragoons and hussars came up at a quick pace with their sabres drawn. The people seized the bridles: swords were sheathed; the horsemen took off their helmets, wine was brought, and they drank to the health of the king and the nation.

All the prisoners in the Abbaye were set loose. Everything was done, says a royalist journal, with , tha uld ha en expected. When the crowd and the prisoners got to the Palais Royal, they learned that one of the prisoners was charged with a grave offence, and they sent him back to his prison. The rest of the prisoners were lodged for the night in the Spectacle des Variétés. There were illuminations in the streets about the prison of the Abbaye; and during the whole night the street of the Abbaye was thronged with citizens and soldiers, felicitating one another, and crying, "Vive la nation!" On the next day the ele soldie were lodged and entertained at the hôtel de Genève.

A deputation of young men went to Versailles the next morning with a letter to Bailly, to solicit the intercession of the National Assembly. The sitting of the 1st of July was occupied with this affair, and it was decided to send sixteen Deputies, with the Archbishop of Paris at their head, to solicit the king's gracious favour to those who had been guilty of violence: the citizens were also recommended by the Assembly to maintain order at Paris. The king replied, not to the Assembly, but to the Archbishop of Paris, that the soldiers should be liberated as soon order was restored. The soldiers went back to their prison on the evening of the 4th, and they were set at liberty on the 5th of July. The electors of Paris met on the 4th, to deliberate on the matter of the soldiers, and named a deputation to the National Assembly, though, in fact, this affair was settled. The deputation was received by the Assembly, whom they thanked for their intercession, and assured of the tranquillity of Paris.

There were other indications of mutiny among the troops. A company of the king's body guard at Ver- had been disbanded for complaining of the patrole service that was imposed on them. Some soldiers had declared that they would not fire on their fellow-citizens, if they should be ordered. In a riot at Béthune, caused by scarcity of provisions, the soldiers laid down their arms when they were ordered to fire.

* It was a horrid place. See what is said in the 'Memoirs of Romilly,' i., p. 71; and Michelet's 'Hist. de le Révolution Française,' i., 82, and the note.

* It was Lourtalot, editor of the 'Journal of the Révolutions de Paris.'

† Some of these facts are doubtful. Compare Louis Blanc, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' ii., 328.

Precautions were now taken to separate what was called the sound part of the army from all contact with the disaffected; and in the Champ de Mars sentinels were stationed to keep the people and the French guards from having any intercourse. The royalist party, who could not comprehend that the present state of affairs was the natural consequence of opinion and agitation, endeavoured to find a solution for their difficulties in supposed intrigues; and most of them attributed all to the Duke of Orleans, as if such a feeble and inconstant man or any other man could have stirred up a whole people. That he was not displeased at the state of affairs, that he had some vague hopes of obtaining power in some way, is likely enough; but this is all that can be said.* The Breton club was in full activity; it consisted originally of the curés and Tiers Etat of Bretagne, and afterwards of other members. On the 1st of July it was already very numerous: Chapelier, Lanjuinais, Barnave, the Lameth, Buzot, Grégoire, Robespierre, were members; the Duc d'Aiguillon was president. It was busy in organizing measures against the court; it maintained an extensive correspondence, and printed a vast number of pamphlets. It was accused of conspiring to put the Duke of Orleans on the throne; but no evidence of any kind has ever been produced in support of this accusation.† Neither the secret agitation of a small number nor the distribution of a little money, if money was used, is to be considered, says Thiers, among the causes of the revolution; it is not by such means as these that a nation of twenty-five millions of men is stirred up. The popular party charged all on the royalists. They said that they wished to provoke the people, in order that they might be justified in employing the troops. This is what Marat said on the 1st of July, in his pamphlet, entitled, 'Warning to the People; or, The Mininsters Unveiled.' He said, if the people would be prudent and keep quiet, the most salutary, the most important revolution would be accomplished without bloodshed.

The Marquis Delaunay, governor of the Bastille, alarmed by the proceedings at the Abbaye, pushed the mouths of his loaded cannons through the embrasures on the towers of the Bastille, and his artillery yawned on the Faubourg St. Antoine. The garrison was reinforced with a detachment of the regiment Salis-Samade; munitions of all kinds were brought in; and Delaunay made frequent visits to Versailles.

Paris was inundated with violent pamphlets; 'Letters to the Count of Artois,' 'Confessions of Madame de Polignac,' and the like. The Palais Royal boiled and fermented. They sat there in pretended judgment on certain obnoxious persons—the Count of Artois, Madame de Polig the Princes of Condé and of Conti, the Duke of Bourbon, Berthier, Foulon, and others. Placards were posted up, in which these strange judgments were announced again and again:—M. and Madame de Polignac were banished from France; the Condés and Contis to a hundred leagues from Paris. It was not safe for any person to show himself in the streets of Paris, if he bore a name which had been marked out for public indignation.

But this was not all. The nearer the 14th of July came, the more horrible was the famine in Paris. A royalist journal* has made a dreadful picture of the sufferings of the people. Bread was very scarce and bad. People sometimes waited a whole day at the bakers' shops before they could get any: they seized it from one another; they fought for it. Even what they got was unwholesome—black, gritty, bitter. It caused violent pain in the bowels. "Having been obliged," says the writer, "at the height of the famine, to go to Versailles to reside, I wished to see the bread which was eaten at court, and what was served up at the tables of the ministers and the deputies. I did not find anywhere the rye-bread of which Necker had spoken. I saw nothing but excellent bread, of the best quality, supplied in abundance, and carried by the bakers themselves." This will explain why the people went to Versailles on the 6th of October to look for bread. They did not yet know how different matters were in the two places; and their fury was directed against the functionaries whose duty it was to provision Paris.

Every thing was ready for an outbreak; but the signal came from Versailles. On the 6th of July it was known that the Maréchal de Broglie was named commander of the troops which were assembled near Paris. His letter, true or forged, was also well known. Many of the nobles ceased to attend the sittings of the Assembly. It was generally expected that some violent measures were going to be taken by the court. On the 8th of July, Mirabeau made an important motion in the National Assembly. He said, there were thirty-five thousand men between Paris and Versailles, and twenty thousand more were expected. They were followed by parks of artillery. All the communications were secured; all the roads were stopped; roads, bridges, promenades, were changed into military posts. He proposed that a very humble address should be presented to the king, that his majesty should be requested to re-assure his faithful subjects, by sending away the troops and the artillery; that his majesty should order a civic guard (*des gardes bourgeoises*) to be established in Paris and Versailles, to be at the disposal of the king. The motion was adopted, with the exception of what related to the civic guard; and Mirabeau was entrusted with drawing up an address to the king, pursuant to the terms of the motion. On the following day Mirabeau was ready with his address. It was read, admired, and adopted; and a deputation of twenty-four members was appointed to present it to

* Young's 'Travels,' &c., p. 117. Michelet, who quotes Young, refers his remarks upon the Duke of Orleans to the ensuing day, after the 23rd instead of before, which makes some difference.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., p. 56.

* 'L'Ami du Roi' The extract is printed in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii, 40

the king.* On the same day Mounier brought up the report of the committee which had been appointed to prepare the plan of a constitution.† The minister Necker, in conjunction with Mounier, Lally-Tolendal and Clermont-Tonnerre, was working at a constitution while the court party had other schemes. On the 11th the king gave his answer to the address, by the keeper of the seals. He told the Assembly that the troops were brought together to maintain order, to protect the freedom of their deliberations; but if the presence of the troops near Paris, which was necessary, caused any suspicion, he would, at the request of the States-General, transfer the sittings to Noyon or Soissons and establish himself at Compiègne, to allow communication between himself and the Assembly. The answer was not well received. Mirabeau said, the Assembly had not asked for the place of meeting to be changed; and they would not go either to Noyon or Soissons, to be placed between two or three divisions of troops, which could be brought to bear upon them at any time. He maintained that they should insist on the troops being sent away. He was not supported by a single voice. The Bishop of Chartres thought that the letter of the king ought to be discussed; but the matter dropped. It was clear that the Assembly alone could not contend against the court.

At the same sitting Lafayette read a Declaration of Rights, which began with, "Nature has made men free and equal." It declared that the "principle of all sovereignty resides in the nation: nobody, no individual, can claim any authority which does not emanate from the nation." The model was evidently the American Declaration of Independence of July the 4th 1774.‡ The Comte de Lally-Tolendal approved of the terms of the declaration, with some few exceptions; he made some sensible remarks on it, and on the propriety of other measures being taken at the present crisis than the making of "arbitrary definitions." The Assembly was of the same mind, and, for the present, there was no discussion on the proposal of Lafayette.

On the 8th of July there was a skirmish at Paris, between the people and a detachment of the cavalry regiment, Royal-Allemand, commanded by the Prince of Lambesc. A pamphlet, intitled 'Lettre de M. à son Ami,' of which the 'Réponse de M. à son Ami' formed a part, was hawked about Paris, and thrust under the doors. Nobody knew where it came from; but the Breton Club was suspected. The pamphlet affirmed that there was to be a royal sitting on the 13th, in which the king would declare that he never intended to retract his declarations, and that he intended that they should be executed; a person had said—and it might be conjectured who it was—"I hope that we shall drive away this knave Necker in a few days, and rid ourselves of these blackguards." The States-General were to be dissolved, and there were to be new elections; the Abbé de Vermond, the queen's reader, had said this, when he was warmed with wine.* The citizens of Paris should arm to defend themselves; the critical moment is come.—It was believed that the court had formed a conspiracy to settle everything by force. In the evening of the day on which this pamphlet was published, a company of artillery of the regiment of Toul, quartered at the Hotel des Invalides, came to the Palais-Royal to fraternize with the young men assembled there, and the French Guards. The citizens made a supper in the Champs-Elysées, where they were joined by some cannoniers, grenadiers, dragoons, French Guards, and some of the cavalry regiment of Royal Cravate. It was evident, says L'Ami du Roi, that the Parisians would soon corrupt all the army.

Necker had felt for some time that he was without power, and he had told the king several times that he was willing to retire. On the 11th he received a letter from the king, in which he was informed that he was no longer minister, and was desired to leave France as soon as possible, without letting anybody know.† So far the pamphlet was true. Necker took the road towards the nearest frontier, that of Flanders. There was nearly a general change of ministry: La Luzerne, Puységur, Montmorin, and St. Priest, were also dismissed. Breteuil was named president of finance, Golaizière, comptroller-general, the Maréchal de Broglie, minister of war; M. de la Porte was named intendant of war; Foulon of marine. The list comprised all the names that were most odious to the people. "Broglie," says Besenval in his 'Mémoires,'—and his testimony cannot be rejected,—"when I visited him at Versailles, assumed the tone of a general at the head of an army; he was making all his arrangements as if he were in the presence of an enemy. He had made a camp of the palace of Versailles: he had put a regiment in the orangery.' Besenval advised him not to push matters to extremities, but his advice was ill received. The Comte d'Artois still thought himself the head of a party: he dined daily with the Duchess de Polignac, where he received the visits of the nobility. Every thing confirmed the pamphlet of the 10th of July.

* But Dumont wrote the address, as he says ('Souvenirs sur Mirabeau,' p. 107), and Mirabeau had all the credit of it. It is probable, however, that the leading ideas of the address were Mirabeau's own.

† Printed at full length in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii. 57, and among the 'Pièces Justificatives' in the 'Souvenirs sur Mirabeau.' See 'Jefferson's Letter to T. Paine,' July 11, 1789, in Tucker, 'Life of Jefferson, i., p. 320.

‡ It is probable that Jefferson, then American minister at Paris, supplied Lafayette with the declaration. Mr. Jefferson attached much importance to such declarations. Mr. Madison, who had a better judgment, did not value them much. Jefferson had already volunteered a scheme for a Charter of Rights, which he had suggested to M. St. Etienne, (Rabaud St. Etienne?)—'Tucker's Life of Jefferson,' chap. 12.

* This may be true or false. If the Abbé de Vermond knew anything, he was a very likely man to blab. Madame Campan's account of this worthless intriguer is very amusing: it was one of the queen's misfortunes that this man had been so long about her.—('Mémoires sur la Vie Privée de Marie Antoinette,' vol. i., chap. 2, and elsewhere.)

† Madame de Staël, 'Considérations,' etc., chap. 21.

There were disturbances at Paris on the evening of the 11th, though the news of Necker's dismissal was not yet received. In the evening the barriers of the Chaussée d'Antin were seized by the people and burnt, with the apartments of the clerks and all the books. The French guards, who were sent to repel the mob, stood and looked on quietly. The soldiers, as usual, were dancing and drinking at the Palais-Royal, and crying, "Vive le Tiers!"

CHAPTER V.

THE INSURRECTION.

The 12th of July was a Sunday. In the morning an extraordinary degree of activity was observed among the troops at Paris: cavalry, infantry, and artillery were entering the city. Enormous placards, posted at the corners of the streets, invited the inhabitants, in the name of the king, to stay at home, and to avoid al meetings: they were not to be alarmed at the presence of the troops, which were only collected as a measure of precaution against the brigands.

Before midday the Palais-Royal was crowded with people, wondering what all this military movement could mean, and this strange placard. The first person who announced the dismissal of Necker was treated as an aristocrat, and would have been thrown into one of the basins of water, if a Deputy of the Tiers-Etat, who happened to be there, had not confirmed the news. It spread like lightning through the Garden, and just at twelve o'clock the cannon of the Palais-Royal fired. "It is impossible," says L'Ami du Roi, "to describe the gloomy feeling of alarm which this sound struck into all." A young man, named Camille Desmoulins, came out of the café Foy, sprung on a table, with a drawn sword and pistols, and called, "To arms!" He plucked a leaf from a tree, and stuck it in his hat as a cockade; and thousands of men followed his example. It was immediately determined that the theatres should be closed, that there should be no dancing, no amusement—it was to be a day of mourning; and the order was carried by different bodies of men to all parts of Paris. A crowd ran to the rooms of Curtius, who had a collection of wax figures. They took the busts of Necker and of the Duke of Orléans, veiled them with crape, and carried them through the streets, followed by a great number of men, armed with sticks, swords, pistols, and axes. The procession went along the rue de Richelieu, the Boulevard, the streets St. Martin, St. Denis, and St. Honoré, till they came to the Place Vendôme, five or six thousand in number,—and ragged, as the royalists say. A detachment of dragoons, which was on the spot, charged the crowd, and dispersed it. Necker's bust was broken: a French guard, unarmed, who had accompanied the procession, was killed; and a few persons were wounded.*

There were skirmishes between the people and the troops in other parts of Paris. Stones were thrown at the soldiers, and a few persons were killed by their fire. At the barriers there was the same disturbance as the evening before; and at one of these a detachment of the Royal-Allemand fired on the people. But the fire of the soldiers was not very destructive, nor did they prevent the demolition of the barriers, which went on burning all night.

Besenval, who commanded the troops in Paris, had given no orders during the day, from which it may be concluded that he was himself without orders from Broglie. He kept the French guards to their barracks, because he could not trust them. Towards the evening he concentrated the troops on the Place Louis XV., (now the Place de la Concorde,) a Swiss regiment and two German regiments, with four pieces of artillery. This was done just at the time when a large body of people was returning from the Champs Elysées and entering the gardens of the Tuileries: they were quiet people, who had been walking about for their amusement. Some of them may have insulted the foreign troops; stones were perhaps thrown at the soldiers; but the assertion of Besenval, that pistols were fired at them, is exceedingly doubtful. However, to use his own words, he felt a strong desire to repulse the people, and he gave the Prince of Lambesc orders to charge at the head of his dragoons. Lambesc entered the gardens at a walk, but was soon stopped in front by a barricade of chairs, while a shower of bottles and stones rained upon his rear. Some shots were fired by the troops in the air, as the royalist account says, which is probable, or more mischief would have been done. Seeing that the people were going to shut him in the gardens, Lambesc wheeled about and retired. There was nobody killed; one man received a blow from a sabre. The attack was evidently not murderous, but it was unwise, and perhaps unprovoked.

The people, who rushed in alarm from the gardens of the Tuileries, cried, "To arms!" The bells were rung; at the signal, men seemed to rise out of the earth—that formidable array of pikes and clubs before which terror walked; the shops of the gunsmiths were ransacked, and the doors of the Hôtel de Ville were forced. Some of the French guards, who broke from the barracks, ran to the Palais Royal with their arms, and, forming in a body, marched upon a detachment of the Royal Allemand, which was stationed before the Hôtel Montmorency. The Royal Allemand, who had no orders, retired after receiving from the French guards a volley which killed three of their comrades. The guards, with

* Some of these facts are told differently by some autho-

their numbers increased by a mass of armed people, marched to the Place Louis XV., where they expected to find the Swiss and German regiments; but they had quitted the place.*

The night was still more disturbed than the day patroles of citizens traversed the streets, which were lighted. The burning of the barriers still continued Paris seemed abandoned to itself by the regular authorities; and a new power sprang up.

About six in the evening a few of the electors of Paris assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, which was already occupied by the people: the great hall was filled. The electors were compelled, by the cries and menaces of the crowd, to open the magazine of arms which was in the Hôtel de Ville or perhaps the people broke in and helped themselves. A man in his shirt, without shoes or stockings, took upon himself the duty of sentinel at the door of the hall, with his musket shouldered. About eleven a large number of electors were assembled, and they resolved that the districts should be immediately called together, and electors should be sent to the different posts, where there were armed citizens, to entreat them, in the name of their country, not to assemble together, and to avoid violence. A permanent committee was appointed, which was to be in constant activity, day and night.

The news of the disturbance at Paris soon reached Versailles. Couriers were sent in rapid succession from the different officers of the garrison of the capital; and, as everything was exaggerated by rumour, it was feared that all Paris would advance upon Versailles. Orders were accordingly given to interrupt all the communications: the approaches to the palace were lined with troops; the bridges of Sèvres and St. Cloud were occupied by artillery, and all passengers were stopped. Before the end of the day all communication between Paris and Versailles was cut off.

On Monday the National Assembly learned the change of ministers, the dismissal of Necker, the confusion and alarm of Paris. Guillotin, one of the Paris deputies, informed the Assembly that he was instructed by the electors of Paris to communicate to them a resolution, which they had made late on Sunday evening. It was, in substance, to entreat the Assembly to co-operate with them in the formation of a civic guard, as the only means of preserving tranquillity. While the Assembly was discussing this communication, fresh news from Paris added to their alarm: they were told that there were ten thousand men under arms, that they were going to attack the troops in the Champs Elysées, and then to march to St. Denis, to join the regiments there, and move upon Versailles. The Assembly appointed two deputations—one to the king, the other to Paris. The deputation to the king was instructed to request that the troops might be recalled from Paris, and the ministers reinstated: the deputation to Paris was to inform the Parisians of the king's answer, if it should be such as they wished and expected. The deputation to the king soon returned with their answer. The President reported that he had represented to the king the alarming state of affairs, the necessity of promptly re-establishing tranquillity at Paris, by removing the troops, and establishing a civic guard; that the Assembly acknowledged the king's right to choose his ministers, but they could not conceal from him that the late change was the primary cause of the present disturbances. The king's answer was in these terms: "I have already acquainted you with my intentions as to the measures which the disturbances of Paris have compelled me to take: it belongs to me only to judge of their necessity, and I cannot in this matter make any change. Some cities protect themselves, but the extent of this capital does not allow a surveillance of this kind. I do not doubt the purity of the motives which induce you to offer your services in these afflicting circumstances, but your presence at Paris would do good; it is necessary here to accelerate your important labours, which I must urge you to continue." This cold and formal answer was not suited to the circumstances, and it did not satisfy the Assembly. The blame of the answer belongs to the king's advisers. If he had been left to his own good intentions, he might have answered differently.

The Assembly immediately resolved unanimously that Necker and the ministers, who were dismissed, carried with them the esteem and regret of the Assembly; that, alarmed at the consequences which might follow the king's answer, they would never cease to insist on the removal of the troops that had been lately assembled near Paris and Versailles, and on the establishment of a civic guard; that the ministers and functionaries, civil and military, were responsible for anything that might be done contrary to the rights of the nation and the decrees of the Assembly; that the present ministers and the advisers of his majesty, whatever might be their rank or condition, or whatever might be their functions, were personally responsible for the present disorders, and all that might follow; that the public debt having been placed under the protection of the honour and fidelity of the French nation, which did not refuse to pay the interest, no power could pronounce the infamous word, bankruptcy; that the Assembly maintained its previous resolutions, and especially those of the 17th, the 20th, and the 23rd of June last; that this resolution should be communicated to the king, and printed. It was further resolved, that the sittings should be continued, in order that the Assembly might take such further resolutions as the circumstances should require. To relieve the aged Archbishop of Vienne, who was the president, a vice-president was appointed, and the majority of votes was for Lafayette. The deliberations ceased at half-past eleven, but the sittings were continued.

On the morning of the 13th, the electors at the Hôtel de Ville made a formal announcement of the resolutions that they had come to the night before about twelve o'clock. It was resolved, that all the citizens assembled at the Hôtel de Ville should return to their respective districts; that the lieutenant de

* This affair is told in a different way by some writers.

police should be invited to come forthwith to the Hôte de Ville, to give such information as should be required of him; that a permanent committee should be immediately appointed, consisting of persons to be named by the Assembly, whose numbers should be increased by the addition of electors, as it should be found advisable. But the most important part of the resolution was, that every district should form a body of two hundred citizens, which number should be from time to time increased, who should be known persons, and capable of bearing arms; that they should altogether compose a body of Parisian militia, to watch over the public safety, according to the orders of the permanent committee: the members of this permanent committee were to be divided into sub-committees at the Hôtel de Ville, to look after the provisioning of Paris, and the organization and wants of the Parisian militia; all private persons who had guns, pistols, sabres, swords, or other arms, were required to take them to the several districts to which they belonged, to place them in the hands of the heads of the said districts; and those arms were to be distributed, according to such regulations as should be made, among the citizens who were to compose the Parisian militia; that, as assemblages of people would only increase the confusion, and impede the measures necessary for the public safety, all citizens were warned to abstain from meeting in any place whatever. This resolution was to be printed, with the names of the persons who should be appointed members of the permanent committee by the assembly, until it should be joined by the members who should be chosen by the assembly of electors, which was convened for the afternoon. There were immediately named, as members of the permanent committee, among others, Flesselles, prévôt des marchands, the ordinary administrator of the city, M. de Corny, procureur du roi, the Marquis de la Salle, a military man of some experience, and the Abbé Fauchet. Grélé was the only person named who was not an elector, or an échevin; and he owed his election to himself, for he was named a member of the committee to stop his clamour. A resolution, signed by Flesselles, appeared in the afternoon, which announced that the basis of the militia should, instead of twelve thousand men, be forty-eight thousand men, until further orders; it provided for the complete organization of this militia; and for a distinctive mark, the colours of the city of Paris were chosen; every militia-man was to wear a blue and red cockade, and every man who wore the cockade without being registered in one of the districts, should be brought before the permanent committee, to be dealt with: the quarter-general of the Parisian militia was established at the Hôtel de Ville.

Thus a new municipality was formed, and invested itself with power; and a militia was created, which was the origin of the National Guard. The measures taken at the Hôtel de Ville were designed to put the power in the hands of the bourgeois, and to disarm the people. It was accomplished by a small number of men of obscure names. Various bodies came to offer to them their support from all the districts; and the pupils of the Châtelet, the students in surgery, came to pay their respects to the new power.

In the course of the day, measures were taken for keeping up a regular communication with the National Assembly; and a deputation was appointed to inform them of the situation of the capital.

The state of affairs at Paris, on the morning of the 13th, will explain the activity of the permanent committee. Early in the day masses of men were in motion, whom hunger had driven from the suburbs and the country to add to the famine of Paris. There was a report that there was wheat at the convent of the Lazaristes; and the report happened to be true. The people forced the doors, cleared the granaries of the corn, with which these hungry men loaded fifty-two carts, and sent it to the Halle, or market. The sight of so much grain collected together excited the indignation of the assailants; it was called by the odious name of engrossing, though the Lazaristes gave largely in alms. To punish the Lazaristes, they broke their furniture, and staved in their wine-casks; they refused money that was offered by the brethren to induce them to desist. In the midst of the confusion, the prisoners escaped who were confined in the house of the Lazaristes. Eating and drinking was allowed by the people, but not stealing. A thief, it is said, was discovered and hanged. Some forty miserable wretches stayed in the cellars and got intoxicated. They were picked up the next day by the militia; but what became of them is doubtful. L'Ami du Roi' says, that they were taken to the prison of the Châtelet, and, as there was no room for them there, the people hanged them.

Another band attacked the prison of La Force, where the debtors were confined, some of whom had been there for many years. The doors were broken open, and the prisoners released. The procureur-général, being informed of this, only replied, "If any prisoner still remains, he had better get out before the doors are shut." The prisoners in the Châtelet, who were criminals, made an attempt to escape amidst this general confusion; and they were just on the point of breaking out, when the keeper called to his aid a body of people who were passing along the street: a band of brigands, L'Ami du Peuple' says; but that is false, for they entered the prison, fired on the prisoners, and brought them to order. That the greater part of the armed men in the streets of Paris were not brigands, is proved by their conduct. Their purpose was not plunder.

The arms at the garde-meuble of the crown were seized; but it is said that they were afterwards restored. Some old armour was found there, and helmets, shields, and bucklers, were donned by men in rags. The smiths had been busy since day-break, making pikes; fifty thousand had been made in thirty-six hours; but it was fire-arms that were wanted, and the people who wanted them applied to Flesselles, at the Hôtel de Ville. Merely to rid himself of these troublesome visitors, as it seems, and without reflecting on the consequences of amusing them with false hopes, Flesselles

sent them anywhere, to the first place that came into his head. A deputation came to the Hôtel de Ville from the district of the Mathurins, where the people had assembled, appointed a president and other officers, and begun to make a list of the citizens who were able to bear arms. They sent deputies to the Hôtel de Ville with a list of the names of two hundred citizens, which was presented to the sub-committee, of which Flesselles was the chairman. He gave them promises instead of the arms, exhorted them to be patient, and promised arms again. The deputation requested him to give his approbation of the list that was presented to him, to which he affixed his signature, with these words, "I will send further instructions presently." The soldiers-citizens of the Mathurins thought he was playing with them, and they sent again; and the deputation returned with another request, signed by Flesselles, to the Chartreuse monks, to give to the citizens of the district of the Mathurins fifty muskets. The prior of the Chartreuse, in reply to the demand, stated in writing that they had neither fire-arms nor any other arms, and had never had any. Foiled a second time, the district of the Mathurins employed themselves in establishing patroles for the night, and kept order.

In the afternoon the French guards, with some of their officers, joined the people. They had been ordered to quit Paris, and march to St. Denis; but instead of obeying the order, they offered their services to the Hôtel de Ville. Many soldiers also escaped from the camp in the Champ-de-Mars, or deserted from St. Denis, and came to join the people of Paris with arms and baggage. Just as the French guards were crossing the Boulevards, a boat was discovered going down the Seine, filled with powder. This was a fresh cause of suspicion against Flesselles, for he could not be ignorant of the existence of this ammunition, and must have concealed his knowledge of it. The powder was seized, and put in a lower room of the Hôtel de Ville. The Abbé Lefebvre d'Ormesson, a man of heroic courage, was appointed to superintend the distribution of it; and he was all night engaged in this dangerous affair, amidst a crowd of furious men, who were disputing with one another about the powder.

The confusion which reigned in Paris appears in all the accounts of the events which immediately preceded the 14th of July. The same story appears with variations, and the order of events is uncertain.* It was some time on the 13th, either before or after Flesselles had sent the soldiers of the Mathurins to the convent of the Chartreuse, that another event happened which contributed still more to irritate the people against the prévôt des marchands. Flesselles had promised arms—twelve thousand stand, or more; but where they were to come from nobody knew, and apparently he neither knew nor cared. There was some talk of his negotiation with some maker of arms somewhere; perhaps they were to come from Charleville. In the evening some waggons crossed the Place de Grève, with the word "Artillery" on them. The prévôt stored away the cases: the electors opened them, and they found in them nothing but rags and old linen. There can be no doubt that Flesselles all along was only amusing the people and temporizing; and it is probable that he was in communication with the court, or with some of the authorities, Besenval, or others. His character was well known; he was a man of pleasure, who had a profound contempt for the people, and he thought that if time could be gained, all would go on well. Being weary with his day's work, he had a bed made for him in the Hôtel de Ville, where he slept his last sleep.*

It was a terrible night at Paris, that which preceded the 14th of July. Something was going to happen, but nobody knew what it would be. All the houses were lighted; bands of armed men were moving along the streets; most of the people kept awake; but there was no sound save the march of the patroles of citizens, and the blows of the hammer on the anvil.

The Palais Royal did not sleep: the gardens and the cafés were filled. There was hawked about there a list of proscribed persons,—the Comte d'Artois, Broglie, Besenval, Breteuil, Foulon, the Prince of Lambesc, and others; and a reward was offered to those who would bring their heads to a certain café in the Palais Royal. A copy was also sent to each of the persons who were threatened.† It is remarked that all the persons who were named in this list, fled after the 14th of July. The way of getting arms was also discussed at the Palais Royal; and the Hôtel des Invalides and the Bastille were named.

It was apparently at the Palais Royal that all the rumours about the conspiracy of the court were exaggerated and formed into a regular story, which appeared next morning in various pamphlets. On the night of the 14th, it was said, several members of the National Assembly were to be arrested, and a great number of the electors of Paris; there was then to be a vigorous military demonstration in Paris; the barriers were to be blockaded, and the city to be brought under the batteries constructed on Montmartre, and at Passy. The affair was to be completed by the king going to the National Assembly, and dissolving it.

It is impossible to say what was the design of the court, for the court was divided. If there was any plan, it was probably to dissolve the National Assembly, not to attack Paris. The princes, the Duchess de Polignac, and the queen, it is said, walked about in the orangery, flattering the officers, and distributing refreshments among them;‡ a fact which, if true, proves nothing. If the court did intend to do anything, it was not done. Action was left to the people of Paris.

* Several facts are stated in Louis Blanc's 'Histoire de la Révol. Franç.,' ii., chap. 10, differently from the usual accounts, and some of them, perhaps, nearer to the truth.

* Louis Blanc, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' ii., 365.

† Copied from 'L'Ami du Roi,' in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' i., 100.

‡ 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii. 101. Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' i., chap. 2.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BASTILLE.

On the 14th of July, at day-break, a young man presented himself to Besenval, and told him that the barriers would be burnt that day, that it was useless to attempt to prevent it, for it would only cause him to lose his men. Besenval did not know who he was.

From one end of Paris to the other, there was a cry, "To the Bastille!" Every man had his blue and red cockade. Some of the soldiers who had escaped from St. Denis were mingled with the people. The Abbé Lefebvre had been busy all the morning, at the Hôtel de Ville, distributing powder; but the supply was not sufficient for the demand. There were reports, false reports, of the movements of the troops within Paris: Royal-Allemand was in battle order at the barrier of the Trône; Royal Cravate was massacring the faubourg of St. Antoine. Those who carried about the news were well dressed persons. The committee of the Hôtel de Ville sent orders to the districts to sound the alarm; the streets were unpaved, barricades constructed, and ditches dug.

There were in France at least twenty prisons called Bastilles, six of which, in 1775, contained three hundred persons. At Paris there were many prisons in which people might be shut up without any formal sentence; they were in fact Bastilles. But the great Bastille * was the huge gloomy building at the end of the street St. Antoine, and of the Boulevards.

The Bastille was commenced in 1369, in the reign of Charles V.; and the first stone was laid by Hugues Aubriot, prévôt des marchands, who was himself confined in his own prison. The building was not completed until 1383, in the reign of Charles VI. It was originally designed for a fortress. The Bastille was a ponderous, dismal-looking construction, surrounded by a deep ditch. The Cour de Gouvernment, so called because it contained the governor's residence, was outside the fortress, and outside the chief ditch; but even this place could not be reached without passing through two lines of sentinels, traversing two guard-houses and a drawbridge. A long avenue led from this court to the ditch of the Bastille, where there was a second draw-bridge, then a third guard-house, and then a strong barrier of open work made of timbers cased with iron. The interior court was now reached, bound in by lofty walls and nine towers, where all was bareness and silence, only interrupted by a clock, the face of which was appropriately ornamented with two figures in chains. This was the only place into which the prisoners were allowed to go, and only one at a time; they could see nothing except the clouds and the sky. There were two divisions of this interior court, a larger, and a smaller court which was called the Well.

The towers contained octagonal rooms, one above the other, each with one window pierced in the thick wall, without glazing, and fortified with bars of iron. The window was wide within, but narrowed at the outside to a mere loophole, through which a scanty light fell. There were no chimneys in these dreary rooms. An iron frame-work, raised a few inches above the floor, supported the prisoner's mattress. But still more horrible than these were the dungeons below, the abode of cold and damp, of lizards, toads, and monstrous rats. Some of these chambers were near twenty feet below the level of the court; the furniture was a bare stone with some straw on it. There were more commodious apartments constructed on the walls which connected the towers; they had chimneys and fire-places, and were inhabited by those prisoners who were treated with more indulgence than the rest.

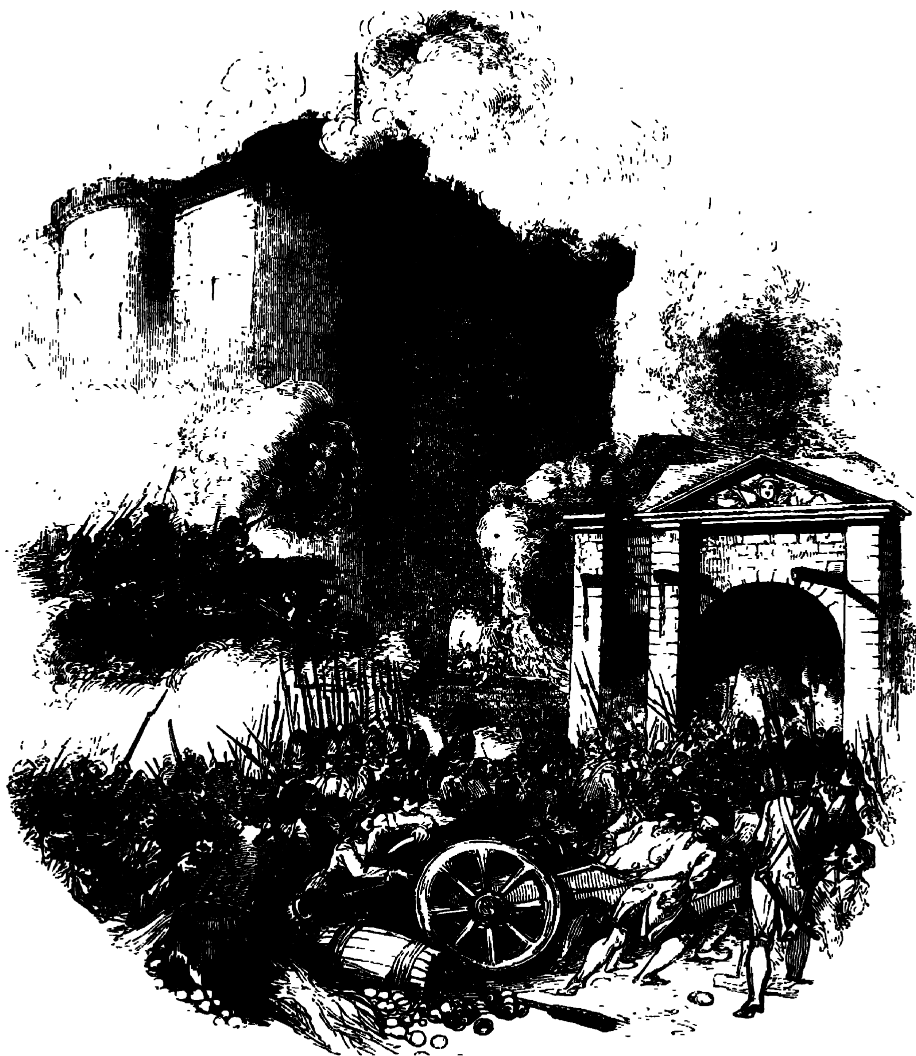
From this prison of horrors only two men ever succeeded in making their escape; Latude and his companion, D'Alégre, (February, 1756,) whose adventure became notorious all through Europe. He who once entered this living tomb resigned himself to despair. Like the gate of Dante's Inferno, the closing of the portals of the Bastille told the prisoner to throw away hope. A man might be taken there under a lettre-de-cachet, ignorant of the charge against him, unknown to his friends, and might die forgotten by the very persons whose vengeance had immured him. Every instrument that could be used for self-destruction was taken from him; and the keeper cut his food for him. The food itself was bad and scanty. No term was fixed for the imprisonment; and there is a record of one man who was removed from the Bastille to a lunatic asylum, after a confinement of more than half a century. Some went mad before they were released; some died in prison, and were buried in the cemetery of St. Paul; but the registry only preserved their initials, or else false names.

The Bastille had been illustrated by great names. The man with the iron mask had been confined there; Bassompierre, whom Richelieu feared; and in the second court, the well, the Maréchal Biron had his head cut off. Men of letters, too, had been confined there; Voltaire, Fréret. It was not the prison of the plebeian and the ignoble; it was the dungeon of the noble, and the more than noble. The affair of Latude had given the Bastille a celebrity over all other places of torture, and the Mémoires of Linguet* had made its secrets public.

It seems somewhat strange that the indignation of the people should have been directed against a prison which was not for their order; at a time, too, when

* There are many accounts of the Bastille and its capture, full of contradictions. The account of Louis Blanc, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' vol. ii., chap. 11, perhaps, contains the best summary of the events of the 14th of July, and it has been chiefly followed here.

* Linguet, 'Mémoires sur la Bastille.'



ATTACK ON THE BASTILLE.

bread was scarce, and one would have expected rather an attack on the bakers' shops than on the Bastille. The idea of pulling it down was, however, not a new one. The cahiers of the nobles had called for the destruction of their peculiar prison; and the cahier of the Tiers-Etat of Paris had recommended that an edifice should be constructed at Paris for the States-General, with the inscription "Palais des Etats-Généraux;" and that the site of the Bastille, destroyed and rased to the ground, should be made a public place, in the midst of which should be erected a column, in a noble and simple style, with the inscription "To Louis XVI., the Restorer of Public Liberty." * To destroy the Bastille was to efface the most odious sign of arbitrary government that existed: the people were excited, and required action, and there was no other object so near, and so detested. Yet it was truly a generous impulse which drove them to try their strength against these stony walls, garnished with artillery. To attempt to take the Bastille by storm was a new idea, and a wild one: a modern French writer has called it an act of faith.†

But how was the Bastille to be taken? not without arms; and a huge mass of people crowded to the Hôtel des Invalides to seek them there. The governor, M. de Sombreuil, appeared at the grating: he said that he had arms, but he could not honourably give them up; he had sent a courier to Versailles for instructions, and he politely begged his visitors to wait the messenger's return. The people willing to wait; but there was one man who would not wait. He cried out that the governor only asked for time to make them lose theirs. At these words, the whole body was in motion: they leapt into the ditches, they disarmed the sentinels, and the place was taken. The curé of St. Etienne du Mont entered at the head of his parishioners. Tl arms were in the vaults below, into which the invaders plunged headlong, pressing on one another. Groans and imprecations rose from this den of confusion and darkness—for the torches were extinguished, which some of the men held to guide them through the cellars, and those who were still descending pushed down those who were coming up, and drove them back on one another. Some who had gone down first and got arms, formed themselves, and, with bayonets presented, forced back the new comers. It is said that some lives were lost; those who had only fainted were carried out, and recovered. Twenty thousand muskets were taken away, and some pieces of cannon; but nothing else.

All this time Besenval and his foreign regiments were doing nothing. He had no orders, at least for such an emergency; and he did not venture to act on his own responsibility.

Camille Desmoulins appeared again. He entered the room of a restaurateur, in the Faubourg St. Germain, which was frequented by the principal agitators of the Palais-Royal, sweat streaming down his face, his clothes all in tatters, and striking the ground with the butt-end of his musket, cried out, "We are free!" He had just come from the Invalides, and reported what he had seen. They all ran to the Palais-Royal, the centre of insurrection.

Delaunay had been preparing the Bastille for an expected attack. He had constructed battering timbers to throw down the chimneys on the assailants, cut embrasures, and made loopholes. The towers were mounted with fifteen pieces of artillery, and three guns were placed opposite to the gate of the interior court: there were four hundred blunderbusses, fourteen chests of balls, and three thousand cartouches. But the garrison had neither provisions nor water; the affair could not be a long one, in whatever way it was decided. Delaunay had a hundred and fourteen men, of whom thirty-two were Swiss of the regiment Salis-Samade, and eighty-two were of the Invalides. The first drawbridge, called the pont-levis de l'avancé, was reached by a road, lined on the right by barracks, and on the left by a row of shops. The shops were so placed as to protect the approach of an assailant; but Delaunay did not destroy them,—as it is said, because he got a good income from them. Probably he did not expect the affair to come to extremities.

The Committee of the Hôtel de Ville did all that they could to prevent an attack on the Bastille. They sent three men to the governor to tell him, that if he drew back his cannon, which commanded the quarter St. Antoine, and would do no act of hostility, they would engage that the people should not make an assault. But they promised more than they could perform. Delaunay received the deputation very politely, and ordered the cannons to be drawn back in their presence. He was calm and collected, and felt full confidence that he was safe.

As soon as the deputies of the Committee retired, a man presented himself at the first drawbridge. He was an avocat at the Parlement of Paris, named Thuriot de la Rosière, afterwards better known as president of the Convention. He demanded, in the name of the district of St. Louis de la Culture, to see the governor. Though people were now crowding round the Bastille, he was let in. He told the governor that the city was alarmed at the sight of the cannon which were pointed on the towers of the Bastille, and he requested him to take them down. The governor replied that they had always been there, and that he could not remove them without the king's order, but he had drawn them back from their embrasures. Thuriot then asked to be let into the interior court, and the governor, at the urgent entreaty of Major de Losme, one of his officers, allowed him to pass the second draw-bridge, and enter the iron grating. He found the men there under arms, and three pieces of artillery ready to sweep the approach. Thuriot summoned the garrison to surrender, but all he could get from them was a promise that they would

* 'Cahier du Tiers-Etat de la Ville de Paris;' 'Hist. Parlem.,' i., p. 351. For an apology for the Bastille, see Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., translated by Dallas, vol. i.

† Michelet, 'Hist. de la Révolution Française,' i., p. 106. Compare 'Louis Blanc,' 'Hist.,' &c., ii., p. 372.

not fire unless they were attacked. He now wanted to see the cannon on the top of the towers, and, after some hesitation, Delaunay went up with him. The cannon were drawn back, but still pointed and masked. When Thuriot and Delaunay reached the top of the tower, named La Bazinière, one of those which looked towards the arsenal, the whole faubourg of St. Antoine was in motion towards the Bastille. The governor, startled at this unexpected and formidable sight, seized Thuriot by the arm, and exclaimed that he had betrayed him. "If you persist in this," replied Thuriot, "one of us shall fall into the ditch:" and the governor said no more. On coming down, Thuriot declared before the governor, and in the presence of the garrison, that he was satisfied; that he would make his report to the people, who, he was sure, would not refuse to appoint a civic guard to hold the Bastille, together with the garrison. But this was not what the people meant: they wanted the Bastille to destroy it. Thuriot addressed the crowd from a window in the governor's residence; and when he left the fortress, he was followed by curses. They cried out that they were betrayed, and he was conducted back to his district, threatened all the way.

The Bastille was now surrounded; every spot of ground was covered; shouts rose from the immense multitude, guns were discharged, and the siege began. Two men made their way from the roof of a perfumer's house, to a wall which joined the guard-house, next to the drawbridge, and then leaped down into the court; two old soldiers followed their example, and all four with axes broke the chains of the drawbridge. It fell with a thundering noise; one man was crushed, another bruised. The crowd, with shouts of triumph, passed the bridge.

But they were only in the exterior court; there was another drawbridge to pass, and impetuously they rushed upon it. They were received with a volley of musketry, which killed several men. In the midst of the confusion it was not generally known how the chains of the first bridge had been broken; it was supposed that it had been done by the governor's order, to draw the people into the exterior court, and bring them within the range of the garrison's fire. The rumour of the governor's treachery spread like lightning through Paris; but it was false.

Several of the wounded men were placed in different houses, in the street Cérisaye; and one who was dying, was exposed to public view, a soldier of the guards. This bloody spectacle, and the reported treachery of the governor, fanned the fury of the people. The French guards were soon in motion; and a detachment of grenadiers and fusiliers hurried towards the Bastille. With them hurried also a body of two thousand workmen and bourgeois, headed by Pierre Auguste Hullin, who had the figure of a fighting gladiator, and the soul of a hero. "You shall conquer, or I will die," he said to his comrades. Élie, an officer, commanded the soldiers; and among them was Marceau. Two cannons were dragged to the Bastille from the Place de Grève. When the French guards entered the exterior court, the Bastille was shrouded in a cloud of thick smoke. Flames rose from one of the guard-houses, from the barracks, and from the residence of the governor; and some wagons filled with straw, which the brewer Santerre had set fire to, were blazing in front of the second drawbridge. This was the first military exploit of Santerre, who had been made their general by the faubourg. He proposed to set the place on fire by means of oil and phosphorus; he would burn the very stones. His new allies began operations by removing the burning wagons; and two men were shot in the attempt. Élie, and a merchant named Réole, succeeded in doing it. Now the cannon were pointed to the drawbridge, and threatened destruction to those who should attempt to break the chains. Several pieces of artillery were discharged from the fortress, one of which was loaded with grape. The people fired from the house tops,—from the windows. All was unutterable confusion: citizens, soldiers, priests, and women, formed one dense mass round the Bastille. A young woman was wounded by the side of her lover, whom she could not keep from the fray.

In the midst of the tumult the Abbé Fauchet appeared, conspicuous by his handsome face and lofty stature. He came with three electors sent by the committee of the Hôtel de Ville, and an address to the governor Delaunay, signed by Flesselles. The object was to induce Delaunay to admit within the walls some of the Paris militia, who should hold the place together with the garrison, which was to be under the orders of the city.* The deputies made signals, but they were not seen; they attempted to pacify the assailants, but they were not heard. Before the first deputation returned, a second was sent, which made signals with their hands, and with white handkerchiefs; but the firing still continued. The deputation retreated, and approached the Bastille on another side, where they found the people, without any cover or protection, firing against the garrison, which was discharging its artillery. They made themselves known, and the citizens stopped their fire. The pacific signals were repeated, but the fire of the garrison was still kept up, and several citizens fell by the side of the deputies.† A third deputation came from the Hôtel de Ville with a drum and colours, headed by Ethys de Corny, the procureur of the city. They entered the exterior court, and the drum and colours advanced to the drawbridge. A white flag was raised on the platform of the Bastille, and the Invalides who were stationed there reversed their muskets; but at this very moment the Swiss, in the interior court, who probably did not know what was going on, discharged a volley, which killed three men. The rage of the besiegers was at its

* 'Hist. Parlem.' ii., 105.

† The 'Analyse des Rapports des Députés,' etc., distinctly mentions three deputations, which some accounts of the capture of the Bastile have reduced to two, the first and the third. 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., 105, 109.

height: "We will fill the ditch," they said, "with our bodies."

Some of the assailants had seized a young girl, whom they took to be the governor's daughter. They brought her to the foot of the fortress. "She shall be burnt alive," they cried, "if the governor does not surrender." Her father was in the garrison, and from the top of the towers he saw with horror his daughter thrown on a heap of straw, to which they were going to set fire. A musket-ball saved him from further agony; and a brave man, named Bonnemer, one of those who had broken the chains of the drawbridge, rushed forward and rescued the girl from her peril.*

The Bastille was not yet taken, and there was no prospect of it. After five hours' fighting the garrison had lost only one man: the assailants had eighty-three killed, and ninety wounded. But Delaunay began to quail. Perhaps he felt remorse at shedding so much blood; and there was no sign of his being relieved from without. The Invalides cried out to surrender—the Swiss, to defend the place. It certainly was not fear that worked upon him, for he would have blown up the Bastille, if his own officers had not prevented him. He was approaching the powder-magazine with a burning match, when he was stopped. He then went down to the council-room, where he began to write. The officer who commanded the Swiss entered the room, and told him that the cannon of the besiegers was pointed against the second drawbridge: "Must the Swiss sweep the avenuo clear? They were waiting for orders." The answer of Delaunay was a note to this effect, addressed to the besiegers: "We have twenty thousand pounds of powder: we will blow up the garrison and all the quarter, if you do not accept the capitulation." The officer remonstrated, but he could only obey. He went to the drawbridg and held the note through one of the holes. A plank was placed across the ditch, and a man went along it to take the letter; but a ball from some quarter struck him, and he fell dead into the moat. A second man, Maillard, was more successful: he took the note, gave it to Élie, who read it aloud, and fixed it on the point of his sword. "On the faith of a soldier," said the French Guards, "we will do you no harm: lower the bridge." The bridge was lowered, and Élie, Hullin, Réole, and others entered, followed by the furious crowd.

The garrison was ranged in two lines in the court—the Invalides on the right, the Swiss on the left. They had placed their guns against the wall, and, as the crowd entered, they took off their hats: the Invalides even applauded. Their uniforms put them in most danger; while the Swiss, in their coarse linen frocks, were taken for prisoners or servants. It is said that only one Swiss was killed in the place, and he betrayed himself by his fears, and ran off. He had just crossed the bridge, when a sabre blow cleft his skull. The governor stood there in a gray frock-coat, and bareheaded, with his hand resting on a sword-stick. A man who recognized Delaunay, seized him, and he would have stabbed himself, but he was prevented. Béquard, one of the officers who had prevented the governor from blowing up the place, was pointed out as one of the turnkeys, and his hand was cut off by a sabre blow, and carried through the streets.

The doors of the dungeons were forced open: but it does not appear that the prisoners were more than seven. Two of them were mad. Unfortunately, most of the archives, which were found in the council-chamber, were destroyed or dispersed, through the indiscriminating fury of the invaders.

It was determined to take the governor to the Hôtel de Ville, and the procession set out, with Élie at the head, bearing the capitulation at the point of his sword. Hullin, and a man named Arné, followed with Delaunay, whom they protected. The crowd swelled as they passed along, increased by others than those who had exposed their lives at the Bastille. The imprecations and threats against Delaunay increased the nearer he came to the Hôtel de Ville. At the Place de Grève the shouts redoubled, and the procession was assailed on all sides. L'Épine, a courageous young clerc de procureur, attempted to keep order, and he received a violent blow. Delaunay walked bareheaded, and was thus recognized, but Hullin, by a generous impulse, put his own hat on the governor's head. Pressed on all sides, Hullin defended with all his might the prisoner who was entrusted to his care; but at last, overpowered by numbers, he fell exhausted, and when he rose, the head of Delaunay was on the top of a pike. The only person, worthy of credit, who could testify as an eye-witness to the manner of Delaunay's death, the Abbé Lefebvre, himself a brave man, says that Delaunay died "fighting like a lion."

Two of the Invalides were hung on a lantern opposite to the Hôtel de Ville. Miray, one of the officers of the Bastille, had claimed the protection of the French guards when the place surrendered, and an escort accompanied him to the street in which he lived. Seeing all clear, he imprudently dismissed the escort; but just as he was opening his door, a band of armed men coming out of a neighbouring street, recognised him, and killed him on the spot. Major De Losme, who had always treated with kindness the prisoners in the Bastille, was recognised by his uniform, and surrounded by the savage crowd. A former prisoner of the Bastille, grateful to De Losme for past kindness, seized a musket to defend him, and thus turned the fury of the murderers upon himself. "Noble youth!" said De Losme, "you will sacrifice your own life, without saving mine." De Losme fell dead, and his generous protector narrowly escaped the same fate.

The committee had been sitting at the Hôtel de Ville from an early hour; they had not sanctioned the assault on the Bastille, and their conduct excited suspicion. The great hall was full of people—some going in, some coming out; it was a scene of violent agita-

* For this act he was solemnly crowned at the Hôtel de Ville, on the 3rd of February, 1790, in the presence of Bailly, by the hand of the young girl, Mademoiselle de Monsigny.

tion. The committee was sitting in a private roo with the doors closed, which excited general indign. tion. From time to time couriers had been arreste with papers upon them, which were brought in. An elector required the packets to be opened. Among them were two letters from Besenval; one to Puget, an officer in the Bastille, who had made his escape after the surrender; the other to Delaunay, both dated the 14th of July. That to Delaunay instructed him to hold out to the utmost extremity, and announced that sufficient force had been sent to relieve him. Fresh bursts of indignation followed the reading of these notes. A young man entered the hall in a transport of rage, made his way through the crowd up to the bureau, and cried out, "No private committee! we will have no committee!" and the committee was dissolved. The members, with Flesselles among them, appeared in the great hall, and took their seats on the platform, in the presence of this tumultuous assembly.

A shout that rent the sky, announced the surrender of the Bastille, and the approach of the people. Onward they came, a huge moving mass, men of all ranks, of all ages, with every variety of arms: it seemed as if "the Hôtel de Ville would have crumbled to pieces amidst the confused cries of victory,—of treason,—of vengeance, — of liberty!" From the midst of this savage pomp arose a bloody hand, which shook the neck-buckle of the governor of the Bastille. But by the side of the hideous spectacle a young workman held up on the point of his bayonet the rules of the Bastille; and Élie advanced, carried by his companions, and crowned with laurels. Flesselles was not disconcerted by the threatening appearances around him, till he knew Delaunay's fate. Murmurs of intrigues and of treachery reached his ears. Alarmed and confused, he rose and said, "Since I am suspected by my fellow-citizens, I must retire." An elector told him that he must be responsible for whatever misfortunes might happen; and that he had not yet given up the keys of the magazine of the city, where the arms and cannon were. Without saying a word, the prévôt took the keys from his pocket and gave them to the elector. When it was proposed to take him to the Palais-Royal, to be tried, he resumed his confidence, and said, "Well, then, let us go;" and he descended from the platform. The people did not offer the least violence to him as he crossed the hall. In the Place de Grève he passed through the crowd without the slightest injury; but on reaching the Quai Pelletier, an unknown man stretched him dead with a shot from a pistol.

It was said that a letter from Flesselles to Delaunay was found in Delaunay's pocket, to this effect: "I am amusing the Parisians with cockades and promises; hold out to the evening, and you shall be relieved." But it is affirmed by a modern French historian that nobody could ever produce this letter; that it does not appear on the minutes of any proceedings. These reasons are not quite conclusive, but still the existence of the letter requires proof. The rumour of a letter being found was a fact, and the conduct of Flesselles is consistent with the rumour.*

About this time the crowd had seized a new victim at the barriers, the Prince of Montbarrey, who was dragged to the Hôtel de Ville with his wife. His crime was being a supposed aristocrat, and having formerly been a minister. He was so alarmed at the menaces of the crowd, that he lost all presence of mind; but the Marquis de la Salle spoke for him, or gave him courage to speak for himself: he said that he had long ceased to be a minister, that he was a friend of liberty, and that it was his son who had effected the revolution in Franche-Comté. He was applauded, and released.

It was now the turn of the defenders of the Bastille, who were waiting their fate in silence. Élie and the French guards claimed the pardon of the Swiss and the Invalides, as their own reward for their services. The soldiers were required to swear fidelity to the nation: they took the oath, and were saved. Pity and generosity succeeded to the wild emotions of rage and vengeance; and the pardon of those who had shed the blood of their fellow-citizens made some compensation for the brutal massacres which had been perpetrated in the streets. The Swiss were taken to the Palais-Royal, where they were passed off as prisoners rescued from the Bastille, or soldiers who had refused to fire on the citizens, and a subscription was made for them. The Invalides returned to their Hôtel.

The darkness of night fell upon Paris after this day of tumult and blood; but the night did not bring tranquillity. The city was filled with alarms—with reports of a bombardment from the heights of Montmartre. The windows were all lighted, and patroles walked the streets. All were awake and active; and among the most active was Marat. A detachment of hussars had advanced to the Pont Neuf, and the officer declared that they were coming to fraternize with the people. "If that is true," said Marat, "give us your arms." The officer refused; and Marat, after inflaming the people by an address, compelled the soldiers to follow him to the Hôtel de Ville, from which they were sent back to the barrier under an escort.

The city was prepared for the expected attack by ditches dug in front of the barricades. Paving-stones and articles of furniture were carried to the tops of the houses, to be thrown down on the soldiery. The forging of pikes and the casting of bullets went on all night. There was great confusion among the patroles, owing to the want of one watch-word—for every district had its own. "Liberty" was the word in some districts; "Washington" in others. In the night, the camp in the Champ-de-Mars was broken up, and the troops retired with all the precipitation of a route.†

* The account of the death of Flesselles in the 'Hist Parlem., ii,' 101, is not correct. Louis Blanc, who asserts that there is no evidence of the existence of the letter, says, "There was a rumour that they had found on the person of the prévôt a letter from him to the governor of the Bastille." It should have been found in Delaunay's pocket. Bailly new nothing of the supposed letter. See Bertrand de Mol lle, 'Annals,' &c., vol. i.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., 105.

CHAPTER VII.

LOUIS AT PARIS.

The National Assembly at Versailles was occupied in the morning of the 14th with appointing a committee to draw up a constitution. The committee was fixed at the number of eight, and the following were the members:—Mounier, Talleyrand, (bishop of Autun,) Sièyes, Clermont-Tonnerre, Lally-Tolendal, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Chapelier, and Bergasse.

The Assembly was tranquil, though the design of the court was not unknown, says a royalist writer, the Marquis de Ferrières. The court means the party of the queen and the Comte d'Artois; or the Comte d'Artois may be considered as the real head of this party. That there was a design to repress all further violence by force, to seize some of the deputies, and to dissolve the Assembly, was the belief even of the royalist party. Whether the design or the wish ever assumed the form of a regular plan, may be doubted, for that would have required the king's sanction; and it would not have been easy to obtain his consent to any measure that might cause the shedding of blood. It was, however, said, and believed, that the court was prepared to act with vigour, to employ the soldiers.

There was a confused idea at Versailles on the morning of the 14th, that there were troubles in Paris: the sound of distant cannon was heard; or they thought that it was heard. The Vicomte de Noailles brought the first intelligence to the Assembly: he reported that the citizens of Paris were under arms, and directed by the French guards; that the Hôtel des Invalides had been forced, the Bastille taken by assault, and the governor, Delaunay, massacred. All discussion at once ceased, and a deputation, of which the Vicomte de Noailles formed one, was sent to wait on the king. In the meantime, there arrived a deputation from Paris, consisting of two electors. They were introduced into the hall, and one of them read a report, signed by Flesselles, as president of the committee at the Hôtel de Ville: the latest news that it announced was the despatch of the third deputation to the Bastille, and the opening of the intercepted letter to Delaunay, which required him to hold out to the last extremity. The report clearly shows that the committee of the Hôtel de Ville had done all that they could to prevent matters coming to extremities between the governor of the Bastille and the assailants, and to disarm the men of Paris who did not belong to the militia. It confirms the conclusion as to the conduct of Flesselles, who had tried the dangerous experiment of trifling with furious men, who had arms in their hands. A second deputation to the king was voted by acclamation, for the purpose of informing him of the report of the committee of the Hôtel de Ville. Just at this moment the first deputation returned with the king's answer, which was read aloud: the king said that he was continually engaged in taking all necessary measures for the re-establishment of tranquillity at Paris; he had given orders to some general officers to put themselves at the head of the Paris militia, to assist their inexperience, and to second the zeal of good citizens; he had also ordered the troops to retire from the Champ de Mars.

This answer was received in silence; and the second deputation was sent. In the mean time a new messenger to the assembly arrived from Paris, the Baron de Wimpfen, who had been arrested by the people, and taken to the Hôtel de Ville; on the Place de Grève he had seen a headless trunk, which he was told was the governor of the Bastille; he had fortunately obtained an order from the president of the committee, which had enabled him to get a passage through the crowd, and bring this intelligence to the Assembly.

The second deputation returned, and the archbishop of Paris reported the king's answer: "You rend my heart more and more," said the king, "by the recital of the troubles in Paris; it is impossible to believe that the orders given to the troops have been the cause of it; you know the answer that I have given to the first deputation; I have nothing to add to it."* This answer did not satisfy the Assembly any more than the first; it did not appear to offer any prospect of restoring tranquillity to the capital. It was resolved to send a third deputation to the king in the morning; and an immediate answer was sent to Paris by the two electors, to assure the committee that the Assembly had never ceased to urge the withdrawal of the troops from Paris; the committee were also informed of the two deputations to the king, and of his answer, with an ; that the Assembly would renew their efforts to obtain their demand. It was now two o'clock of the morning, and the discussion ceased; but the vice-president declared that the sitting still continued.

Louis, according to custom, went to bed in good time; his regular habits were not easily disturbed, and he did not yet comprehend the full extent of the troubles in Paris. The Duc de Liancourt,† a nobleman of most exemplary character, was much attached to Louis, and his office of grand master of the wardrobe gave him access to the king at all times. He well-informed of what had taken place at Paris, and he resolved that the king should know the whole truth. He entered the chamber, and roused him out of his sleep: "It is a riot, (*émeute*,) I suppose;" said the king, half awake. "No, sire, it is a revolution;" and the duke showed him clearly the danger to himself and his family; that the fidelity of the troops could not be depended on; that he must do something. The king's brother came in, and the duke told the Comte d'Artois that he was proscribed, and he had

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii, 112.

† For some account of him, see 'Young's Travels,' &c., i., p. 56.

himself seen the notice of his proscription. The two princes joined the duke in his representations to the king, and he promised to visit the Assembly the next day.

It was something strange that Bailly was secretly commissioned to prepare an address, which the king should deliver to the Assembly; and he set about it, and got it ready, but for some reason it was not used.

The National Assembly resumed its discussions at eight o'clock on the morning of the 15th. The Marquis de Sillery-Genlis—better known as the husband of Madame de Genlis—had prepared an address to the king, which told him in plain words that he was deceived—that his ministers had perfidiously told him that the assembled nation had a design on the royal power, to form a constitution which should degrade the royal dignity; that they had advised the assembling of the troops, foreseeing that this would be the signal of an insurrection; and that now they would attempt to justify their measures by what had happened in Paris. The address added, that, on that very morning, a quantity of flour, which was going to Paris, had been stopped at the bridge at Sèvres, but the Assembly would never believe that this cruel order came from the king. The address further invited the king to come to the National Assembly, where he would receive all the testimonials of love and respect that his faithful nation felt for him: he would see "the consternation of the National Assembly; but perhaps he would be astonished at its calmness and tranquillity." This address is of somewhat ambiguous character, considering that it came from the Duke of Orleans' confidant: it may have been designed to deprive the king of the merit of coming to the Assembly without being invited.* Mirabeau proposed to add the following words: "Sire, when Henry IV. was besieging Paris, he secretly caused grain to be introduced into the capital; and now, in time of peace, it is attempted to reduce this city to the horrors of famine, in the name of Louis XVI." Sillery's address was considered too strong by some, too weak by others; and it was finally resolved to send a deputation of twenty-four members to the king to remonstrate on the necessity of withdrawing the troops from Paris, and allowing a free passage for grain and other food into Paris, and securing the complete establishment of the militia. Mirabeau, who seized on every possible opportunity for putting himself forward, when he saw how things were going, added these eloquent words: † "Tell the king that the foreign hordes by which we are surrounded received yesterday the visit of the princes, the princesses, and the favourites; their caresses, their encouragement, their presents: tell him that all night long these foreign satellites, gorged with gold and wine, have predicted, in their impious songs, the enslavement of France, and that their brutal wishes called for the destruction of the National Assembly; tell him that even in his palace the courtiers have mingled their dance with the sound of this barbarous music, and that such was the scene before the massacre of St. Barthélemi."

The deputation was just moving off, when the Duc de Liancourt announced that the king, of his own proper motion, had determined to come to the representatives of the nation. The announcement was received with shouts by the majority of the Assembly; but they were reminded by others that they should reserve their applauses until the king had declared his good intentions. It was either Mirabeau or the bishop of Chartres who said, "The silence of the people is a lesson for kings."

The doors opened, and the king appeared without his guards, accompanied only by his two brothers. He stood before the Assembly, and in a firm tone read his address. He told them that the head of the nation came with confidence among its representatives, to testify to them his sorrow, and to request them to discover means for restoring order and tranquillity. He said, that some persons had dared to say that the persons of the deputies were not safe: would it be necessary to reassure them against such culpable reports, which were belied by his known character? "Well, then," he said, "it is I, who am only one with the nation—it is I who trust myself to you. Assist me, in these circumstances, to secure the safety of the state. I expect it from the National Assembly; the zeal of the representatives of my people, united here for the common interest, is a sure guarantee to me for this; and I have given orders to the troops to withdraw from Paris and from Versailles. I authorize you, and I even request you, to make my intentions known to the capital." *

Loud acclamations followed the king's speech. The president, the Archbishop of Vienne, advanced towards the king, and replied in terms respectful, but firm: he asked for the re-establishment of free communication between Paris and Versailles, and at all times a free communication between the king and the National Assembly; the king was again told that the changes in the ministry had been the chief cause of the troubles which afflicted the Assembly and the king. It was a demand for Necker's recall, concealed beneath courtly words. The king said that he would never refuse to communicate with the National Assembly whenever the Assembly should think it necessary. The president rejoined by adding that the Assembly had for a long time sought free access to the king, that all indirect means of communication were inconsistent either with the dignity of the throne or with that of the Assembly.

After hearing this lecture the king retired with his brothers. He went on foot from the hall to the marble court, accompanied by the deputies of the three orders, all mingled together. Those who were nearest to the king formed a barrier by joining their hands to protect him from the crowd. A woman of Versailles rudely made her way up to the king and said

* Michelet, 'Hist. de la Révol. Française,' i, 139.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., 116, Dumont does not claim them. It is some satisfaction to be able to quote something genuine of the great orator of the National Assembly.

* 'Hist. Parlem.', ii. 117.

with great simplicity: "Oh! my king, are you quite sincere? will they not make you change your mind again?" "No," replied the king, "I will never change." The woman had hit the weak part of his character. The king was covered with sweat and dust when he reached the marble court, and exhausted by the heat of the sun and the pressure of the crowd around him. After entering the palace, the king and the queen appeared for a moment at a balcony: the queen had the dauphin in her arms and her daughter by her side. Again there were loud acclamations; but they were mingled with threatening symptoms. The rage of the people was mainly directed against the Comte d'Artois and the Duchess de Polignac. In the afternoon three men were standing under the windows of the Salle du Trône, one of whom said in a loud tone, "That is the place of the throne, the very traces of which in a short time will disappear." One of these men was Saint Huruge, a violent man who will appear again. His violence had not been tamed by being shut up in prison under a lettre-de-cachet.*

The National Assembly sent a deputation to Paris, to inform the people of the happy turn of affairs at Versailles. Lafayette, Mounier, Bailly, Siéyes, Lally-Tolendal and Talleyrand were members of the deputation. The king's body-guard offered to escort them to Paris; the guards were thanked for their offer, but it was thought better that the messengers of peace should not be accompanied by soldiers. Paris was in a state of great agitation on the 15th of July. The barriers were guarded by the people, the faubourgs were intersected by barricades, all the great outlets unpaved and lined with cannon, and nearly 80,000 men under arms. Some companies of hussars from the camp at St. Denis had pushed their reconnoitre as far as the barriers. Two companies of infantry, in the uniform of the French guards, and disguised, it is said, presented themselves at the gates of the Bastille, and bayonets were crossed, but they retired. Such was the rumour, but it has not the appearance of probability. A guard, however, was established for the special protection of the Bastille, under the name of the Volunteers of the Bastille. Besenval's troops the evening before had fallen back upon Sèvres, and it was apprehended that they might return. The committee of the Hôtel de Ville was still in session, attempting to check the violence of the people, and looking after the supply of grain, of which it announced that there was fifteen days' supply in Paris. All regular authority had ceased, and the committee had taken its place.

The deputation from the National Assembly entered Paris preceded by a brigade of the maréchaussée, and guards of the prévôté, who had joined them on the road: armed citizens and soldiers swelled the train. A forest of pikes was waving in Paris. At the Place Louis XV. the deputies left their carriages, and crossed the garden of the Tuileries amidst the shouts of the people, drums and music. They were received under the vestibule of the palace by four persons sent by the permanent committee of the Hôtel de Ville, with their dress in a very disordered state; they were fresh from the insurrection. The Abbé Fauchet was one of them. At the Hôtel de Ville the reception of the deputation was equally enthusiastic, and the great hall was so crowded that it was with difficulty a hearing could be obtained. Lafayette addressed the people first, and gave them an account of the king's visit to the National Assembly: he read the king's speech, and described the return of the king to his palace "in the midst of the National Assembly and the inhabitants of Versailles, protected by their love and their inviolable fidelity." Shouts of "Vive le Roi" followed; and the Comte Lally-Tolendal rose: "After having paid a just tribute of praise to the patriotism, to the firmness of the Parisians; after having expressed the pain which the representatives of the nation had felt at hearing of the troubles of the capital; after having described the affecting scenes at Versailles, he spoke of liberty and of their country; he spoke of the king, of his virtues, of the duties of the French, in a tone so noble, so adapted to move, with an eloquence so persuasive that the crowded audience was carried along; the enthusiasm was at its height. The love of their country, the love of their king, exalted every mind. The orator was pressed in the arms of those who surrounded him; a crown of flowers was offered to him; his modesty refused it; he presented it to the National Assembly. In spite of his efforts it was placed on his head. It was then proposed to present him to the people, who were assembled in the Place de Grève. He resisted in vain; he was carried to a window, where he received the plaudits of the people."* On the Place de Grève Lally's father had been executed, with his mouth gagged.

The civic guard was without a head, for the Duc d'Aumont, to whom the command had been offered, declined it; and the place of Flesselles was also vacant. The Duc de Liancourt announced that the king authorised the establishment of the civic militia. There was in the hall a bust of Lafayette, which had been presented by the United States of North America, or, as some say, by the State of Virginia, to the city of Paris, and it was placed by the side of that of Washington. Moreau de Saint-Méry pointed to Lafayette's bust without saying a word: the movement was understood, and Lafayette was elected commander of the militia by acclamation. Bailly was elected the successor of Flesselles, not with the title of Prévôt des Marchands, but as Maire de Paris. The crown passed from Lally's head to Bailly's: his modesty would not let him retain it, but the Archbishop of Paris constrained him to

Madame Campan, 'Mémoires,' &c. ii. 48.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii. 123, extract from the account of the visit to Paris, which Mounier read to the National Assembly on the 16th. The passage is worth notice, not because it may be literally true, but to show the colouring which was given to the facts. The great majority of the Assembly looked to the throne as a barrier against the masses. The real feeling of Paris expressed by Mounier's language.

yield. The minutes of the commune of Paris mention a fact, which the historians have not always noticed, but it is too significant to be passed over. In the midst of the general rejoicing and exchange of congratulations between the members of the States-General and the electors of Paris, one of the deputies of the National Assembly, while announcing the confirmation of the civic militia, added that the king pardoned the French guards. The deputy must have been the Duc de Liancourt. The word "pardon" produced a general murmur. Some French guards, who were in the hall, advanced to the bureau, and said, "We do not want any pardon, we do not require it; in serving the nation we serve the king, and what is taking place to-day proves it."

The Archbishop of Paris did not forget his functions on this occasion. A Te Deum was voted, and the archbishop, the new magistrates, the electors, mingled with the French guards and the militia, moved off to the ancient cathedral of Notre Dame. After the religious ceremony was over, Lafayette took the oath as commander of the new civic army. There were loud cries in the streets and in the Hôtel de Ville for the dismissal of the new ministers and the recall of Necker. "The inhabitants," said the report read by Mounier, "envied the happiness which the National Assembly had enjoyed, and expressed a desire to see their king among them, as we had had him among us. Thus Paris will enjoy the blessings of peace. The civic militia will prevent all disorder: it will be commanded not only by a hero whose name is dear to liberty in the two worlds, but by a French hero, who can at the same time love his prince and abhor slavery. We must regret, no doubt, the evils which the capital has suffered. But who is to be reproached for the blood that has been spilt? Is it not the perfidious counsellors of the king, who have prevailed upon him to close to the representatives of the nation the ordinary place of their sitting by soldiers, to transform the National Assembly into a bed of justice (*lit de justice*), to bring together an army at great cost, at a time in which the finances are in the greatest disorder, in which we are suffering a grievous famine; to bring this army to Paris, to Versailles, and the neighbourhood, and thus to alarm the people for the safety of its representatives; to place the pomp of war by the side of the sanctuary of liberty, and to remove the virtuous ministers who enjoyed public confidence; to stop all communication between Paris and Versailles, and to treat the subjects of the king like enemies to the State. Among the acts of despair of the people of Paris, while we lament the death of several citizens, it will, perhaps, be difficult to resist a feeling of satisfaction at seeing the destruction of the Bastille, where, upon the ruins of this horrible prison of despotism, there shall soon be raised, in accordance with the wish of the citizens of Paris, the statue of a good king, the restorer of liberty and of the happiness of France."

Mirabeau prepared an address to the king to dismiss his ministers, to which some members added the recall of Necker. Several members of the nobility declared that, under the present circumstances, they had determined to join in the deliberations of the National Assembly, notwithstanding their instructions to maintain the vote by order. The Cardinal de Larochefoucauld made a similar declaration in the name of almost all the members of the clergy. The Assembly was just going to vote on Mirabeau's proposition, when the dismissal of all the ministers was announced. One of the nobility also declared that he was authorised by the king to say that he had resolved to go to the capital, and he requested the Assembly to inform his good city of Paris of his intentions. It was immediately resolved that a large deputation of the Assembly should accompany the king to Paris, and some of the members were sent to see the king on this matter. The king acceded to the wish of the Assembly, who appointed a hundred* of their members to accompany him. The king also sent to the Assembly a letter of recall, which he had written to Necker, a letter unsealed, and he requested the National Assembly to forward it. The Assembly also addressed a letter to Necker, in which they prayed him to conform to the king's wish: "the nation, its king, and its representatives expect you." This delusion did not last long.

Louis XVI. had not resolved to visit Paris until after much deliberation. On the 16th a council was held, in which there were two propositions: to leave Versailles with the troops, which the king had already ordered to withdraw, or to go to Paris to quiet the fever there. The queen was for going away. On the evening of the 16th she ordered Madame Campan † to take all her jewels out of her coffers, in order to put them in a single one, which she could carry off with her. Madame Campan assisted her in burning a great number of papers. The queen told Madame Campan, that, after a long discussion, at which she was present, the king, who was apparently tired, said, "Well, gentlemen, we must decide. Must I go away, or stay? I am ready to do either." When the resolution was taken that he should go to Paris, the king heard mass, and received the communion. He appointed the Count of Provence lieutenant-general of the kingdom. It seemed as if he expected not to get back to Versailles alive. The final resolution was not taken till the evening; and it appears that Bailly had some share in deciding the king.

At Paris they were busy with other matters. The permanent committee at the Hôtel de Ville ordered the demolition of the Bastille, and commissioners were appointed to execute the order. Nobody thought of first asking the king's consent. Lafayette proposed that the Paris militia should be called the National Guard, and his proposal was adopted. Measures were taken for its organization; but every thing proceeded from the Hôtel de Ville, which had usurped all the func-

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., 130; two hundred, Thiers, 'Hist.,' &c., c. 4; two hundred and forty, Louis Blanc, 'Hist.,' &c; a small matter, but similar discrepancies continually occur.

† Madame Campan's 'Mémoires,' ii., 51.

tions of government at Paris. The committee commenced a search after grain and flour in the convents, and re-established the collection of the *octrois*—that is, the duties levied at the barriers on certain articles brought into Paris.

The king left Versailles at eight on the morning of the 17th of July, to visit his good city of Paris. He took with him Maréchal Beauvau, the Dukes of Villeroy and Villequier, and two popular nobles, the Comte d'Estaing, and the Marquis de Nesle. The horses went at a walk, and the journey was very slow. The peasants of the villages on the road joined the procession, armed with scythes and forks. The militia of Versailles formed the escort to Sèvres; and from Sèvres the militia of Paris: the king's body-guards were purposely left behind.* The king was not a timid man, and his countenance was calm, but it expressed uneasiness.

During the king's absence the queen was in the greatest alarm. She sent for several persons about the court, but their doors were locked—they were gone. In the palace there reigned the silence of death. She prepared an address, of a few lines, to read to the National Assembly, to which she intended to go with her children, if the king should be detained a prisoner in Paris. With tears, she said to Madame Campan, "They will never let him come back."

The permanent committee of electors being informed of the king's intended visit to the Hôtel de Ville, had sent its orders to the sixty districts, and, from an early hour in the morning, one hundred and fifty thousand armed men were arranged in double line from the Place de Grève to the barrier of Passy. It was near three in the afternoon before the king reached the barrier. Bailly was there with the keys of the city, which he presented to Louis, with these words: "Sire, I present to your majesty the keys of your good city of Paris: they are the same which were presented to Henry IV. He had conquered his people: here the people have conquered their king." † The only cry which was heard, during the king's progress, was, "Vive la Nation!" The cannon taken at the Bastille and at the Hôtel des Invalides, were dragged before him by the French guards. Lafayette, mounted on horseback, with his sword in his hand, and the new cockade and a feather in his hat, rode before the king's carriage.

On reaching the Place de Grève, the freemasons, who were there in great numbers, received the king with the honours which their craft pay to distinguished brethren, by forming a double line, and holding their swords crossed over his head. As soon as Louis set his foot on the ground, to ascend the steps of the Hôtel de Ville, the 'vault of steel,' as the crossing of swords was called, was formed. He walked with a firm step beneath this canopy of swords; and as soon as he appeared in the hall, there were loud shouts of "Vive le Roi!" which lasted till he took his seat. Bailly presented him with a cockade, of the kind which the citizens had adopted—a cockade of three colours, blue, red, and white—and the king put it in his hat.

Moreau de St. Méry, president of the assembly of electors of Paris, made an address to the king, which contained the following words:—"You owed your crown to birth; you are now indebted for it only to your virtues." * The king had to listen to the reading of the minutes of the proceedings of the commune, and by his silence to give his assent to the formation of the bourgeois militia, the order for the demolition of the Bastille, and to the appointment of Bailly and Lafayette.

Ethys de Corny, who was procureur du roi for the city of Paris, and had fought with Lafayette in America, proposed that, in commemoration of the events of the day, a monument should be erected, on the site of the Bastille, to Louis XVI., the regenerator of public liberty, the restorer of national prosperity, the father of the French people.

Louis attempted to speak, twice, as some authorities say; but his emotion, or some other cause, did not allow him to read his address. Bailly approached the king, and, after receiving his orders, told the Assembly that the king had visited Paris to calm the uneasiness, and to enjoy the presence and the affection of his people; that he was anxious for the restoration of tranquillity; and that, if the laws were not observed, the guilty should be handed over to justice. Bailly then added, that his majesty gave permission to speak; and Lally-Tolendal spoke. This ardent orator, like the mass of the deputies, sincerely wished to reconcile the king and the insurgents: he looked to the throne as a barrier against popular violence, and as a security against power being thrown into the hands of the poorer classes. "Are you satisfied, citizens?" he said; "here is the king, whom you called for with loud cries, and whose name alone excited your enthusiasm two days ago, when we pronounced it in the midst of you. Enjoy his presence and his benefits. It is he who has restored to you your National Assemblies, and who desires to perpetuate them. It is he who has desired to establish your liberties, your property, upon an immoveable foundation. It is he who has proposed to you, as one may say, to share his authority with him; only reserving to himself that power which is necessary for your happiness, that which ought always to belong to him, and which your-

* Twelve guards attended him as far as Sèvres, as Madame de Campan says; and she had good means of knowing, as she saw the king set out. Discrepancies in minor facts are so numerous in the histories of the French Revolution and the Mémoires, that it would be wearisome and useless to notice them always.

† Dumont, 'Souvenirs,' &c., p. 116., says, that on hearing these words, Louis turned to Beauvau, and said in a low tone, "I don't know if I ought to hear this." Beauvau made him a sign, and Bailly went on speaking. Bailly's speech is printed in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., 133.

* Manuscript Letter of Robespierre, quoted by Louis Blanc, 'Histoire de la Rév. Franç.,' ii., 420. Robespierre was one of the deputies who accompanied the king to Paris.

selves ought to entreat him never to part with.—And you, Sire, allow a subject, who is neither more faithful nor more devoted than all those who surround you, but who is as much so as any one of those who obey you; allow him to raise his voice towards you, and to say to you, there they are—this people that adores you; this people, whom your mere presence fills with transports of joy, and whose sentiments towards your sacred person can never be a matter of doubt. There is not here a single man who is not ready to shed for you—for your legitimate authority—even the last drop of his blood." The addresses which were delivered on this memorable occasion were interrupted whenever any words occurred which expressed the disposition of the people with respect to their king, by the acclamations of all the Assembly.* The king, whose emotion continually increased, could only utter these words, which were repeated: "My people may always rely on my affection."

* This sentence is taken from the report of "the testimonials of affection which his majesty received in the capital," made by M. Sallé de Choux, one of the deputation which accompanied the king to the capital on the evening of the 17th of July, at a sitting of the National Assembly. The colouring of the whole report is obvious enough. Compare Madame Campan, 'Mémoires,' ii., 58.

At the close of the business the king showed himself at a window to the immense crowd assembled in the Place de Grève, and waved his hat, with the cockade in it which Bailly had given him. The crowd applauded, not the king—as it has been well remarked—but the cockade.

The king returned to Versailles; and his countenance gladdened as he approached the heights of Sèvres, and recognized his body-guard. It was a relief to escape from the tumult of Paris and its dubious demonstrations. The queen ran to throw herself into the king's arms; but the sight of the revolutionary cockade shocked and disgusted her; and she said in a contemptuous tone, "I did not think that I had married a plebeian." *

* Mercier, 'Nouveau Paris,' cited by Louis Blanc, 'Hist.,' &c., ii., 422.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIRST EMIGRATION AND THE FAMINE.

The capture of the Bastille, and the order for the retreat of the troops that had been collected round Versailles and Paris, were followed by the emigration of many persons of rank. The Duchess de Polignac, the queen's favourite, and the object of popular hatred, left Versailles at midnight, in the disguise of a chamber-maid. She was accompanied by her husband, their daughter the Duchess de Guiche, and some others. They made their escape to Switzerland, in continual fear of being apprehended on the route. At the same time with the retreat of the troops, on the 17th of July, the Maréchal de Broglie, Breteuil, the Prince of Condé, the Duke de Bourbon, the Duke d'Enghien, the Prince de Conti, and the king's own brother, the Comte d'Artois, made their escape. The life of the Comte d'Artois was supposed to be in danger: he stole away from the palace like a criminal, and made his way to Turin.

Thus the king was deserted by those who were bound by duty to rally round the throne; and such was the effect of the recent events, that even his own servants forgot the respect due to their master. Besenval, one day, observed one of them looking over the king's shoulder, to see what he was writing. The first emigration was not only the symptom of the fears of those who fled, but it was the signal of the fall of the French monarchy. Those who were the chief enemies of the revolution looked upon the king as their greatest cause of embarassment; for he had an invincible repugnance to all severe measures, to any step that might cause the shedding of blood.* He would not make himself the leader of the nobility; and he had already yielded so far, that further concession was a necessary consequence. His irresolution was another cause of danger to himself and the anti-revolutionary party. He would neither guide the revolution, nor resist it: in fact, he could do neither. The torrent had set in, and, like a mighty inundation, it swept every thing before it.

Among the rumours that take the place of historical facts, not because they were true, but because they were believed, is the story of an attempt made on the life of the king, and attributed to some great personage about the court. The facts are confusedly told, the evidence is insufficient, but many of the royalist party believed that the king's life had been attempted; and some even mentioned the Comte d'Artois as the assassin. But there is not the slightest evidence for this abominable imputation against the king's brother; and his character, with all his faults, rendered him incapable of plotting so useless a crime. The Duke of Orleans was also the object of atrocious calumnies; and a report was current, of his hiring a man to poison the Comte d'Artois; a report for which no evidence was ever pro-

* See the remarkable words which he uttered on his return to Versailles, after visiting Paris; and Madam de Campan's comment on them. "The king said, 'Happily, no blood has been shed; and I swear that never shall a drop of French blood be shed by my order.' Maxim full of humanity, but too strongly declared in these times of faction." (Mémoires, ii., 59.)



LOUIS XVI. AND BAILLY AT THE HÔTEL DE VILLE.

duced. The Comte de Provence, more prudent and more ambitious than his younger brother, stayed behind; and thus, without doing any positive act, without compromising himself in any way, he at once assumed a prominent position. The events in France had already attracted the attention of all Europe; and the desertion of the king by his own brother and the most distinguished of the nobles, was to proclaim to the world that the throne of the French Bourbons was tottering to its fall.*

The National Assembly had full employment on the 18th of July. There was no government in France, and famine was increasing. At Poissy, it was reported to the Assembly, a rich farmer had been seized by the people, on the charge of having got together a large quantity of grain; and they threatened to hang him. The Assembly sent off a deputation of twelve members, to attempt to save the life of the unfortunate corn-dealer. The commandant of the garde bourgeoise of the district of St. Méry was now introduced to the Assembly. He came to represent to them, that the "wretched inhabitants of the faubourg St. Antoine, who, for the last five days, had laid aside their work for the cause of their country, were without bread." † These were, to use the words of the speaker, "part of the conquerors of the Bastille." A subscription was commenced for their relief by the members of the deputation from Paris; and out of the forty-five thousand livres that were subscribed, Juigné, the archbishop of Paris, gave twenty thousand. Various proposals were made in the Assembly, for the repression of disorder, and the restoration of tranquillity, but nothing was decided.

The news of Necker's dismissal had spread consternation through France. When it was known at Rennes, in Bretagne, on the 16th of July, the youth of that place seized the arms in the storehouse; and the soldiers refused to act against them. The administration of the town fell into the hands of a popular assembly, whose first business was to rummage the corn-warehouses. At St. Malo the troops also refused to act, and the insurgents got possession of the town. At Grenoble the people protested against the dismissal of the ministers, and declared that the payment of taxes should be suspended from the moment that any attack should be made upon the liberty of the National Assembly. Early in the month of July, there had been an affray between the troops at Lyon and the hungry people; and on the news of the dismissal of the ministers arriving, the three orders assembled to protest against the government, and to draw up an address to the National Assembly. There was the same movement all through France, and a national guard was formed in all the towns, and even in the country. The rising was not purely disinterested and patriotic; it was also stimulated by the high price of bread, and directed against those who were stigmatized with the name of engrossers (*accapareurs*). At Poissy the people had cut off the head of a miller, named Sauvage. The corn-dealer was saved with difficulty from the fury of the people, by the earnest intercession of the bishop of Chartres, and the other deputies who accompanied him.

Lally-Tolendal, on the 20th of July, proposed, as a remedy for the increasing disorder, to issue a proclamation addressed to the French people, in which they should be reminded of all that the king and the Assembly had done to deserve their confidence: all good citizens should be urged to assist in repressing disorder, and the formation of bourgeois militias should be authorized, under the superintendence of the municipalities. His motion might have been carried, but for the opposition of the members of the Breton club. Robespierre declared himself furiously against it. "Riots are spoken of," he said; "these riots are liberty. Be not deceived; the combat is not yet at an end. To-morrow, perchance, dangerous attempts will be renewed; and who will repulse them, if we begin by declaring those to be rebels who have armed themselves for our safety?" * This appeal to force was heard without calling forth any opposition; and Lally even made an apology for some terms that he had used. The Assembly came to no resolution.

The subscriptions had done little to diminish the sufferings of Paris. A committee of the electors, called the committee of subsistence, was employed in provisioning the capital. Bailly was continually engaged in this thankless office. Though the price of bread had been diminished about one-fifth by the assembly of electors, the abatement gave no relief; for those who wanted bread had nothing to buy it with. The indignation of the people was directed against the dealers, who held large stores, and who were accused of keeping from market "the very sources of life." Nobody reflected that if the dealers had not taken the pains to collect grain with the hope of profit, there might have been none at all, instead of a stinted supply. "It was necessary," says Thiers, "to be continually, making purchases of wheat, to get it ground, and then convey it to Paris, through the famishing country. The convoys were often stopped, and it was necessary to have numerous detachments to prevent the flour being plundered on the road and in the markets. Though the state sold the flour at a loss, in order that the bakers might lower the price of bread, the multitude were not satisfied: it was necessary to be continually lowering the price; and the scarcity at Paris increased by this very diminution of price, because the people of the country flocked there to buy their bread. The fear for the morrow induced every one to provide himself abundantly; and what was accumulated in the

* Compare Louis Blanc, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' ii., chap. 13.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., 137.

* Louis Blanc, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' refers to the 'Courier de Versailles à Paris,' No. 18, pp. 305, 306, for the words of Robespierre. The words, as given in the 'Histoire Parlementaire,' express the same thing, but in much more measured terms. Robespierre was still so little known, that almost all the journals of the time mistook his name. They called him Robert-Pierre.

hands of some, caused a deficiency to others. It is confidence which gives activity to commerce, which brings provisions to market, and makes the distribution of them equal and easy.' * The committee could not turn scarcity into abundance; nor did they relieve the sufferings of Paris by an arbitrary diminution of the price of bread, which only increased the consumption at a time when the state of the market showed that there was a deficient supply.

The fury of the people required some object more conspicuous than a miller and a farmer; and two men were especially pointed out to them — Foullon and Bertier. When Foullon was mentioned as one of the new ministry, his well-known character excited alarm in the faubourgs of Paris. The publications of the time attributed to him such expressions as these:— "If I were minister, I would make the French eat hay;" and, "Paris ought to be mowed as we mow a meadow." All that can be said is, that these expressions were attributed to him, and were believed. Foullon had filled various offices—as intendant of the army, of war, of the marine, and of finance. He was supposed to be very rich; and it was assumed that he had acquired his wealth by dishonourable means; that he had, to use a modern French phrase, "speculated on famine." But the opinion of his great wealth was belied by the real amount of the property which he left behind him; and of the various charges brought against him, not one was proved.† His crime was his unpopularity, whether well or ill merited, and his hostility to the revolution. That he was a man of good sense and courage, appears from the advice that he gave to the king. When he was summoned to the court, at the time of Necker's dismissal, he prepared two written plans or means of extricating the king from his difficulties. One plan was, to control the revolutionary movement, and for the king not to separate himself from his army till order was re-established: the other was, to put himself at the head of the movement, and prevent an explosion, by satisfying the real demands of the people, and not to give factious men time to turn these demands to their own advantage. Foullon read these two plans to Madame Adelaide, one of the king's aunts, in the presence of four or five persons; and the queen told Madam Campan that she believed that the substance of these plans became known to the opposite party through the means of one of these persons.‡

Foullon began to see that he was in danger after the capture of the Bastille. One of his servants happened to die in his house, about the 18th, and he caused it to be rumoured that it was himself who was dead.§ On the 19th he quitted Paris, and on the 20th he was at Viry, a village on the road to Fontainebleau, in the house of M. de Sartines, by one of whose servants he was betrayed. He was seized by some peasants, who put upon him a collar of nettles, a bouquet of thistles at his button-hole, and a bundle of hay on his back; and then fastening him to the tail of a cart, with his hands tied, they dragged him to Paris. He was presented at the Hôtel de Ville on the 22nd, about six in the morning, to the great embarrassment of the permanent committee, who did not know what to do with so unpopular a man. The news of his arrest soon spread through Paris, and the Place de Grève was covered with people, who, it is said, were excited by well-dressed persons of a superior class. The crowd was afraid that Foullon would be allowed to escape, and they called out for him to show himself, or they would burn the Hôtel de Ville. He was brought from a room, where he had been placed by the members of the sub-committee for the night, and presented to the people in the great hall—a man of three-score years and fourteen, marked with the characters of age. A feeling of pity prevailed for a moment; but a voice cried out, "He must be tried." A curious dialogue took place between the electors and the people, which saved Foullon till Lafayette arrived. There are two versions of Lafayette's address to the people, one of which appears in the minutes of the proceedings of the commune, and the other in the Ami du Roi. "Gentlemen," he said, according to the version of the Ami du Roi, "certainly I cannot blame your indignation against this man: I never esteemed him: I have always considered him a great rascal; and no punishment is too severe for him. It is your wish that he should be punished; we wish it too; and he shall be punished. But he has accomplices, and we must know them. I will conduct him to the Abbaye, where we will draw up the charges against him, and he shall be condemned, according to the laws, to the infamous death which he has so justly merited." What he said, according to the minutes, was much less condemnatory of Foullon, and probably much nearer the truth. However, it appears from both versions that the object of Lafayette was to save Foullon for the present, and to send him to the Abbaye. The people applauded the speech of Lafayette; and it seems that Foullon also showed, by some sign, that he was pleased; for he understood what was meant by Lafayette's proposal. All at once the scene changed. "They understand one another," cried one voice. "What is the use of judging a man who has been judged these thirty years?" said a well-dressed man. This was Foullon's death-warrant. The approach of the Palais-Royal, and of the Faubourg St. Antoine, of the patriots who "had laid aside their work for the cause of their country," was announced. The crowd in the Hôtel de Ville was driven onwards by a flow of new comers; electors, judges, and witnesses, were dashed against the bureau; and Foullon, and the chair on which he sat, were turned over: he was seized, and dragged to

* Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' i, chap. 3. Compare these remarks with those of Louis Blanc, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' ii., 438, who writes as if he thought a man would hoard up corn for the mere pleasure of hoarding it, and would not bring it to market except on compulsion.

† Louis Blanc, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç., ii., 440.

‡ Madame Campan, 'Mémoires,' ii., 60.

§ His family deny this fact. It is certain that it was believed at the time; and that is all that can be affirmed.

a lantern at the corner of the Rue de la Vannerie. The cord that was put round his neck broke twice; and twice the old man, on his knees, cried for mercy. Some were compassionate enough to be ready to cut him down with their sabres; but his unrelenting assassins saved him till a fresh rope was got; and he was then hanged for the third time. His two gold watches and his money were carried to the committee of electors, who gave a receipt for these articles. A man cut off his head, stuffed a handful of hay into the mouth, and carried this trophy about the streets of Paris.

One tragedy was not sufficient for the day. Bertier de Sauvigny, the son-in-law of Foullon, was arrested by two masons, as he was passing through a street in Compiègne. Bertier, in his office of intendant of the army in and about Paris, had to provide for the troops. He was suspected of having intended to cut the crops green, both to feed the horses and to raise the price of grain; but this fact is denied by his family; and nobody has affirmed that it was ever proved. He was charged generally with being actively engaged in anti-revolutionary schemes; and this charge, and his relationship to Foullon, were sufficient for his condemnation.* It is said that Bertier was a clever and honest administrator; but his disposition was harsh, and his manners and language arrogant and insulting. The committee of electors disapproved of his arrest; but being informed that the municipality of Compiègne could not answer for his safety, if he were set at liberty, they sent a detachment of horse, under the direction of two electors, to bring him to Paris. A crowd accompanied Bertier and his escort with threats and curses. On arriving at the barrier St. Martin, a wagon appeared, containing boards arranged one above another, with these inscriptions: "He has robbed the king, and France; he has devoured the substance of the people; he has been the slave of the rich, and the tyrant of the poor: he has betrayed his country;" and the like. The vagueness of the charges, the form of expression, and the whole contrivance, fully justify the conclusion that the passions of the suffering poor were stimulated by persons of a different class.

The black, unwholesome bread, which was the food of the poor, was held on the points of pikes, or thrown into the carriage which conveyed Bertier, with the words, "This is the bread which you made us eat." It was now evening, and torches shed a gloomy light on the motley throng crowned with laurel, and women singing to military music, who walked before the carriage. At St. Méry a body of men met the procession, and presented to Bertier the head of Foullon, stuck on a pike, and covered with blood and mud. Etienne de la Rivière, one of the electors who was sent to conduct him to Paris, a brave and generous man, had the presence of mind to say that it was the head of Delaunay; but Bertier, it appears, knew whose head it was. He made a singular remark, which is attested by De la Rivière: "I should believe such outrages as these without example, if Jesus Christ had not experienced still more cruel insults. He was a God; I am but a man."

It was nine in the evening when Bertier was brought into the great hall of the Hôtel de Ville, before the electors. To the questions of Bailly, he replied, "I have obeyed your orders. You have my papers: you are as well informed as I am." The interrogatory was prolonged by Bailly, apparently to get time; but the Place de Grève was roaring, and the approach of the dreaded Faubourg St. Antoine was announced. A crowd rushed into the hall; and Bailly, who lost his presence of mind, could only stammer out. "He must go to the Abbaye." Bertier left the hall, accompanied by de la Rivière, without seeming to be aware of his danger; at least he showed no fear. As soon as he reached the Place de Grève, he was seized and dragged towards the lantern on which Foullon had been hung. In desperation, he snatched a gun from one of the by-standers, threw himself upon his assailants, and fell pierced with wounds. A dragoon seized the body, tore the heart out of it, and carried it, dripping with blood, to the Hôtel de Ville, crying out, "Here is the heart of Bertier." Bailly was thunderstruck; and Lafayette, who was present, exclaimed, "Deliver me from a duty which compels me to witness such horrors." The comrades of the ferocious soldier avenged the honour of their body, by compelling him to fight with them, and he fell that night in a duel.

These two sanguinary murders are important facts in the history of the period: they were the preludes to other more atrocious crimes. That the assassins were a small number, as some of the French historians assert, may be true: it may also be true that the fury of the mob was stimulated by secret enemies of Foullon and Bertier: other suppositions are made, but they are not worth mentioning. The regular constituted authorities of Paris had been overthrown; and the new authorities, with Bailly the mayor, and Lafayette, the commander of the National Guard, were impotent. Both Bailly and Lafayette tendered their resignations, which the districts refused to accept; and they were prevailed upon to continue in office.* Mirabeau, in his nineteenth letter to his constituents, spoke of the long patience of the people. He said, that the explosion of popular indignation was sometimes legitimate; but that such scenes of violence could not be continued without leading men to turn their eyes, soon or late, even to a despot to protect them. It is an indisputable fact, that the murder of Foullon and Bertier was not looked upon by the majority of the people of Paris with horror and disgust. So unpopular were these two men, that their death was viewed as an act of justice, only irregular in its execution. Frenchmen were still accustomed to witness the odious punishment of torture and the wheel; and society may hence learn a lesson, that the sight of cruel executions tends to destroy the feelings of humanity. Pamphlets were published, in which the death of Foullon and Bertier

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., 149.



FOULLON A LA LANTERNE.

was the subject of merriment; and the caricatures of the time familiarized the people with the idea of murder. One of these caricatures, which was largely sold, represented bodies of peasants, citizens, or soldiers, marching in procession with pikes, and heads stuck upon them; and the caricatures bore the words, "This is the way that traitors are punished." *

The news of the deaths of Foullon and Bertier made a deep impression on the National Assembly, which was increased by one of the deputies announcing that he knew that a list of sixty proscribed persons had been made out, and the names of several members of the Assembly were included in it. Lally-Tolendal renewed his motion about a proclamation. Mirabeau declared that the chief cause of the disorders at Paris was the want of any recognized authority: there was total disagreement between the districts and the electors, who had usurped the administration of Paris without the formal assent of the Commune. He proposed that they should send to Paris a deputy for each district, to establish a centre of correspondence among all the assemblies; and that it should be formally declared that the functions of the electors were at an end, and that every assembly which exercised municipal powers should be established with the consent of all. Gouy d'Arcy said, that the governor of the Bastille had deserved his fate: the other two, he said, were doubtless guilty—(he did not say of what)—but they ought to have been tried legally. He added,—and it is a significant admission from a deputy: "Do not believe that it is only that class of men who are called the people, that has run to such excesses: a great number of citizens accompanied the populace—encouraged, animated them; and several have not shrunk from washing their hands in human blood. The people may become accustomed to these bloody spectacles; they may make the shedding of blood their amusement. Barbarity may become a habit:" a prophetic glimpse into the horrors of the future. Barnave spoke lightly of the outrages of Paris: "We must not be too much alarmed," he said, "at the storms which are inseparable from a revolution. The principal object is, to make the constitution, and to secure liberty; for which end, two things are first necessary—a garde bourgeoise, and well-organized municipalities. After that we must secure legal forms of procedure for crimes against the State. The people will then be pacified, and of themselves will become tranquil."*

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., 150.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., 157. See the anecdote about Barnave and a son of Foullon, in Madame Campan's 'Mémoires,' ii., 61; and Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., translated by Dallas, i., 345.

The motion of Lally-Tolendal, with some modifications, was carried. It was an invitation to all Frenchmen to maintain order; to confide in their king and their representatives; and to respect the laws. It declared that those who had been, or should be, invested with power, and had caused, or should cause, by their crimes, the misery of the people, should be tried according to law; and the like. This idle and useless declaration was ordered to be printed, and sent by the deputies to all their constituents. It produced no effect at all.

It was on the proposal of Bailly that the sixty districts of Paris appointed a new Assembly of one hundred and twenty members, which was entrusted with the re-organization of the municipality. The new Assembly, however, did more than it was appointed to do: it requested the electors to continue their sittings; confirmed Bailly and Lafayette in their functions; appointed a police, and a bureau of subsistence: it took, in fact, the administration of Paris into its hands, under the name of La Commune, afterwards well known and remembered.

The death of Foullon and Bertier was the signal for fresh emigrations of the nobility, which excited fresh alarm among the people; and some of the emigrants were stopped. Besenval was made prisoner by the municipality of Villenaux. Cazalès, a noble and an eloquent speaker, who had fled from the National Assembly, of which he was a member, was also stopped, and thus reserved for further distinction. The Abbé Maury had the same fortune at Péronne; and the Duke de Vauguyon, formerly ambassador of France to Spain, was stopped at Hâvre.

On the 28th of July, upon the motion of Volney, it was resolved, that in order to save time a committee of thirty members of the National Assembly should be appointed, to which should be referred all matters of police and administration, and that the committee should report upon them to the Assembly. Duport had another proposition to make. There was a rumour that the port of Brest was going to be delivered to the English by somebody,—probably by the nobility of Bretagne.* Duport proposed a committee of four persons to inquire into the affair of Brest, and other like matters. Some members saw, in the proposition, the danger of an inquisitorial tribunal acting in secrecy, with powers ill-defined or unlimited. Chapelier replied, that the object was not to establish a tribunal, nor to violate the secrecy of letters: it was to form a committee, to receive information about suspected persons, from all the citizens in all the provinces, who might choose to give information; and the evidence, when collected, was to be sent to a competent tribunal. A committee was appointed, twelve in number,—the prototype, the precursor of the notorious revolutionary tribunal. Fear, suspicion, plots, and rumours of plots, filled all France; and no better evidence of the feverish state of public opinion exists than that of Arthur Young, who was at this time travelling in France.*

Necker reached Bâle on the 20th of July, and lodged at the Three Kings. On the following day he heard that the Duke and Duchess de Polignac had arrived at Bâle, and he learned from them the recent events at Paris. The letter of the king and the resolution of the Assembly were brought to him a few days later; and though alarmed at the accounts which he had heard of the state of affairs at Paris, after some little hesitation he wrote to the king and to the Assembly, to assure them of his zeal for the interests of the French nation; and full of his own importance and conscious of his good intentions, he set out for Paris. His journey was a kind of triumphal procession, marked by the ringing of the village bells, flowers scattered on his path, the respectful salutations of the new militia, and cries of "Long live Necker, the father of the people!" At Versailles, where he arrived on the 28th of July, he found everything changed, the king deserted, and the queen dispirited and melancholy. Montmorin was again minister for foreign affairs, and St. Priest had the charge of the royal household. His reception by the National Assembly was most flattering. The president, the Duke de Liancourt, told Necker, in his address, that the first nation in the world saw in him the only person who could remove the obstacles that might still oppose its regeneration.† Necker believed what he heard; he thought that he had power, and he tried the experiment. On his road to Versailles he had written to the authorities at Villenaux, to pray that they would set Besenval at liberty; but his request was not complied with. On the 30th of July, he paid a visit to Paris. Twelve electors were waiting for him

* The 'Hist. Parlem.' says, that it was a popular rumour without any evidence. The Duke of Dorset, the English ambassador at Paris, certainly told M. Montmorin of such a proposition having been made, but without saying by whom, to the British Government, which indignantly rejected it. Those who are curious to see how this obscure matter is handled by a French writer of extreme opinions, may turn to Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' i., 186. The Duke of Dorset, in a letter dated July 26, 1789, which is printed in the 'Annals,' &c., of Bertrand de Moleville, speaks of the "shocking plot." (Vol. i., chap. 13.) Whatever truth there may have been in the plot, the British Government had nothing to do with it. The Duke of Dorset had sent an account to the British Government of the steps that he had taken by writing his letter of July 26th; in which he protested against the insinuations that his "Court had in some degree fomented the agitations that for some time past have disturbed the capital." He was instructed by the British Government "to renew to M. de Montmorin, in the most positive terms, the assurances of the ardent desire of his Britannic Majesty and his ministers to cultivate and support the friendship and harmony which were happily subsisting between the two nations." The Duke of Dorset did this in his letter of the 3rd of August, to M. Montmorin; and he requested him to communicate it to the Assembly.

* Account of his adventure near Clermont, 'Travels,' &c., i., p. 161.

† Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., ii. Appendix iv. English Translation.

at the Hôtel de Ville, where he was received with clamorous applause: he was presented with the revolutionary cockade, and told that "these colours were dear to him, for they were those of liberty." He was addressed by M. de la Vigne, in the name of the commune; to which he replied in terms of strong feeling: he asked for pardon for Besenval, with tears in his eyes; and it was granted by acclamation.* A general amnesty was proposed by Clermont Tonnerre: and that was granted too. Necker returned to Versailles delighted with his visit; but the illusion was soon dispelled.

As soon as the decision of the electors about the amnesty was known, all Paris was in a blaze. The electors, it was said, had no power to pardon the enemies of the people. The district of the Oratoire itself repealed the amnesty, by sending two of its members to Villenaux with orders to prevent Besenval being released. The electors retracted what they had done: they said that they only meant to forbid acts of violence, and to prevent persons being punished without the form of legal procedure. The National Assembly settled all further disputes, by declaring that Besenval should not be set at liberty, and that he should be brought before the court of the Châtelet. It was on the 30th of July that the electors finally ceased to exercise municipal powers, and were replaced by the representatives of the commune of Paris.

One of the last acts of the committee, which now lost its power, was a decree of the 21th of July, which declared that hawkers and other sellers of publications calculated to excite disturbance, which should not bear the printer's name to them, should be lodged in prison by the patroles; and that those who printed such publications, without the sanction of an author who had a recognised existence (*une existence connue*), should be answerable for them. This shows that the bourgeois class, who had seized on the administration of Paris, were alarmed at the publications of the day, which were filled with falsehood, and calculated to inflame the people. This measure of the committee was, of course, unpopular; and it happened that about the same time the intercepted letters of those who were "conspiring against liberty," were not opened from scruples of delicacy and respect to the secrecy of correspondence. The National Assembly had received from Bailly a packet of letters, which had been put into his hands, and one of them was addressed to the Comte d'Artois. An animated discussion followed on the propriety of opening them; but the Assembly came to no decision, though the letter to the Comte d'Artois was of course supposed to be of treacherous import. It was believed all through France that the queen and the Comte d'Artois were conspiring against the popular cause. Young, who was at this time travelling in the provinces, found the belief almost universal, and he did not escape without being subjected to several examinations himself. People could not believe it possible that an English farmer should come to look at the agriculture of France without having some plot in his head.

The death of Pinel at this time increased the popular excitement. This Pinel was a money dealer and secretary to the king, a man of mild manners and strict probity in fulfilling his engagements. Such was the confidence in him, that people were eager to put their money in his hands; for which he allowed an enormous rate of interest. Nobody knew how he employed the money: he was neither a gambler, an adventurer in lotteries, nor a money lender. Though he was intimately acquainted with several of the chief persons about court, he was rather disposed to confer his favours on the less wealthy class: the favour that he conferred was to accept their money and pay a high rate of interest on it. On the 29th of July he dined with his family, invited some friends to sup with him, and went out about six in the evening, but he did not return. The day after he was found in a wood near St. Germain, covered with blood. A loaded pistol was found in his pocket, and one that had been discharged was found in the wood. He could not explain how this had happened, any further than that he had been assassinated, that his affairs were in good condition, and he particularly requested that his red portfolio should be looked after. He died in three days; the red portfolio could not be found, and it turned out that he was insolvent. His obligations were fifty-four millions of livres, and hundreds of families were ruined. The question was, had he been assassinated or had he committed suicide? The evidence as given proves suicide and not assassination. But how had he employed all the money that he had been intrusted with? It was conjectured that he was the banker of a body of speculators in grain. The reasonable conclusion is, that the speculation had failed, as every such speculation must fail, if it is to be carried on with borrowed money at an enormous rate of interest. The death of Pinel was thus connected by popular belief, at least, which has been adopted by some French writers, with what they call indifferently the monopoly of grain, or speculation in grain, for which they use the word *accaparement*. The word monopoly, so often ill understood, and abused wherever it is used, does not here mean that certain persons had the sole privilege of buying up corn, which would be a monopoly in the strict sense of the term: it means that individuals joined together their means to buy up grain when it was cheap, and kept it until it was dear. Under the French monarchy, as in the time of Louis XV., when king, ministers, and persons in office leagued together to make a profit by speculation, and when commerce, like everything else in France, was in fetters, it is likely enough that the system of corn speculation had its abuses, especially when official persons were mixed up with it; but it is no less likely, indeed certain, that even a royal speculator could not always escape loss.

* Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., ii. Appendix iv., where Necker's address is printed. Madame de Staël accompanied her father to Paris. ('Considérations,' &c., Prem. Part, c. 23.)

But it is against the system of *accaparement* generally that the popular indignation in 1789 was excited; and this absurd prejudice is perpetuated by such writers as Louis Blanc and Michelet in their histories of the French Revolution. The true cause of the famine of 1789 was not great scarcity: it was solely owing to vicious interference, and Necker himself was the great author of it. Brienne, who was minister in 1787, had allowed the exportation of corn,—a measure of all others calculated to insure a sufficient supply, for the farmer grows with the hope of profit, and the better chance he has of profit, the more corn will he grow. The crop of 1788 was short, but not short enough to have caused very high prices. Necker began his administration by instituting inquiries into the amount of the crop in France and the wants of foreign countries. In May and June bread grew dear; but as soon as Necker announced in June that he had bought up wheat and other grain in all parts of Europe, and that a large part had arrived, what was the consequence? An immediate rise of grain in the market, in some places twenty-five per cent.; for everybody believed that the scarcity was greater than it was. The police fixed the price at which wheat was to be sold in the market: the farmer responded by keeping his wheat at home, and selling it on the spot at a higher rate than the arbitrary market price. Young, who was in France at the time, was a witness of the effect of Necker's operations. This is the minister of whom a living French writer says, "Necker was not a politician: he was timid, vain, ridiculous. But in the matter of subsistence, we must here do him justice; he was an administrator, indefatigable, full of industry and resources." Necker's grand operation of corn-buying cost forty millions of livres, increased the price of all grain, and provided about as much as would satisfy the consumption of all France—for three days. Necker, in his 'Mémoire Instructif,' said "the speculations (*les accaparemens*) are the primary cause to which the multitude attribute the high price of grain; and, in fact, there has often been reason to complain of the cupidity of speculators." Yet what do speculators do? "They buy when corn is cheap, in order to hoard it till it is dear; this is their speculation, and it is precisely their conduct that keeps the people from starving." (Arthur Young.) The blunders of Necker, the want of confidence or security which every man felt who had grain, (for he was never safe against popular violence,) the arbitrary fixing of prices—all combined to turn a year of ordinary scarcity into a year of famine. "The dearness of bread round Paris produced violent riots, the echo of which was prolonged by the Palais Royal. Châtel, mayor of St. Denis, was massacred in a moment of blind and furious passion." (Louis Blanc.) It is Arthur Young's conclusion, that "all the evils of the year 1789" (so far as concerns the famine, he means) "would have been prevented, if monopolizers, (he means speculators,) by raising the price in the preceding autumn and by lessening the consumption, had divided the supply more equally through the year." *

* The 'Histoire Parlementaire' (ii. 457, &c.) contains, in a long extract from the 'Moniteur,' the history of the monopoly of grain, as it is called, beginning with the decree of 1761, which permitted the exportation of grain to foreign countries, and ending with the affair of Pinel. Many of the facts in this history are instructive, but the ignorant prejudices of the writer almost surpass the bounds of all credibility. The same ignorant perversion of facts pervades the histories of the French Revolution by Louis Blanc and Michelet. The chapter in Arthur Young's 'Travels' (chap. xviii., Of the Police of Corn in France) is an excellent commentary on this period of the French Revolution. It is somewhat remarkable that an English farmer, in 1789, should have had these just views of the commerce in grain, which a British Parliament, half a century later, could with difficulty be brought to recognize. Compare also 'Hist. Parlem.,' (iii., 1, &c.,) for further particulars as to the corn speculations. Camille Desmoulins had the folly to assert that a single year's produce in France was sufficient for three years' consumption; (see Young's Remarks, i., 185,) that there had been six successive good harvests, and yet corn was scarce, solely owing to the dealers. Madness could go no further than this.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FOURTH OF AUGUST.

The disorder in the provinces was equal to that of Paris; and an accident gave new matter for fear, suspicion, and violence. The municipality of Vesoul sent a letter, dated the 22nd of July, to the National Assembly, which commenced in these terms: "The town of Vesoul does not wish to afflict the National Assembly by an account of all the excessive disorders in its bailliage; châteaux burnt, demolished, or at least pillaged; all the archives broken open; the registers and terriers carried off; dépôts violated; the most horrible menaces, and extreme acts of violence." The town urgently requested the Assembly to take measures to tranquillize the honest part of the people and the inhabitants of the rural districts, and to employ force against the bands of pillagers.*

M. de Mesmay, lord of Quincey, which was near Vesoul, had given notice to the inhabitants of Vesoul, and to the troops of the garrison there, that on the occasion of the happy event, in which all the nation participated, (the happy union between the king and the National Assembly), he would entertain all persons

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., 160.

who should come to the château; but M. de Mesmay himself had retired, saying, that his presence might interfere with the harmony of the festival. His pretext was, that he was a protester (*protestant;* which means that he had protested against the double representation of the Tiers Etat), a noble, and member of the parliament of Besançon. The invitation brought together a great number of people, citizens and soldiers, who were taken to a place some distance from the château. While all was merriment, a train was lighted, which was connected with a mine made in the place where the people were amusing themselves. On the noise of the explosion, the brigadier and lieutenant-general of the maréchaussée hurried to the château, where they saw men drenched in their own blood, dead bodies strewed about, and palpitating limbs.*

The transaction thus appeared as a horrible conspiracy, though it was afterwards ascertained that M. de Mesmay was free from all blame. A barrel of gunpowder, which was in an outhouse on the premises, had accidentally exploded about midnight, having been fired by some soldiers, who were trying to see if it contained wine. The gunpowder was used for blasting rock, as part of M. de Mesmay's vineyard was on a stony soil.†

The careless manner in which the report was drawn up, and the way in which it was received by the Assembly, tended to fan the flame that was ready to burst forth. Exaggerated reports of the affair at Vesoul spread all over France, with rumours about brigands in the pay of the aristocracy, and hired to cut down the crops. The peasants had real grievances to complain of, and they set about redressing them in the way in which ignorance and fanaticism always begin their work. In Upper Alsace many châteaux were burnt to the ground. In Franche-Comté several abbeys were invested by bands of peasants; and the château of Vauxvilliers, which belonged to the Duchess of Clermont-Tonnerre, was completely destroyed: the duchess hid herself in a loft, where she remained till a company of chasseurs released her. The disorders began before the 4th of August, and were continued after that day. It is said that in the Mâconnais and Beaujolais seventy-two châteaux were burnt. The object of the peasants was not only to humble the nobility, but to get bread; for they threatened to burn the farm houses where they supposed that grain was kept. Arthur Young writes, on the 21st of July, when he was at Strassburg: "The spirit of revolt is gone forth into various parts of the kingdom; the price of bread has prepared the populace everywhere for all sorts of violence." At Dijon, in Burgundy, he found in the inn, "a gentleman, unfortunately a seigneur, his wife, family, three servants, an infant but a few months old, who escaped from their flaming château, half naked, in the night; all their property lost, except the land itself; and the family, valued and esteemed by the neighbours, with many virtues to command the love of the poor, and no oppression to provoke their enmity."* It seems clear that the rumours about brigands were false. M. G. de Morveau, the celebrated chemist, told Arthur Young, at Dijon, that "all the violences in that province, that had come to his knowledge, had been committed by the peasants only; much had been reported of brigands and nothing proved." This was Young's opinion: he saw nothing of brigands, though he traversed Burgundy and Franche-Comté, in which they were rumoured to be going about in bodies of many hundreds.†

Atrocious acts of cruelty were committed in some places. In Languedoc, the Marquis de Barras was massacred and cut to pieces in the presence of his wife, who was pregnant. In Normandy, the manager of an estate, refused to deliver up the title-deeds of his master, who was absent, and fire was applied to the soles of his feet to compel him to yield to the demands. In Franche-Comté the Baron de Mont-justin was suspended for an hour in a well, while the people were deliberating on the manner in which he should be put to death. He was luckily saved by some soldiers who were passing by. But plunder and destruction were not always accompanied with personal violence: indeed, some writers assert that the cases of cruelty were not numerous. In such seasons of anarchy, as in the proscriptions of the triumviri at Rome, there were also examples of generous devotion; and some of those who had seignorial rights, and were known for their kind and humane disposition, were protected against outrage by the peasants.

The National Assembly showed no vigour during these disorders. The middle or bourgeois class made some efforts to prevent outrage; and in some places conflicts took place between them and the peasants, who were repulsed. Some of the peasants who were taken were immediately executed. At Lyon particularly, the bourgeois class were most active in organizing themselves, to prevent violent attacks on the châteaux and the convents: with some dragoons they dispersed a large body of peasantry, who were threatening the convent of Salette, killed eighty of them, and carried off sixty prisoners to Lyon, with their hands tied. The workmen of Lyon, roused at this sight, mounted on the house-tops, and threw down stones on the volunteers and dragoons; but a discharge of musketry checked them. "Thus," says a modern French writer, who, under whatever form of words he may disguise his views, is the preacher of violence, "even before the common enemies were prostrated, the bourgeoisie turned against their auxiliaries. It was because many yet saw in the storm only the power

* 'Hist Parlem.,' ii., 160; which gives the words of the procès-verbal.

† Bertrand de Moleville, Annals, &c, i. 354. He says that the full account of the dreadful conspiracy at Quincey, was dispersed throughout the kingdom. There is no dispute about the innocence of M. de Mesmay. Louis Blanc, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' ii. 173.

* Young, 'Travels,' &c., i. 150.

† See 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii. 243, as to the causes assigned for the violent outbreak of the peasants.

of destruction: they forgot that the seeds travel on the wings of the tempest, and that the furious winds have had given to them the power of diffusing fecundity."*

During these troubles, on the 1st of August, the Assembly was engaged in discussing this question: "Shall there be, or shall there not be, a declaration of the rights of man and of citizens prefixed to the constitution?" A fruitful matter for discussion: fifty-six members entered their names as speakers. Barnave said, in the course of the discussion, "the necessity for a declaration of rights has been clearly demonstrated; I think that it is indispensable to prefix to the constitution a declaration of the rights which a man ought to enjoy. It should be simple, intelligible to everybody; it should become the National Catechism."† The discussion was adjourned to the 3rd of August, Monday, and continued. In the evening of the same day the Assembly had business on hand more pressing than a declaration of rights: M. Salomon, in the name of the Committee of Reports, stated "that by letters from all the provinces, it appeared that property of all descriptions was exposed to the most scandalous robbery; on all sides châteaux are burnt, convents destroyed, farms abandoned to pillage. The taxes, the seignorial dues, all is destroyed; the laws are without force, the magistrates without authority; justice is only a shadow, which in vain is sought for in the courts." He proposed a declaration that taxes and other dues ought not to be withheld till the Assembly had decided upon these rights; that no pretext for non-payment of them was valid; that the Assembly was grieved to see the trouble occasioned by such refusals, and that they are essentially contrary to the principles of public law, which the Assembly would always maintain. A member said, during the discussion, that France would soon be in the greatest disorder; that it was a war between the poor and the rich; and if some means were not devised for securing the payment of taxes, the deficit would be above two hundred millions. He proposed that the Assembly should maintain its resolution of the 17th of June, by which all the present taxes should be collected until they were replaced by others which were more just; that those who should attack the liberty or property of any individual should be prosecuted. The plan of a declaration was carried, and it was referred to the committee (*comité de redaction*) to draw up one in form.

A motion was made by Malouet, which contained the elements of a great social question. He showed that the changes which were about to be made would cause some difficulties. A great number of places and pensions ought to be abolished, or the amount of payments reduced; the indirect effect, he said, would be to throw out of employment, and to deprive of wages numerous domestics and workmen of all kinds; the diminution of alms to the poor, of the consumption of the rich, and a consequent reduction of the profits of trade. On the other hand, the diminution in the industry of the productive classes had for some years been going on at an alarming rate; many manufactures had been given up, thousands of workmen were without employment, and mendicity had increased both in the towns and in the country. The maritime commerce was affected by the same stagnation; among the various causes of which that might be suggested, he mentioned the multitude of regulations and fiscal claims which obstructed all the channels of industry. All these unfavourable elements would be increased by the cessation of the wages and salaries of a number of persons who had hitherto subsisted, directly or indirectly, on the payment derived from abuses or public offices, or incomes, which the Assembly was about to suppress or reduce. The very measures, he said, which were going to be taken for the establishment of order, if not connected with due precautions, which were in the power of the Assembly, would certainly increase the want of employment, and add to mendicity and misery. It was the indigent class which lived on wages, which had no resource except their labour, that required all the solicitude of the Assembly; this was the body for which the Assembly ought to secure subsistence and labour. He had made an estimate that the number of unemployed persons, added to those who would be thrown out of employment by the reform of abuses, would amount to four hundred thousand. The object of the measures that he had to propose was to secure labour and subsistence, which were founded on the obligations of society towards those who were in want of both, and on the immense resources of the nation. He proposed that the Provisional and Municipal Assemblies should establish, in all the towns and villages of the kingdom, and in every parish of large towns, boards of relief and labour, that a board of distribution (*bureau de répartition*) should be established in every province; and there should be a general board of superintendence (*bureau général de surveillance*). The funds of the relief boards were to be formed by a union of all charitable funds, except those of the hospitals; the deficiency was to be supplied out of the contributions of the parish, which contributions were to be made good by an equivalent tax on all persons who were liable to taxation, and "by the means resulting from national credit," that is, a loan. "As soon as the boards shall be established, all the individuals in every parish who shall be without labour shall be summoned. An exact list of such persons shall be made, containing the description, occupation, and domicile of each; and there shall be secured immediately to all who shall present themselves, a sufficient maintenance in money or in commodities, with a condition that those should be employed in the workshops of the parish who were able to labour."*

This motion, which, it is said, excited some mur-

* Louis Blanc, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.' ii. 482.

† Those who wish to read some of the discussion will find it in the 'Hist. Parlem,' ii. 192.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., p. 215, &c., where the scheme is given at full length.

murings (*rumeurs*), was referred to the committees. "It was on the evening before the 4th of August," says Louis Blanc, "that, by an inspiration which will honour his memory, Malouet had adjured his colleagues to reflect on the condition of the working-class; to open boards of charity; to establish workshops for labour. A low murmur was raised: the Assembly passed on to other business." The proposal of Malouet was simply to add to the artificial system of France another artificial arrangement, which could only give temporary relief, with the certainty of producing future and greater difficulties; and this at the cost of additional taxation.*

The morning session of the 4th of August was tumultuous. The Deputies were wearied of a discussion which had lasted three days, and were eager to come to a vote. It was proposed by Camus, by way of amendment, that the word "duties" should be added to the declaration of rights. He proposed the question thus: "Shall there be, or shall there not be, a declaration of the rights and of the duties of men and citizens?" The proposition of Camus was put as an amendment to the principal question. The amendment was rejected; and the declaration of rights was to be presented that evening by the committee which was appointed to draw it up.

During this morning's sitting, the king by letter informed the Assembly of the manner in which he had filled the vacant places in the ministry; he had given the seals to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, and the *feuille des bénéfices*, (the list of the benefices in the king's gift,) to the Archbishop of Vienne; the department of war to M. de la Tour-du-Pin-Paulin; and the Maréchal de Beauvau was made a member of the council: all these persons were deputies in the Assembly. This announcement was received with great applause. The president also read two letters; one from M. de Montmorin, and the other from the Duke of Dorset to M. de Montmorin, in which the duke assured him of the eager desire of his Britannic majesty, and of his ministers, to cultivate friendship and harmony between the two nations.†

In the evening of the 4th of August, Chapelier was President of the National Assembly. Thouret, an eminent lawyer of Rouen, had been proposed; but he was unpopular, the Palais Royal did not like him, and Chapelier was chosen in preference. Chapelier began by causing to be read the report of the committee on the troubles of the kingdom, and the mode of calming them. The Vicomte de Noailles then spoke: he said that the object of the plan contained in the report was to check the troubles in the provinces, to secure public liberty, to confirm proprietors in their true rights. But prompt measures were requisite to destroy all these evils, by ascending to their origin; he proposed that they should immediately declare, that taxes should be paid by all persons in the kingdom proportionally to their income; that all public burdens should in future be equally supported by all; that all feudal rights should be made redeemable by the communities in a money value; that all seignorial burdens (*corvées*), and other personal services should be abolished. The proposal was received in silence by the Assembly; but the members of the Breton club were all in excitement, and the duc d'Aiguillon, one of them, and the richest feudal proprietor in France, after the king, rose to speak. The Vicomte de Noailles was not a member of the Breton club, but he had learned that it had been agreed at the club that the duke should propose the redemption of seignorial rights, and he had anticipated him. The duke proposed, first, that all corporate bodies, towns, communities, and individuals, who had hitherto enjoyed particular privileges, and personal exemptions, should for the future bear their share of public charges, without any distinction; second, that as feudal and seignorial rights were a burden injurious to agriculture, but were still property, and that all property was inviolable, he proposed that these duties should for the future be redeemable at the pleasure of those who owed them, and at a reasonable rate, which was to be fixed. The Vicomte de Noailles, who was only a younger member of a family, and had no feudal rights, could afford to sweep away many of the seignorial rights without any equivalent; but to the duc d'Aiguillon and others, such a measure would be a great diminution of income. "The principal rental of many estates consisted in services and feudal tenures, by the baneful influence of which the industry of the people was almost exterminated."*

A Breton deputy, Le Guen de Kerengal, who wore the farmers' dress of his province, now rose: he had never been heard before. What he said was direct to the point: "You would have prevented the burning of the châteaux, if you had been more prompt in declaring that the terrible arms which they contain, and which for ages have tormented the people, were to be destroyed by the compulsory redemption which you were going to decree." These instruments were the title deeds of various kinds, which Le Guen called "the monuments of the barbarity of our fathers." "Let us be just," he said, "let them be brought here, the title deeds which insult not only modesty, but even humanity; let them be brought here, these title deeds which humiliate the human species, by requiring men to be yoked to a wagon like beasts of labour; let them be brought here, those title deeds which compel men to pass the night in beating the ponds, to prevent the frogs from disturbing the sleep of their voluptuous lords.† Which

* The comment of another extreme writer on this plan is worth reading, Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' i., 200

† The letter has been already referred to, p. 49.

* 'A. Young's Travels,' &c. "Many of the nobles had no other fortune;" Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç., i. 212.

† This beating the ponds to keep the frogs quiet was no exaggeration. It was called "*silence des grenouilles.*" Young ('Travels,' &c., i. 537,) says, "When the lady of the seigneur lies in, the people are obliged to *beat the waters* in marshy districts, to keep the frogs silent, that she may not be disturbed; this duty, a very oppressive one, is commuted

of us in this age of intelligence would not make an expiatory pile of these infamous parchments, and set fire to it in order to sacrifice them on the altar of the public good?" He told the Assembly that quiet would never be restored until they had promised the people to convert into money payments, redeemable at pleasure, all feudal rights of all kinds. He proposed the destruction of feudalism, but not without just compensation.

The Assembly was roused to enthusiasm: fear, generosity, rivalry, all these emotions combined, urged on the whole body to make a sacrifice for the public good. The nobility set the example; the clergy followed. As to tithes, the practice of the French clergy was to take less than their due; yet the tithes, with other demands of the clergy, added greatly to the heavy burdens with which the cultivator was oppressed. The deputies of the commons had also their offering to make; they offered to renounce the privileges of provinces and towns. Equality would thus be established, not only among individuals, but among all parts of the French territory. Some offered to give up their pensions; those who had nothing to surrender, made an offering of their services to their country. The steps of the bureau were covered with deputies depositing their renunciations. It was all done by acclamation; the reduction to form of all these important measures was reserved for the following day. The Archbishop of Paris proposed that a Te Deum should be celebrated in the king's chapel, in presence of the king and of all the members of the National Assembly. Louis XVI. was proclaimed the restorer of French liberty. "The sitting had been prolonged late into the night, when the president, after taking the opinion of the Assembly, suspended their patriotic declarations in order to read over the chief heads, and to obtain thereon the resolution of the Assembly, reserving the drawing up of them in form; which was done immediately and unanimously, with the necessary reservation of the oaths and the instructions of the different constituencies."* Many of the members had made their renunciation conditionally, for they had not power to act where their individual interests only were not concerned.

The following were the resolutions made in general terms on this memorable night:

The abolition of everything which marked the condition of a serf.

The power of redeeming all seignorial rights.

The abolition of all seignorial jurisdictions.

The suppression of all exclusive right to the chace, of pigeon-houses, and of warrens.†

Tithes were to be commuted into a money payment; and were also to be made redeemable.

The abolition of all privileges and pecuniary immunities.

Equality of taxation of all kinds.

The admissibility of all citizens to civil and military functions.

Declaration that justice shall be administered gratuitously; and the suppression of the sale of offices.

Surrender of the peculiar privileges of provinces and towns; and the declaration of the deputies, who have imperative instructions, that they will write to their constituents to obtain their consent.

Surrender of the privileges of several cities, as Paris, Lyon, Bordeaux, and others.

Suppression of first-fruits, annates, and the plurality of benefices.

Suppression of pensions obtained without good grounds.

The reform of companies (*jurandes.*)

A medal was to be struck to perpetuate the remembrance of this day.

It was two in the morning when the sitting closed. Mirabeau was not present at this sitting; nor was Sièyes. Other distinguished deputies also were absent.*

When the Assembly, in their sittings after the 4th of August, came to reduce to form their general resolutions, difficulties arose. The generous impulse was gone, and whatever other motives operated during the feverish night of the 4th: every man had recovered his usual tone of mind: some were for extending, some for restricting the concessions that had been made. Animated discussions and some resistance were the consequence, and the gratitude of the people in the meantime evaporated.

It was necessary to distinguish between the feudal rights which were to be abolished, and those which were to be redeemed. Personal services were abolished, and though many of them had been commuted for money-payments, the payments also were abolished. Among the payments which may be considered as attached to land, the Assembly abolished those which were payable on the transfer of land; and all perpetual rents were declared redeemable. All kinds of services, both those imposed on persons and those attached to land, were of the nature of property, as they had a value. Even the seignorial jurisdictions were of this class, for they had been objects of hereditary succession for ages; but the Assembly abolished all of them, with the condition, however, that they should be maintained till other courts were established.

The right of killing game on his lands was given to every man. A stand was made for the privileged pigeon-houses, from which the pigeons sallied in flocks and eat up the peasant's grain: but it was resolved that any man might have a pigeon-house, and that in

into a pecuniary fine." Young gives an enumeration of many of these seignorial claims; he says, "The very terms of these complaints are unknown in England, and consequently untranslateable," such as *chevauchées, quintaines, saut de poisson, baiser de mariée, corvée à misericorde, &c., &c.*

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii. 242.

† As to the game laws in France before the Revolution, see 'Young's Travels,' i. 535.

* See Dumont's account of the night of the 4th of August. He was present. ('Souvenirs sur Mirabeau,' p. 143, &c.)

harvest time pigeons might be killed, like common game, on the land where they should be found. All capitaineries were abolished, with the reservation that provision should be made for the amusements of the king, in such way as should be consistent with the freedom of property. The existence of capitaineries was inconsistent with the enjoyment of property. A capitainerie was "the paramountship of certain districts, granted by the king to princes of the blood, by which they were put in possession of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to them; and, what is very singular, on manors granted long before to individuals." * In speaking of capitaineries, the term "game" comprehended "whole droves of wild boars and herds of deer, not confined by any wall or pale, but wandering at pleasure over the whole country, to the destruction of the crops, and to the peopling of the galleys by the wretched peasants, who presumed to kill them, in order to save that food which was to support their helpless children." †

The question of tithes caused the greatest difficulty. On the 4th of August it had been declared that they should be made redeemable by the proprietors of the land. The Assembly now wished to abolish them, with a reservation that the State should provide for the maintenance of the clergy; and this was done, but at the same time it was declared that the clergy should collect the tithes until the State had made provision for their body. But the people paid no more tithes: they had given over paying anything before the 4th of August, and they did not resume payments after that day. When feudalism was declared to be abolished on the 4th, it had in fact been abolished before: the measures of the Assembly came after events, and did not precede them. Sièyes opposed the abolition of tithes: he said that to abolish tithes without compensation was to rob the clergy of their property to enrich the proprietors; for as every man had bought his property at an amount less by the value of the tithes, he would now receive a pure gift of one-tenth of the value. He concluded his speech by saying: "They would be free, and they know not how to be just." "My dear Abbé," said Mirabeau to Sièyes, in a conversation, "you have let the bull loose, and you complain that he butts with his horns." ‡ Mirabeau had spoken on the subject of tithes and given his view of their nature: he denied that tithes were property, for property, he said, implied the power of alienation, and the clergy had not that power. His argument merely proved that the tithes of the clergy (in France) were not private property. He defined tithes to be a contribution designed for that part of the public service which relates to the ministers of religion; the subsidy with which the nation salaried the functionaries of morality and education. The word "salary" caused violent murmurs among the clergy. "I hear," said Mirabeau, "that this word excites murmurs: it might be said that it offends the dignity of the clergy;" it was time to put away prejudices; there were only three ways, he said, of living in society, so far as he knew: a man must be a beggar, or a robber, or a salaried person; and by an ingenious sophism, founded altogether on false assumptions, he put owners of property among those who live on salaries or wages.*

On the 11th of August, the Assembly reduced to form all the articles of the resolutions which had been made on the evening of the 4th of August, with the changes and modifications which had been made by various members and confirmed. The articles, nineteen in number, are printed in the 'Histoire Parlementaire,' (vol. ii., p. 259.) On the 13th of August all the articles were presented to the king, who accepted the title of restorer of French liberty, and was present at the Te Deum, having at his right the president, and all the deputies in his suite.†

Thus, in one night, by a series of resolutions carried by acclamation, without any settled plan, without any deliberation, was the whole fabric of French society thrown down together with its load of abuses: there remained nothing but the king; the constitution was not yet made. But tranquillity was not restored: what the Assembly had done only showed the people that they could do what they pleased. "Whatever is done through fear, never accomplishes its end. Those whom you expect to disarm by concessions, increase in confidence and audacity." ‡ Châteaux were still burnt: violence did not cease. The country was filled with men exercising their newly-acquired rights of sporting "For a few days past," says Young, who, on the 30th of August, was near Aix, "I have been pestered with all the mob of the country shooting: one would think that every rusty gun in Provence is at work, killing all sorts of birds; the shot has fallen five or six times in my chaise and about my ears."—"The same effects have flowed from the declarations of right relative to tithes, taxes, feudal rights, &c. In the declarations, conditions and compensations are talked of; but an unruly multitude seize the benefit of the abolition, and laugh at the obligations or recompense." §

The finances were in a deplorable state. In August, 1788, when Necker became minister, he found only 400,000 francs in the treasury. Things were now worse, for the public income was diminished and the

* Young, 'Travels,' &c, i. 535.

† Ibid. Free warren, of which some instances still exist in England, resembles a capitainerie; though there is no evidence of its ever having been so oppressive a franchise as a capitainerie. Blackstone, 'Com.,' ii. 38.

‡ Dumont, 'Souvenirs,' &c., p. 117. The argument of Sièyes was good, at least so far as concerned the proprietors deriving benefit from the abolition of tithes. Thiers ('Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' i. c. 3) has given his answer to it. The enemies of Sièyes do not admit that he was a disinterested man. There is an anecdote about him in Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., vol. i, note 1, which may be more scandalous than true.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii. 257.

† Thiers.

‡ Dumont, 'Souvenirs,' &c., p. 149.

§ Young, 'Travels,' &c., i., 176.

expenses were increased; grain had been bought and sold under cost price; considerable sums had been given as alms, and public works had been undertaken, in order to find employment for those who had none. For this last purpose, it is said, 12,000 francs a-day had been expended, as some say. Seventeen thousand men, according to other authorities, were employed in the charitable workshop, (*atelier de charité*,) established at Montmartre, at twenty sous a-day. In this emergency Necker asked the Assembly to sanction a loan of 30,000,000, which, after some hesitation, they assented to, but they fixed the rate of interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The discussion on the Declaration of Rights had been interrupted on the 14th of July, and again on the 4th of August. It was now resumed; and after long deliberation, it was finally settled in the form in which it appeared.* Objections were justly made to the word Rights. Mirabeau said, "Do not use the word Rights, but say, In the interest of all, it has been declared, &c." However the word Rights was maintained, and this is the title of the Declaration which is prefixed to the constitution of 1791. The Declaration is not a composition that will bear a critical examination: it possesses the faults inseparable from all general enunciations of maxims or principles; and some faults peculiarly its own.†

The question about the Constitution was the next; and the English constitution was the model that presented itself to several, as Necker, Mounier, and Lally. The essential elements of this constitution were considered to be two chambers, and the royal assent to all legislative measures. But it has been well observed, that even if the partizans of the English constitution had clearly apprehended its character, they could not have ventured to say that the expression of the national will should not be supreme. In fact, the English constitution was not correctly apprehended by any foreigner at that time, certainly not by the members of the National Assembly. Its advantages do not consist in the formal separation of the legislative body into three limbs, and the executive power being in the crown: its value consists in having been the growth of many centuries and the result of long struggles, and that it has the capability of adapting itself to the social changes which time and new circumstances bring with them.

The question of two chambers had few to support it, except Mounier, Lally, and Necker. In fact, the idea of an upper chamber at a time when all aristocracy had been humbled, was not to be entertained; for an upper chamber, in a constitution where there is a king, can only have any worth by being independent, that is, hereditary. Sièyes was against two chambers, as well as against the royal sanction: he viewed society as a unit; the majority had only to will, and the king to execute. Mirabeau was opposed to two chambers, partly because he knew that it was impossible to have them, and partly because, though an aristocrat himself and proud of it, he hated the aristocracy. He however still maintained the necessity of the royal sanction; and in that he was consistent with himself. Barnave and the Lameth would not have anything that Mirabeau would, but they did not stick to their opinions so obstinately as Sièyes: they would grant to an upper chamber and to the king a suspensive veto, that is, the power of resisting the national will for a limited time.

These questions divided the Assembly, and the people out of the Assembly, many of whom did not understand the question, which however did not diminish their zeal as partizans. A man was for the veto or against it: that simple word comprehended the whole question. He who was for the veto was for arbitrary power: he who was not, was against arbitrary power. The disciples of Rousseau, whose text-book was the Social Contract, considered that the existence of the veto would be inconsistent with the sovereignty of the people. The most ignorant had no idea what the veto was: some thought it was a tax.*

The Palais-Royal was always boiling and fermenting. It was the place of meeting for those whose ardour could not be subjected to rule or reason: it was now busy about the veto. Camille Desmoulins figured there, and though he was not naturally cruel, what he said tended to encourage cruelty. St. Huruguc duly proclaimed that they ought all to go to Versailles, to call the king and the Assembly to account for deferring the happiness of the people. On the 30th of August, St. Hurugue, with about fifteen hundred men, set out for Versailles to pay a visit to the Assembly; but Lafayette, with the National Guards, turned them back. St. Hurugue continued his agitation till he was lodged in prison by the Commune of Paris.

The final discussion of the Assembly comprised the three questions of the permanence of the Assembly, the two chambers, and the veto. As to the permanence of the Assembly, there was hardly a difference

* These tiresome discussions are given in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' vol. ii., p. 299, &c.

† There is a critical examination of the Declaration of Rights by Bentham, in Part VIII. of his works, Edinburgh, 1839. The examination, it is true, is in a great degree a criticism of words and terms; but when people have solemn truths to announce, one expects them to be expressed with the utmost possible exactness. Michelet's denunciation of the Benthams, the Dumonts, of the "utilitaires," and the "empirics, who know no law save the written law," may have all the weight that it is entitled to. One remark is enough. The Declaration of Rights affirms many things to be true, which are false: it affirms many things, which need no affirmation; and some of the truths, which the world admits, which all men must admit, it expresses so ill, that it is not every man who can collect what is really meant from that which is said and that which is left unsaid. The same remark will often apply to M. Michelet's observations in his history.

* Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' ii., c. 3. Arthur Young, who saw all kinds of people while he was travelling in France during these months, speaks of the ignorance and stupidity of the great mass, as passing all that could be credited. Many did not take the least interest in political matters; and a great part of those who did, had not the slightest notion of what they were talking about.

of opinion: the long interruption of the National Assemblies had shown the necessity of preventing the same thing from happening again. When the question of the two chambers was finally put to the vote, the decision was for a single chamber. There were 499 votes for one chamber, and 89 for two chambers. A large number of the deputies retired before the vote was given, for many of them were intimidated.

The veto was the next question, which gave rise to a long and stormy discussion. There were three opinions: one for an absolute veto to be given to the king; another which would allow him no veto; and a third opinion, which was in favour of a suspensive veto, which would suspend the full effect of a legislative measure for one or more sessions of the legislature. The three best speeches on this occasion were by Mirabeau, who was in favour of the suspensive veto, D'Antraigues, and Sièyes.* Sièyes maintained that the veto, whether absolute or suspensive, was only a lettre-de-cachet directed against the general will.

The question of the veto was settled on the 11th of September. On the 8th it had been determined that the Legislative Assemblies should be permanent; on the 10th, that there should be a single chamber. On the 11th the suspensive veto was carried by a large majority; there were 673 votes for it, and 323 against it. The question of the veto, before it was decided, had divided the Assembly definitively into the left and right side (*côté gauche* and *côté droit*): all those who were in favour of the veto seated themselves on the right of the president, and all its opponents on the other side. This separation facilitated the taking of the votes by sitting and rising, which method had been preserved.†

None of the decrees of the Assembly had yet been presented to the king, and it was agreed to present to him the articles of the 4th of August for his acceptance. But here a question arose whether they should be presented for his sanction, which would imply the possibility of its not being given, or merely to be promulgated: in other words, the question was, whether the articles were legislative or constitutive; if legislative, the king's consent would be necessary; if constitutive, it would not be necessary. The king, therefore, according to this way of viewing the matter, had nothing to do with the making of the constitution. The articles were presented to the king on the 20th of September, and he was requested simply to promulgate them. One does not see why this ceremony might not have been dispensed with, if the reasoning of the Assembly was good for anything.

At the same time it was voted by acclamation that the crown should be hereditary, and the person of the king inviolable.

In reply to the articles, the king said that he approved of the general spirit of them: he gave only a conditional assent to some, and expressed a hope that they would be modified in the execution: as to a large part of them, he made the same objections that had been made during their discussion.* The Assembly instructed the president to go to the king again, to ask him to promulgate the articles; and the king consented.† The Assembly made the effect of the king's suspensive veto continue during two legislatures, which appeared as a kind of compensation to the king for his concessions.

The financial difficulties went on increasing. The loan of thirty millions had not succeeded; a second, which had been allowed on the 27th of August, upon the proposal of Necker, had also failed. The explanation was very simple: there was no confidence. Neither Frenchmen nor foreigners were disposed to lend: the emigrations and the withdrawal of foreigners from France had also diminished the amount of the precious metals in circulation. The king and queen sent their plate to the mint to be coined, and they persisted in this resolution notwithstanding that the president of the Assembly went to the king according to the instructions of the Assembly, and requested the king to keep it. Private persons also sent their plate to the mint, and "it was declared that a list of all those who should send plate to the mint, with the date of the days when sent, should be published every day in the Paris Journal, with an account of the number of ounces sent by each person."‡ Many persons made donations for the public service in this emergency: some gave large sums of money, others ear-rings and shoe-buckles; but the gifts of individuals can never meet the wants of a nation. The Assembly determined that there should be printed weekly a list of these "patriotic gifts, and three members of the Assembly should be appointed to take charge of them."

Necker came again with his complaints; the Assembly had been sitting for five months, and had done nothing for the finances. He stated (24th September) that the deficit was sixty-one millions of livres, and he asked for an extraordinary supply of eighty millions for the following year, to be raised by a contribution of one-fourth of each person's income. Mirabeau, who was known to be an enemy of Necker, advised the Assembly to adopt Necker's proposal without examination: he said, and he said justly, that as the Assembly had not time to examine the plan, the Assembly ought not to take the responsibility either of approving or disapproving. Mirabeau avowed his reasons: he said that he was not Necker's friend, but that if he were, he would not hesitate to compromise him rather than the Assembly; that he did not think that the kingdom would be in danger, even if Necker should be mistaken in his schemes; but that the public safety would be endangered if the Assembly should lose its credit and fail in such a financial operation. He was applauded, but the discussion still went on.

* All three printed in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii. 381, &c.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii. 349.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., 442, where the king's answer is given.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' iii., 13, where the king's second answer is given, September 21.

‡ Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., ii.; c. 14.

At last, by an effort of eloquence and genius, Mirabeau brought the Assembly to the point from which they were continually wandering, to the contemplation of the danger from which they shrank—a national bankruptcy. He showed them that they could not evade the question. He said, "If declarations less solemn were not sufficient to secure our respect for public credit, our horror for the infamous word 'bankruptcy,' I should venture to look into the secret motives, secret perhaps to ourselves, which cause us to hesitate so imprudently at the present moment to proclaim an act of great devotion, which will certainly be ineffectual if it is not speedy and truly spontaneous. I would say to those who perhaps familiarize themselves with the idea of not keeping public engagements, through the fear of making sacrifices, through alarm at taxation—what is bankruptcy but the most cruel, the most unjust, the most unequal, the most disastrous of taxes? My friends, hear a word, a single word: two centuries of depredation and robbery have dug the gulf in which the kingdom is ready to be swallowed up. This horrible gulf must be filled up. Well, here is a list of French proprietors: choose among the richest, in order that you may sacrifice the smallest number of citizens; but still choose, for ought not a small number to perish in order to save the mass of the people? Come—these two thousand notables possess enough to make up the deficit. Restore order to your finances, peace and prosperity to the kingdom, sacrifice these victims without pity, throw them into the gulf, and it will close. You shrink back with horror, inconsistent and pusillanimous as you are; and do not you see that to decree bankruptcy, or what is still more odious, to render it unavoidable without decreeing it, you disgrace yourselves by an act a thousand times more criminal, and criminal to no purpose?" for, he added, "the sacrifice which was first proposed will, at least, fill up the deficit." He ended by saying: "The other day, on the occasion of a ridiculous motion at the Palais-Royal, it was said to us, 'Catiline is at the gates of Rome, and yet you deliberate;' certainly there was neither Catiline, nor danger, nor Rome; but to-day the horrid bankruptcy is here, it threatens to devour you, your honour, your fortunes, and yet you deliberate!" The Assembly deliberated no longer: they were alarmed, if not convinced; and they declared that having heard the report of the committee, they adopted with confidence the plan of the minister of finance.* From this time Mirabeau was the great orator of the Assembly.

* Compare Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., ii., c. 14; and Dumont ('Souvenirs,' &c., p. 187) who admits that "this speech of Mirabeau was a sudden answer, which could not have been prepared, and that he owed everything to himself at a moment in which he showed himself superior to everything that had been written for him." Mirabeau was too indolent to examine any subject thoroughly; but Panchaud's remark that "he was the first man in the world for speaking about what he did not understand," is more witty than true. Panchaud worked for Mirabeau sometimes. Molé, the actor, who heard Mirabeau's speech, did him justice. He had greatly admired the orator's action and delivery; "Ah! Monsieur le Comte," he said, "how you have missed your vocation!" Mirabeau was not displeased with this singular compliment.

CHAPTER X.

THE FIFTH OF OCTOBER.

Paris had not been at rest since the 14th of July: and even the revolution of the 4th of August had not produced tranquillity. The new authorities of Paris tried to feed those who were starving, and to maintain order. But though bread was not abundant, journals and pamphlets abounded: the printers were a class whose employment was not diminished, but prodigiously increased. The assembly of one hundred and twenty electors tried to check this fecundity of the press, which added to the uneasiness caused by hunger the stimulus of political agitation. By a decision of the 2nd of August, its committee of police forbade the publication of any writing which did not bear the name of a printer and publisher, and of which a copy was not deposited at the *Chambre Syndicale*. The publisher or printer was also declared responsible for what the writing contained, with a reservation that the author might be proceeded against, if there was occasion. At the same time instructions were given to the post-office administration not to hawk about printed papers, which had not the *visa* and the approbation of the committee of police. Loustalot ('Révolutions de Paris,' No. IV.) protested against this order as oppressive and contrary to the first principles of justice; and in fact it gave rise to much suspicion.*

The only literature of the day was political. Several journals burst into existence on the opening of the States-General: there was 'Mirabeau's Courier de Provence,' the 'Courier de Versailles' of Gorsas, the 'Patriote Français' of Brissot, the 'Point du Jour' of Barrère, and others. Just before the 14th of July appeared the most popular of all the journals 'The Révolutions de Paris,' of which Loustalot was editor, but it was signed by the printer, Prudhomme: of some numbers of this journal, two hundred thousand copies were sold. Just before the 5th and 6th of October there was a fresh explosion of journals: 'L'Ami du Peuple' of Marat, and the 'Annales Patriotiques' of Carra and Mercier. Shortly after these dates appeared the most lively of all the journals, 'The Courier de

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., 246.

Brabant' of Camille Desmoulins; and one of the most violent, 'L'Orateur du Peuple' of Fréron.* The press was still generally royalist: at least, the notion of a constitution without a king was not one of the political doctrines that was inculcated. There were only two writers who preached a republic: Brissot and Camille Desmoulins. As for the deputies and the mass of the people, the thing had not been thought of. The spectacle of kingly power debased, reduced to impotence, suggested its uselessness, and also its mischief.

The Assembly felt that it was unequal to the circumstances: too divided in interest and in feeling, it carried within it the elements of disorder, which had been brought together by the compulsory union of the Estates. Volney, on the 18th of September, had moved that the Assembly should forthwith occupy itself with organizing future legislatures and determining the qualifications of the electors, and of those who should be elected: the Assembly should then declare a general election, and the present representatives would be replaced by others. The motion was received with applause, and tokens of almost unanimous assent; but nothing was done. Marat, in his journal, (No. X. 20th September,) approved of Volney's proposal, which he said would have had the effect of purging the Assembly of the deputies of the nobility and of the clergy.

During the months of August and September there were others besides questions political that agitated the people. The journeymen tailors, to the number of three thousand, had assembled in front of the Louvre, and they sent twenty deputies to the Hôtel de Ville, ten of whom were master tailors. They demanded that a day's wages should be raised to forty sous, which was granted. The servants out of place assembled like the journeymen tailors: they demanded that the Savoyards should be sent away; but this assemblage was at last dispersed by the patroles. The commune got rid of four thousand of the workmen at Montmartre, and sent them back to the provinces to which they belonged, with an allowance of twenty-four sous, and three sous a league for their travelling expences.

The famine was still grievous. Long ropes were placed at the bakers' doors, which those who wanted bread laid hold of, and were served in their turn. Sentinels were stationed to keep order. The bread was bad, but a proclamation of the Hôtel de Ville told the Parisians, that the grain which had come by sea had been damaged, and that nobody was to blame, if the bread did not taste well: it was necessary to eat it, as they had done. Another proclamation said, and said truly, "that confidence, liberty, and security were the only sources of public prosperity;" and accordingly all private persons, who had grain or flour, were requested to bring them to market. The next thing was a decision of the representative of the commune, by which bread was reduced to three sous a pound; but this arbitrary price did not improve the supply. On the 19th of August, about twelve days after the reduction of the price, Bailly declared that there was only enough flour in Paris for twenty-four hours' consumption. A search for grain was made in the religious houses, the colleges, and other communities; but it produced nothing. As might have been expected, some persons provided themselves with bread for several days, as a measure of precaution, and there was none at the bakers' shops for those who came last: thus the supply that was supposed to be sufficient for the day, turned out to be insufficient. An insurrection was hourly expected by Bailly, and all the richer class of citizens.*

There was no efficient general administration in Paris. Each of the sixty districts had its permanent committee, its committee of police, its military committee, its civil committee, its committee of subsistence; and every district understood and managed these matters in its own way. There were complaints of persons being arrested on suspicion, of decent women and young girls being seized as disorderly, of citizens being wounded by the bayonets of the patroles, of men being prevented from crying and selling the publications which had the *visa* of the city. One of the districts sent a patrole to carry off all the books of a bookseller in the Palais-Royal, which they would have done but for the resistance of the people. Lafayette attempted to keep order with the National Guard: but there was probably much petty interference, from which arose suspicion and jealousy between the people and the National Guard, who were looked upon as a new kind of aristocracy.

The progress of events since the opening of the States-General may be thus rapidly resumed.† By the union of the three orders, the nation had got full power, both legislative and constitutive. The 14th of July had put arms into the hands of the people. The 4th of August had destroyed the aristocracy: and the king had no real power. But he was still at Versailles, surrounded by his dependants and those who had influence over him; and nobody could foresee what arbitrary measures might be suddenly taken against the Assembly. The only security seemed to be to have the king in Paris; and thus, after having reduced his authority, to make sure of his person. The patriots then, or whatever other name may suit them, wished to bring the king to Paris: the court, it was said, wished to carry him to the strong frontier fortress of Metz, on the Moselle, where they might have done what they pleased in his name. D'Estaing, the well-known naval officer, who commanded the National Guard of Versailles, wished to be faithful to his new duties and also to the king. The imprudence of the parties who were plotting the king's removal, had made their plan known. D'Estaing heard of it in various quarters at Paris, and, among others, from Lafayette, and he wrote to the queen to tell her what he had heard, to intreat her not to sanction any such measure; and he asked for an

* Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' i., 252.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ii., 350, &c.

† Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' c. 4.



FETE AT THE OPERA.

audience: but the letter produced no effect.* The plan of Malouet, as he explained it himself, was to induce the king to remove the Assembly to Tours, and he said that the plan had the concurrence of more than three hundred deputies of the Tiers Etat.†

The French guard, who had in fact deserted the king, were irritated that others were employed at Versailles instead of themselves, and they resolved to go there to resume their duties. Lafayette succeeded in preventing them; and he wrote a confidential letter to the minister St. Priest, (September 19th,) in which he said, "You must consider this circumstance only as a new indication of evil designs, and not by any means as any danger in itself." St. Priest showed the letter to D'Estaing, who communicated it to the officers of the National Guard of Versailles and to the municipality of Versailles; and the municipality petitioned the king for a regiment of infantry, which should be under the orders of the commander of the National Guard of Versailles. The Assembly was informed by the minister of war that the king had taken measures to secure the Assembly, in consequence of rumours of evil-minded persons coming from Paris with arms. The regiment of Flanders was sent for, and it came to Versailles, to the great alarm of Paris: Bailly, the mayor, wrote to the minister of war to request that the regiment might be withdrawn. The letter was read to the Assembly, but nothing was done upon it. As the new regiment was not withdrawn, the next thing was to attempt to seduce the soldiers, as the royalist writers say, by sending women from Paris among them, and emissaries to distribute money.

On the 1st of October, the officers of the king's body guard gave an entertainment to the officers of the regiment of Flanders; to which some officers of the National Guard, and others at Versailles were invited. The king allowed the use of the theatre of the palace, where the dinner was served; and a large number of spectators were present. The queen told Madame Campan that she had been advised to be a spectator, but that in the present state of affairs she thought such a step would do more harm than good. She ordered Madame Campan to go, and to give her a faithful account of what took place. The tables were placed on the stage, and an officer of the body guard and of the regiment of Flanders were seated alternately. The orchestra played the air, "O Richard, O my King," and there were shouts of "Vive le roi!" In the midst of the conviviality, Madame Campan was surprised to see the king, the queen, and the dauphin enter: M. de Luxembourg had induced the queen to change her resolution. A short time before a number of soldiers had been admitted. The orchestra again played the air, "O Richard," &c., which was followed by clapping of hands, and other demonstrations of respect and affection for their majesties. The queen went round the tables with the dauphin in her arms. Wine was served in abundance, and helped to complete the exaltation. Some young members of the National Guard, who had been excited, turned their National cockades, the under part of which was white; and this gave rise to the report that some persons put white cockades in their hats.* When the king and queen went away, the officers conducted them back to their apartments.

The day after this entertainment a deputation of the National Guard of Paris was presented to the queen, to thank her for some colours which she had given them. The queen replied, "that she was delighted at having given colours to the National Guard of Versailles; and that she was highly pleased with the 1st of October." The king's reserved manners always prevented him from saying much: but the queen was neither reserved nor cautious; and it was considered that the opinion of the court party might be collected from what she said. The enemies of the revolution were encouraged, and became insolent. A chevalier of St. Louis, who was in the national dress, was refused admission into the palace. Ladies and young girls, surrounded by abbés, distributed white cockades about the palace. "Keep it," they said to those to whom they gave the white cockade, "it is the only good one, the only one that will triumph." In Paris a great number of black cockades were observed. It was not known whence they came, and what they meant; some thought that they were American, others that they were royalist, and worn by those who did not venture to wear the white cockade as at Versailles. It was said and believed at Paris that the tri-colour cockade had been trampled under foot in the orgies, as they were called, at Versailles. The orgies were repeated on the Saturday following the Thursday, that is, there was another great entertainment at Versailles: the royal family was not present, but many nobles were, and the guests were very numerous. The Commune of Paris issued an order that none but tri-colour cockades should be worn in Paris; those who wore anything else were insulted and threatened. "We said some days ago," observes Loustalot, ('Révolutions de Paris,' No. xiii. p. 6,) "that there must be a second revolutionary fit, everything is preparing for it; the soul of the aristocratic party has not quitted the court."

A movement on some side was unavoidable. The question was, who should have the king, whether the court party should carry him off to Metz, or elsewhere; or whether the people should have him in Paris. The women of Paris decided the question. The Orleans party was supposed to be also on the move. It was said, and it is believed by some writers, that the Duke of Orleans expected to be made lieutenant-general of the kingdom, if the king should retire to a distance

* The letter is printed in Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' vol. i., note 8.

† Bertrand de Moleville, ('Annals,' &c., ii., c. 15,) who says that Malouet gave him this information.

* Madame Campan, 'Mémoires,' &c., ii., 71. Her account of the entertainment is manifestly somewhat subdued. Compare Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c, ii., c. 15, and 'Hist. Parlem.' iii., 52. The entertainment became at last very noisy; and there were undeniable symptoms of reaction against the popular cause.

from Versailles; that he even aspired to the throne. But he had not vigour of character enough, whatever might be his wishes, even to conceive so bold a design, whatever those might have conceived who used his name, and affected to act in his interest. If the duke had any designs, it is reasonable to suppose some sufficient evidence of them would have appeared before this time; but, instead of evidence, we find only vague assertions.* It is the conclusion of a writer, whose good sense is not led astray by idle rumours, that on this occasion, as during the whole revolution, the Duke of Orleans only followed in the train of a popular movement; perhaps he distributed a little money, gave occasion to rumours, and had some vague hopes.† Though exceedingly rich, he was avaricious, and probably would have not given any large sum on so vague a speculation as a crown, which now only put the life of him who wore it in danger.

When everything is ready for an insurrection, a small matter is enough to move a large multitude. On the fifth of October,‡ at daybreak, a young woman went into a guard-room at Paris, and took a drum which she beat about the streets. This soon brought together a great number of women belonging to the market, for it was Monday, and it was not a day of business. Their cry was—there was no bread in the baker's shops, and they would go to Versailles to fetch the baker and his wife. The market-women were not a class who suffered so much as those who depended on the sale of articles of luxury, or on the mere labour of their hands, as sempstresses and others of the like class: but they had a better opportunity than any of knowing what many others of their own sex suffered. The king was not unpopular with these market-women: they considered him a good-natured gentleman; but they thought things would go better if he were at Paris. The crowd of women increased as it went along to the Place de Grève, crying out 'bread:' the faubourg St. Antoine of course did not lag behind. The women went towards the Hôtel de Ville with the intention of speaking to the representatives of the commune: but there was nobody there except the commissioners who had been on duty all the night, and a few of the National Guard. The Place de Grève was already crowded with people who were going to hang a baker who had been arrested on suspicion of selling short weight, and convicted, it is said: he was saved by the commander of the National Guard, who at the same time sent an order to the districts to forward detachments to the Hôtel de Ville. A body of cavalry which was stationed at the Place de Grève made no resistance

* Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., ii., c. 16.

† Thiers, 'Hist de la Rév. Franç.,' i., c. 4.

‡ 'Hist. Parlem.' ii., 70, extract from the *Moniteur*, which is the chief authority. Another authority for the events of this day is 'L'Histoire de deux Amis de la Liberté,' vol. iii. The lively narrative of Camille Desmoulins, which is printed in the Hist. Parlem. ii. 108, contains some particulars of the female army and its movements, which are not found elsewhere.



MARKET-WOMEN.



DAMES DE LA HALLE PROCEEDING TO VERSAILLES.

to the four or five hundred women who charged them; and the National Guard did no more than present their bayonets, for which they received a shower of stones, and gave way before assailants whom men cannot resist. The women crowded into the Hôtel de Ville, ran through all the rooms, calling for bread and for arms. Some of them were better dressed than women of the lower class, but the language and the miserable appearance of the greater number showed their poverty and mean condition. They would have burnt all the papers and the building itself, if a tall man in black, of a pale and solemn countenance, had not checked them. At first his interference was not well received: they took him for one of the traitors of the Hôtel de Ville, and talked of killing him. He said he was not a traitor: he was an usher (*huissier*), one of the conquerors of the Bastille; his name Stanislas Maillard. It was he who crossed the plank at the Bastille and received the paper of capitulation. About eleven o'clock some men with axes, hammers, and levers, attacked the door which opened under the arcade St. Jean, broke it open and seized seven or eight hundred muskets and two pieces of cannon. These plunderers carried off one of three bags of silver, which they found in the room of weights and measures.

Neither Bailly nor Lafayette was at the Hôtel de Ville. Maillard consulted the aide-major-général, M. d'Ermigni, and asked for an order to accompany the women to Versailles, as the best means of allaying the tumult. D'Ermigni said that he could not give any such order, but that Maillard might do what he liked, if he did not disturb the public tranquillity. There was nothing to be done but for Maillard to take the command of the women; and, by leading them away, to give the authorities time to collect their force and prevent all further disorder. He came down to the door of the Hôtel de Ville, beating a drum, and he got a hearing. The women were pleased with him, made him their leader, and told him to march to Versailles. They were in a state of furious excitement, stopping carts, loading them with guns, some holding cannon-matches in their hands, others mounted on the cannon that they had taken, or on the horses which were dragging them. The Champs-Elysées were made the place of rendezvous; and on their road there, the crowd was swelled by all the women who came in their way. Most of the women wore ribbons of all colours, and had long sticks, forks, guns, and even pistols; but no ammunition. Maillard put himself at the head of his regiment, which consisted of seven or eight thousand women, a few hundred armed men, and a rear guard, consisting of a company of volunteers of the Bastille. They wished Maillard to lead them to the arsenal; but he persuaded them that there were neither arms nor ammunition there. He also induced the women to leave their arms behind, as it would be more consistent for petitioners to the Assembly to present themselves in a peaceful attitude. At last Maillard and his women got on the way, pressing into their ranks all whom they met. Several well-dressed ladies were obliged to get out of their carriages and join the army of Amazons, to walk to Versailles through the mud, under a heavy rain.

For some hours the bells had been ringing and the drums beating: the citizens were hurrying to the assemblies; the National Guards to their battalions. Detachments from all the districts arrived at the Place de Grève, and the crowd by degrees made room for them. A great part of the representatives had assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, all the committees were in full activity, and Lafayette was dictating dispatches to the National Assembly and the king about the disturbances of the morning. A deputation from six companies of the grenadiers (who were formerly the French guards) came to Lafayette, and one of them addressed him, "General, we do not think that you are a traitor, but we believe that the government is deceiving you. It is time that an end should be put to this. We cannot turn our bayonets against women who are calling out for bread. The committee of subsistence are guilty of mal-administration or they are incapable. The people are wretched: the source of the evil is at Versailles. We must go and bring the king to Paris. We must exterminate the regiment of Flanders and the body-guard, who have dared to trample under their feet the national cockade. If the king is too weak to wear the crown, let him abdicate. We will crown his son, we will name a council of regency, and everything will go better." "What!" said Lafayette, "will you make war on the king, and compel him to abandon you?" "General, we should be much grieved at that, for we love him much. He will not leave us; and if he did, we have the dauphin." In vain did Lafayette remonstrate with the deputation: he went down to the Place de Grève to harangue the grenadiers, but the only answer that he got was; "To Versailles." All the National Guard was under arms: they were all of the same mind; they must go to Versailles. Lafayette mounted his white horse, and waited while the commune was deliberating. It was time to do something, for the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau were there, the men with pikes, with axes, and all kinds of murderous weapons, the army of terror. Threats were heard; Lafayette would have gone back into the Hôtel de Ville, but his own grenadiers stopped him. An explosion was at hand, when Lafayette received a letter from the representatives of the commune, which ordered him to march with the army to Versailles, together with four commissioners of the commune. The general gave the order to march, and a shout of joy rent the air. It was about four in the afternoon.

Maillard and his hungry women were on the way to Versailles. The general could scarce keep them from plunder at Chaillot and Auteuil. At Sèvres they got a few loaves,' but it was nothing among so many. Being in sight of Versailles, this prudent commander recommended his host to drop all hostile demonstrations, and to put on a peaceable appearance. The army obeyed: they let the cannon remain in the rear, and marched along, singing "Vive Henry IV.!" and shouting "Vive le Roi!" It was about three in the after-

noon when Maillard, at the head of his troops, appeared in the avenue of Paris, advancing on Versailles. Presently they were at the door of the National Assembly.

The king had gone out in the morning to shoot, at Meudon; and the queen was in the garden of the Petit Trianon, which she saw that day for the last time. The Trianon, a building erected in the park of Versailles, by Louis XV., was a favourite retreat of Marie Antoinette, who had laid out the gardens. She was sitting in her grotto, when she received a note from M. St. Priest, in which he requested her to return to the palace. In the meantime, the king's body-guard mounted their horses and formed on the Place d'armes, with the iron railing behind them; the regiment of Flanders was below them, on the right, near the avenue of Sceaux; the dragoons still lower; and the Swiss were behind the railing. The municipality of Versailles had given D'Estaing the singular order "to accompany the king in his retreat, and to do all he could to bring him back to Versailles as soon as possible." The king had leisurely returned to the palace before Maillard's army arrived.

When Maillard came to the door of the Assembly, all the women wanted to go in, and it was with great difficulty that they were persuaded to be content with fifteen of their number being admitted. Maillard appeared at the bar with the fifteen women, and a soldier, who had belonged to the French guard: he told the Assembly that Paris was starving, and that they had come to ask for bread, and the punishment of the body-guards, who had insulted the national cockade.* The women cried out for "bread," and insulted some of the deputies. Mounier, the president, hoping to get rid of his visitors, said that the Assembly and the king had done everything to secure a supply of bread, that they would still do their best, and the deputation might return in peace. The deputation would not return. A deputy proposed that some of their body should go and represent to the king the wretched situation of Paris, which was agreed upon, and the women threw themselves on the necks of the deputies, embraced the president, and said they would go to the king with him. Maillard staid behind to keep the women quiet who were in the court of the Assembly. Mounier set out for the palace with a crowd of women about him, all ankle deep in mud, and in the midst of a heavy rain. The rest of the Paris women were in knots all about, mingled with men, most of whom were in rags, with ferocious looks, and uttering horrid yells: these men had some guns among them, old pikes, and sticks armed with iron or sword-blades and knives. A party of these men formed an escort for the deputation, which the body-guard took to be a riotous assemblage, and intending to disperse it, charged right through them; and two women were hurt. This unfortunate affair increased the indignation of the Parisians against the body-guard. The deputation rallied in the mud, and made their way to the palace through the lines of troops, who received them respectfully. It had been agreed that only six women should enter the palace with Mounier, but twelve were admitted, and were presented by Mounier to the king. The president spoke of the misery of Paris, and the king listened with kindness. Louison Chabry, a young girl of seventeen, who worked at a carver's, was commissioned to speak for the women, but she lost her presence of mind, and fainted. The king was much affected, and when she was going away, and would have kissed his hand, he embraced her affectionately. The women left the palace crying "Vive le Roi!"

The crowd outside would not believe their report; they said they had been bribed, and nothing would convince them to the contrary. The women took off their garters, and would have strangled one or more of their deputation, if they had not been prevented. Their fury was pacified by the deputation going back to the king, and obtaining a written order, signed by him, to the effect, that wheat should be brought from Senlis and Lagni, and that every obstacle to the provisioning of Paris should be removed.

A quarrel between the body-guard and the people from Paris was imminent. The accounts are confused and contradictory, as all accounts of tumults are. It is said that several shots were fired by the body-guard, which struck two or three women. The crowd returned the fire, and brought two of the guard from their horses. Three cannons, loaded with canister, and under the direction of men of the faubourg St. Antoine and some French guards, were pointed against the body-guard; the match was several times applied unsuccessfully, owing to the wet, and these words were said to have been heard, "Stop, it is not time yet." It was, apparently, only the rain and a want of concert that prevented a general massacre.

St. Priest, on hearing of the movement at Paris, had proposed that the queen should go to Rambouillet, and that the king should stay and resist, if necessary. The queen was willing to go, but she would not leave the king; and the king was not a man who easily took any resolution, except to do nothing. He was also afraid that if he left Versailles, the Duke of Orleans would be proclaimed king; a fear that was certainly without any foundation. About seven in the evening, St. Priest heard that Lafayette and the National Guard of Paris were coming, and he urged the king to leave Versailles at the head of his troops, but he would come to no decision.

D'Estaing, the commander of the National Guard of Versailles, was in the palace, expecting that he should have to set out with the king. Lecointre, a linendraper of Versailles, and the lieutenant-colonel of the Versailles National Guard, took the command; he went to the municipality for orders, and to get some food for the hungry visitors from Paris. He could only get two tons of rice, which he was told he might have raw

* Or it was the soldier who called for the punishment of the body-guard: it matters not which. The story is confused and the authorities do not agree. See 'Hist. Parlem.,' iii., 105.

or boiled. When Lecointre's aide-de-camp went for the rice, the municipality were gone, and had left behind them a note, to say, that "M. Lecointre might do what he thought best to secure tranquillity." The Parisians had promised Lecointre not to move from the avenue of Paris, if they were supplied with food; but as Lecointre could not supply their wants fully, they considered the agreement broken, and spread themselves all through Versailles.

Lecointre addressed himself to the regiment of Flanders, and asked if they would fire on the citizens. The officers declared that they never wished to do the citizens any harm, and the soldiers swore that they would not. But there was other influence at work: women from Paris had made their way among them, the most conspicuous of whom was Théroigne de Méricourt, the amazon of Liège, in a red riding-dress, with a sword by her side. She threw herself among the soldiers, and helped to turn their heads. As a sign of fraternizing, the regiment gave some cartouches to the National Guards of Versailles.*

D'Estaing, the commander of the National Guards of Versailles, appeared at last. A despatch had come from Lafayette, sent before he was compelled to leave Paris, in which he expressed his hope that tranquillity would be restored at Paris; this had somewhat relieved the court, and it was supposed that Versailles would become quiet if the troops retired. D'Estaing gave the order, but the greater part declared that they would not stir unless the body-guard moved off first. The order was given to the guard, and they began to move. It was about eight in the evening, and very dark. The guards had their sabres in their hands, which they used to clear the road; those in the rear, who were hard pressed, discharged several pistol-shots, which struck three of the National Guards of Versailles, and some of this body replied by a discharge of musketry.

The National Guards called out for ammunition, and a lieutenant threatened to blow out the brains of the commander of the artillery if he did not deliver them powder. The commander delivered to the National Guards a barrel of powder and balls, with which they loaded their cannon, and pointed them so as to take in flank the troops who covered the palace, and the body-guard, who were now returning to the place. One of the body-guard had been seized by some of the Paris men and women, and they were going to cut off his head, because, as they said, he was one of those who had fired on the people. The man was saved by the contrivance of an officer; and the people were satisfied with eating the soldier's horse, which had been shot under him. They were so hungry, that they could not wait to roast the flesh; they devoured it half raw. It was night, and raining hard. The women and the men from Paris ran to take shelter in the corps-de-garde, which they soon filled. The greater part took refuge in the hall of the National Assembly, the galleries of which presented the singular spectacle of a forest of pikes and sticks armed with iron. The men were tolerably quiet, the women were noisy; and Maillard alone could keep them in order, by stating their grievances, and their complaints of the slow proceedings of the Assembly. A message came from the king, in which he expressed his sorrow for the sufferings of Paris, and his determination to do all that he could to relieve "the good city." The Assembly immediately resolved to secure the police of the markets, facilitate the transport of grain, and remove all the obstacles to its free circulation in the kingdom. Maillard and some of his female company were furnished with copies of the king's answer, and the decree of the Assembly, and were sent back to Paris in some of the court carriages, which the king ordered to be prepared for them.*

Mounier, the president, had been at the palace several hours: he had other business than to introduce the women of Paris. The Assembly wished the king to give his unconditional consent to the articles of the constitution already agreed on, and to the declaration of rights; for hitherto he had refused. It was before he gave his assent, so far as can be collected from the confused narratives, and about ten in the evening, that an attempt was made by the royal family to leave the palace. Five of the queen's carriages, with six to eight horses in each, were brought to one of the iron gates, escorted by several men in plain dresses. The Swiss was going to open the gate, but the sentinel called the officer who was in command at this post. The officer was told that the queen was in one of the carriages, and that she was going to the Trianon. He said it would be dangerous for her majesty to quit the palace; he would not let the carriages pass, and all of them went back.† About eleven Mounier returned to the Assembly, but it was no longer in session. A few deputies were there, and a great crowd of people crying out for the reduction of the price of bread and meat. Mounier found a big woman, of very decent behaviour, in his chair, with the president's bell in her hand; and the lady with some reluctance gave him his seat. He ordered the deputies to be summoned by the beating of a drum, and in the mean time he read to the crowd of men and women the king's acceptation of the articles of the constitution, which was in these few words: "I accept purely and simply the articles of the constitution and the declaration of the rights of men which the Assembly has presented to me. Louis."

"But Mr. President," said some of the women, "will this do any good? will it make bread cheaper?" "We are hungry," cried others, "we have had nothing to eat all day." The president sent for bread, wine, and sausages, and the women began to satisfy their hunger, while they kept talking with the president about the veto. He did the best that he could to keep some order, but the only man who could have been

* M. Michelet has taken this lady under his particular protection. The royalist writers make her a very dæmon.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' iii., 90.

† Ibid., iii. 91, all very confused.

heard was not there—Mirabeau: he was in bed that evening before eleven o'clock. Dumont got him out of bed, and they went to the Assembly. As soon as he was there, he said with a thundering voice, "I should be glad to know how people can be bold enough to trouble our sittings. Mr. President, make the Assembly respected." Mirabeau had always tact enough to understand his audience: he ran no risk in saying this. "Bravo!" cried the women, for Mirabeau was a favourite. There was a lull of the storm, and to pass the time the Assembly resumed their discussion on the criminal laws. "I was in a gallery," says Dumont, "in which there was a fish woman who acted with authority and directed the movements of about a hundred women, particularly young ones, who looked to her for orders when to call out and when to be silent. The fish woman addressed several deputies familiarly, and asked 'Who is it that is speaking down there? Stop that babbler: that is not the question; the question is about bread. Pray make our dear Mirabeau speak: we wish to hear him.'" But Mirabeau would not say a word.*

About midnight the approach of Lafayette and the National Guard of Paris was announced. He had fifteen thousand of the National Guard with him, and several thousand men besides. Their march had been slow in the mud and through a cold October rain. Before entering Versailles the general made his men swear fidelity to the law and the king; and he then went to the Assembly. "What is the object of this visit?" said the president, "and what does your army want?" The general said that whatever their object was, they had promised to obey the king and the National Assembly: he suggested that it might contribute to pacify the people, if the Flanders regiment were sent away, and if the king said some words in favour of the patriotic cockade. He then went to the palace; and he went with two of the commissioners only, to the great surprise of the guards and of everybody else. His countenance was collected, says Madame de Staël, who saw him cross the room in which she was, to go to the king. He informed the king of the state of affairs,† and he received orders to assign to the National Guard of Paris the external posts of the château: the body-guard, and the Swiss, were to keep their posts in the interior. Various detachments of the army of Paris occupied the posts which were assigned to them: others were received by the inhabitants of Versailles; the rest spent the night in the churches and other public buildings. Some of the body-guard and other troops were sent off to Rambouillet. At three in the morning the Assembly separated. Lafayette, who believed that all was safe, went to the Hôtel de Noailles, and slept soundly after twenty hours of anxiety.

But all were not asleep. There followed the army of Lafayette from Paris many furious fanatics who on the road had talked of killing the queen. There were thieves among them too, who looked on the palace as a rich booty. At five in the morning of the 6th of October, a crowd, armed with pikes and other weapons, were creeping about the iron railings, where they saw the king's body-guard. The people of Versailles, who were not connected with the court, hated it more than the Parisians, simply because they were nearer. This mingled mob of Paris and Versailles, got over or forced the iron railing about six in the morning, and made their way into the courts: one of them was killed, either by a fall, as the royalists say, or by a shot from the body-guard. Some turned to the left towards the queen's apartments, others to the right towards the stairs of the chapel, which were nearer the king's apartments. A man from Paris, who had turned to the left, was met by one of the body-guard who wounded him: the guard was killed. On the right two men seized a guard, who had come down a few steps to meet them, and attempted to drag him away by the belt. The man was saved by his comrades, but two of them were killed by the mob. The rest of the guards fled by the great gallery to the Œil-de-bœuf, which was between the apartments of the king and queen; and there they found others of their comrades.

The chief object of the plunderers was to get to the queen's apartments. She had not gone to bed till two o'clock, weary and exhausted, and had told her two women, one of whom was Madame Campan's sister, to go to sleep; but they had not obeyed her, and to this circumstance she probably owed her life. Early in the morning they heard horrible cries and some discharges of musketry. Madame Campan opened the door of the antechamber, which looked into the great hall of the guards, and there she saw one of the guards, holding his gun across the door, attacked by a number of men and covered with wounds. He cried out, "Save the queen: they are coming to assassinate her." She closed and bolted the door, and hurried to the queen's chamber with the alarm. The queen sprang out of bed; her women threw a petticoat over her, and conducted her to the king's apartments, but the king was not there: he had taken another way to reach the queen's apartments, where he found the body-guard who had taken refuge there. It is not true, says Madame Campan, that the assassins made their way to the queen's chamber. The king told the guards to go to the Œil-de-bœuf. In the mean time Madame Tourzel, the governess of the children, had taken them to the king; and the queen soon joined them. The mob was now thundering against the door of the Œil-de-bœuf, against which the body-guards had piled up benches and other furniture. In the midst of the tumult they heard a voice say "Open!" and as they did not open, the word was repeated. It was a friendly voice; it came from one of the French Guards, from Hoche, then a serjeant-major: the guards came, to save their old comrades. The door was opened, and the two bodies of soldiers embraced. At this moment

* Dumont, 'Souvenirs,' &c., p. 181.

† The accounts of Lafayette's behaviour are not consistent with one another.

the king, thinking that the door of the Œil-de-bœuf was forced, courageously opened his own, and said "Do no harm to my guards." But the danger was over; and the palace was soon cleared of the plunderers and assassins.*

In the court a man, with a long beard and an axe in his hands, was busy cutting off the heads of the two guards who had been killed on the staircase. According to some accounts, he was a half-crazy fellow, who used to serve as a model to the Academy of Painting, and had dressed himself up on the occasion in the costume of an ancient slave.†

Lafayette had not long been asleep when he was roused by the noise. He hurried to the palace, where he came just in time to save one of the body-guards whom the rabble had seized and were going to kill. A fellow with a gun levelled it at Lafayette, who ordered him to be arrested; and the crowd obeyed the command by dragging the man towards the general. Lafayette entered the palace, where he was received with grateful thanks. Madame Adelaide, the king's aunt, said, "General, you have saved us."

The tumult still raged outside: the cry was that the king must go to Paris. The king showed himself at a balcony, and was received with "Vive le Roi!" The queen was standing near a window, and there were loud menaces against her. They wished to see her also on the balcony, and she appeared there with her children. The crowd was full of furious men, some of whom had fire-arms, and the danger was great. Whether she sent her children away, as the mob told her, and remained there alone for a moment, seems doubtful. Lafayette risked his popularity on this occasion: he stood by the side of the queen, took her hand, and respectfully kissed it. The people were moved by the sight of a mother and her children: some admired her beauty, others her affection for the dauphin and his sister; there were cries of "Vive la Reine!" "Vive Lafayette!" The king asked Lafayette if he could not do something for his guards: Lafayette led one of them to the balcony, and told him to take the oath, and display the national cockade in his hat. Fresh applause followed: there was an appearance of reconciliation between the king and the people.

The king had requested the Assembly to come to the palace; but Mirabeau said that the liberty of the Assembly would be compromised if they deliberated in the royal palace, and that a deputation would be sufficient. It is difficult to conjecture what his real reason was for opposing the king's request, except a wish to earn a little popularity, which he well knew how to do, even under the cover of independent language. A deputation of about forty members went to the palace. As soon as the Assembly was informed that the king had consented to go to Paris, it was determined, on the motion of Mirabeau, that the Assembly was inseparable from the king, and a hundred deputies were appointed to accompany him to Paris.

The king and the royal family left Versailles about one in the afternoon of the 6th of October. It was with extreme reluctance that Louis quitted the residence of Louis XIV., the seat of the French monarchy, which he never saw again.

Lafayette had already sent off some of the people, with a detachment of the Parisian army to look after them. The two heads mounted on pikes were not carried before the king's carriage, as it has been said: the fact is improbable, and it is not sufficiently attested. It was, however, a motley procession of men and women, soldiers and National Guards, before and behind the king's carriage, some on foot, some on horseback, some in vehicles, in carts, and on the carriages of cannon. The women were delighted at having "the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's boy:" they said they should never want bread now. Waggons of corn and flour formed part of the procession, escorted by grenadiers, and surrounded by women, and the porters of the markets, some with pikes, others with branches of poplar, the leaves of which were already turned yellow. Lafayette rode by the side of the royal carriage. In the midst of a tumult of cries, songs, and occasional discharge of fire-arms, the king and his family slowly entered Paris.*

* Madame Campan, 'Mémoires,' &c., ii., 76. Compare other accounts, Weber, &c. There is great confusion in all of them.

† Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç,' i., 310, and his note. The two heads, it appears, were carried to Paris on pikes; but they did not form part of the king's procession there, as some authorities state, Rivarol, 'Mémoires,' p. 322, and others.

* It was raining torrents, says Michelet. 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç,' i. 316. So says the 'Hist. Parlementaire,' iii., 118. A discrepancy in the description of the day is a small matter, but it will show how much dependence can be placed on accounts of tumultuous proceedings. It was "a day of surpassing beauty, the air scarcely moving the leaves, and the sun was bright enough to leave no gloom on the face of the country; no external object corresponded to our sorrow," says Madame de Staël, who went on that day from Versailles to Paris with her father and mother by a different route from that of the king. But Madame de Staël's memory deceived her: it was a very wet day. Bertrand de Moleville "beheld this ominous procession," which he has described, 'Annals,' &c., ii., c. 17; but his account, as usual, is in the exaggerated royalist style. Among other narratives of the events from the 1st to the 6th of October may be consulted the royalist, Joseph Weber, 'Mémoires concernant Marie Antoinette,' &c., Londres, 1806, vol. ii., chap. 4. He says that the entertainment at the opera took place on the 23rd of September, which is a mistake. Weber's narrative is not always correct, though he was at Versailles all the time. In some important facts he is contradicted by Madame Campan. He was an eye-witness of the procession to Paris through the rain and the mud. There is not a single account of the 5th and 6th of October that can be implicitly followed. See a letter of October 18, 1789, from Mr. Trail to Romilly, in 'Romilly's Memoirs.' Weber made some use of the lively Mémoires of Rivarol, sometimes quoting them, and sometimes without quoting, even when he is nearly copying Rivarol's words. The whole literature of the French Revolution requires a searching criticism.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ASSEMBLY AT PARIS.

It was about five in the evening of the 6th of October when the procession reached the barrier of La Conférence, where Bailly met the king with the keys of the city, and addressed to him a short complimentary speech which he concluded with requesting the king to make Paris his residence. Bailly in his harangue called it a glorious day. The procession at length reached the Hôtel de Ville by torch-light, and the king and his family took their seats in the great hall amidst loud acclamations. The president of the commune addressed the king in loyal and respectful terms. The king told Bailly to repeat what he had already said: "he should always have pleasure and confidence in being among the people of his good city of Paris." In repeating the king's words Bailly forgot the expression "confidence," upon which the queen immediately in an audible voice reminded him of it, and the king told him to add the word "confidence." "Gentlemen," said Bailly, "that was the king's expression: you hear it; and it is more gratifying to you than if I had uttered it myself." This address was followed by fresh acclamations; and when the ceremony was over, the king and his family went to lodge at the Tuileries, which was ill-prepared for their reception: it had not been the residence of royalty for a hundred years. Monsieur, the king's brother, and Madame, went to the palace of the Luxembourg. The guard of the Tuileries was entrusted to the militia of Paris; and thus Lafayette was made responsible for the person of the king, the great object of dispute between the nobility and the popular party. The National Assembly did not immediately remove their sittings to Paris. They came there on the 19th of October, and in the mean time "nothing had been decided as to the place where the sittings should be held: the Assembly had only declared that it would follow the king wherever he should think proper to fix his residence. By persisting in remaining at Versailles, the Assembly gave the king, as far as it was in his power, the liberty of returning there. This circumstance partly explains the importunity of the representatives of the Commune of Paris in obtaining a positive answer from the court. In order to have the king, it was necessary to have the National Assembly, and reciprocally; and to secure the revolution, it was necessary to place both under the protection of the numerous population of the capital."* The sagacity of Dumouriez had foreseen the danger of fixing the sittings of the States-General at Versailles before it was determined where they should meet: he had suggested to Montmorin and La Luzerne, Bourges or Tours as central positions, where the consequences that he apprehended from Versailles and its proximity to Paris would be avoided. Neither the king nor his ministers would listen to the suggestions of Dumouriez; but events fully justified his foresight.*

The progress of events since the opening of the States-General had been rapid, and the history of this short period is worthy of all attention: we cannot too often recur to its characteristic epochs, if we would fully understand its true character. That the revolution was accelerated by the imprudent measures of the court party, is obvious. The 23rd of June, the day of the royal sitting, had destroyed all the moral influence of royalty: from that day it ceased to be respected. The insurrection of the 14th of July had shown that the government was powerless; and the resolutions of the 4th of August were the natural consequence. The edifice of the antient monarchy being destroyed, the Assembly had now to enter on the difficult task of construction, and to form a constitution adapted to the actual wants and demands of society. The National Assembly after having been destructive, became constituent, and from this time it is generally designated by the name of the Constituent Assembly (*Assemblée Constituante*). Those who undervalue its labours, have formed but an imperfect conception of the difficulties against which it had to contend, and of that which it actually accomplished. The court had still a party in the Assembly, consisting chiefly of the privileged classes, or of those among them who had resisted the union of the three orders; and though this party had occasionally acted with the mass of the Assembly or been carried along with it, as on the night of the 4th of August, its interests were opposed to those of the popular party. Accordingly the nobility and the clergy, the *côté droit* of the Assembly, were generally in opposition, and resisted reforms. Two men, not the first in rank or birth, but conspicuous for their peculiar talent, led the nobility and the clergy: Cazalès was the champion of the nobility; Maury of the clergy. Maury made long speeches, which were clever and sophistical, but never profound: his object was only the success of a party, and he did not speak as a man does who has a strong conviction. Cazalès had a quick invention, great animation, and more sincerity than Maury. He was an able advocate for his party. His understanding, which was clear and exact, enabled him to seize on the strong points of an argument, and he never weakened his case by bad reasons.

Between the privileged classes who were opposed to the revolution and the popular party who wished its complete accomplishment, the moderate party of Necker and the few who adhered to him was altogether impotent. These were the men who looked to the English constitution as their model, Mounier, Lally-Tolendal, Clermont-Tonnerre, and a few nobles and bishops.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' iii., 131.

* 'La Vie et les Mémoires du Général Dumouriez,' ii., 19.



ARRIVAL OF LOUIS XVI. AT THE HÔTEL DE VILLE.

This party could neither guide the court nor the popular party: it could not effect any arrangement between two powers which were directly opposed to one another; and itself was powerless.

The chief leaders of the popular party at this time were Duport, Barnave, and Alexander Lameth: the time was not yet come for such men as Robespierre, who was still struggling for distinction, in place of which he only found ridicule.* These three men were at first in advance of the revolution, and the results of the insurrection of the 14th of July were quite in accordance with their principles: for this day established the power of the middle class, and a national guard. It led to the resolutions of the 4th of August, and made the Assembly constituent. Mirabeau, though not the leader of any party, was of this party; and Lafayette and Bailly. Thus it possessed the great orator of the Assembly, the commander of the National Guard of Paris, and its chief magistrate. It relied on the members of the extreme *côté gauche* in the Assembly, on the clubs out of the Assembly, and on the people in the wide sense of that term. To Duport is attributed the design and the formation of the famous confederation of the clubs; a power which gave to the revolution an overwhelming energy, and which those who helped to bring it into existence, were finally unable to control and direct. After the 4th of August, it was the business of this party to settle the constitutional monarchy without delay; for delay inevitably led to anarchy. Accordingly the Assembly which had begun its constitutional labours at Versailles resumed them when it came to Paris.

The king's removal to Paris brought the party of the aristocracy and the popular party still more distinctly in opposition. Paris had got the king; and the aristocracy had lost in him the instrument in whose name they wished to act. The emigration became more considerable, and many of the nobles repaired to Turin, where the Comte d'Artois was staying with his father-in-law the king of Sardinia. The affair of the 6th of October had made royalists of many, who were hardly royalists before, and it had alarmed those who were royalists already. When the National Assembly came to Paris, a hundred and fifty deputies got their passports and went off. Mounier resigned his presidency on the 8th of October, on the plea of bad health, and shortly after went to his native Dauphiné, where he attempted to produce a royalist re-action. Lally-Tolendal went to Switzerland.* He left Paris on the 10th of October, the same day as Mounier. He was one of those heroes of the people who had done his work, and was not wanted any longer.

It was the general opinion that Mirabeau and the Duke of Orleans had been active in organizing the movements of the 5th and 6th of October; and though it was afterwards proved that there was no foundation for this report, it was believed at the time. The duke, it was said, expected to be made lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and Mirabeau to become minister. The court believed that Lafayette had saved them, and the general's influence was all-powerful, though he was the object of abuse from the royalists, and his conduct on the 5th and 6th of October furnished matter for the caricaturists. Lafayette made use of his influence to get rid of the Duke of Orleans, who, if he was not an active intriguer himself, was made use of by others as a tool. The king showed his ordinary weakness in this affair by making it appear as if he was constrained to send the duke away; for in writing to him he said, that it was necessary either for the duke or Lafayette to retire, and in the present state of affairs there was no difficulty in determining which should go. Accordingly the king gave him a mission for England. The duke's friends made an effort to keep him in France, and they applied to Mirabeau to denounce the violence which Lafayette was using towards the duke; and Mirabeau gave both Lafayette and the duke notice that he would do it. But Lafayette was immovable, and the duke was obliged to go.† Mirabeau was in the Assembly when he heard of the duke's departure, on which he said in a pettish tone, "He is not worth the trouble that is taken about him." This and like expressions, added to Mirabeau's familiarity with the duke, who however was familiar with everybody, gave rise to suspicion of Mirabeau being one of his agents and in his pay, of which no proof has ever been given, and many facts are opposed to it. At this time Mirabeau was in great pecuniary difficulties, and obliged to borrow small sums, which is some evidence of his not having the command of the duke's purse. Nor was he yet in the pay of the court, though he was ready to accept pecuniary assistance to satisfy his creditors and support his extravagance; but not on any terms. He had long foreseen the storm that was coming, and his ambition, his interest, and whatever political principle he had, all conspired to make him the defender of a constitutional monarchy against popular violence.

On the 7th of October the Assembly was discussing

* It was on the 8th of October, upon the discussion of the terms in which the king should give his assent to the decrees of the legislative body, that Robespierre proposed this form: "Louis by the grace of God and by the will of the nation, king of the French, to all the citizens of the French Empire, People, this is the law which your representatives have made and to which I have put the royal seal." The proposal was received with roars of laughter, and the noise was so great that nobody could hear in what terms this strange formula concluded. 'Hist. Parlem.,' iii., 141. Romilly, who was in Paris during the months of August and September, 1789, says: "I heard Robespierre; but he was then so obscure and spoke with so little talent or success that I have not the least recollection of his person." 'Memoirs of Romilly.'

* The demands for passports increased just before the Assembly removed to Paris. Bad health was the excuse of many. "It is amusing," said a member, "to see how many of our colleagues have been made ill by the prospect of the Assembly fixing itself at Paris."

† In a letter of the 23rd October, 1789, to Dumont, Romilly says, "no news can be worth receiving from so dull a place as London, where the Duke of Orleans is feasting with the Prince of Wales in ignominious safety."

the article of the constitution which related to the principle of taxation. Mirabeau maintained that the National Debt *could not be the object of taxation*; that the public faith was engaged to the creditors of the State by the same measures by which the nation had become their debtor; the principal money which the nation had acknowledged that it owed them, the interest which it had promised to pay them, were declared payable, without any tax, without any drawback of any kind. Mirabeau's energy in maintaining the public faith should be remembered to his credit: on this point he never wavered. The article as finally agreed contains a just and equitable principle, which should never be forgotten, though it is often of difficult application: "All contributions (taxes) and public burdens of all kinds, shall be supported by all citizens and proprietors, in proportion to their property and their means." On the 9th of October the Assembly received a letter from the king, in which he informed them that the testimonials of affection and fidelity which he had received from the city of Paris, had determined him to fix his ordinary residence there, and he invited the Assembly to send commissioners to Paris to select a place in which they could hold their sittings. This proposal of the king was perhaps not altogether forced upon him, for many of the inhabitants of Paris and even the poorer classes had shown a favourable disposition towards him: partly from the novelty of the thing, partly the hope that his residence would be an advantage to Paris, and partly from some remnant of respect and affection for their kings.* Some members were uneasy at the thoughts of going to Paris: the Abbé Gregoire had already complained that ecclesiastics were daily insulted there; "not to mention the alarms which ill-intentioned persons might spread in the provinces at seeing their representatives delivered up to the mercy of an armed people, is it to be supposed that the deputies of the clergy can go there, and brave with any security the outrages and the persecution with which they are threatened?" It was however decided by a majority that the Assembly should remove its sittings to Paris.

The Constituent Assembly had commenced the reform of criminal procedure, one of the worst parts of the old French system. The last articles were voted on the 9th of October; and the whole decree, entitled "A Decree of the National Assembly on the Provisional Reform of Criminal Procedure," is important in the history of Jurisprudence.†

On the 19th of October the Assembly held its first sitting at Paris, in a room belonging to the palace of the archbishop. It was chiefly an affair of ceremony, but it was characterized by a motion made by Mirabeau, and carried by acclamation, to give the thanks of the Assembly to Bailly and Lafayette, as "the representatives of the inhabitants of Paris, in their double capacity of citizens and National Guards." Neither Mirabeau nor Lafayette liked one another, but this motion was probably only part of a scheme attributed to Mirabeau, to overthrow Necker and to share the power between himself and Lafayette. After this sitting the Assembly went in a body to the Tuileries to pay their respects to the king and queen, and to renew their expressions of devotion to the king and the nation.

The Breton club followed the Assembly to Paris, and established itself in the library of the convent of the Jacobins, in the Rue St. Honoré, from which place it afterwards took the name of the Société des Jacobins; but its first name at Paris was that of Society of the Friends of the Constitution. It now began to admit members who were not deputies; and particularly writers. A candidate, after being presented by two members who answered for his morality, had to submit to the ballot. The meetings were not public; no stranger was let in without producing a card of admission, and members were placed at the door to examine the cards which were presented.

Bread was still scarce at Paris. On the 21st of October, a baker named François, who had been particularly active in supplying his customers, was seized by an infuriated mob on suspicion that he was keeping back some of his bread, and hanged on a lantern, close to the door of the Assembly. His head was placed on a pike and carried through Paris. Two men, who were engaged in this murder, were arrested, tried by the Châtelet—a criminal court which had an extraordinary jurisdiction in all offences committed at this time, condemned and punished. This crime led to a proposition in the Assembly, which was carried, for a "martial law against assemblages of people." Robespierre made a violent opposition to it: "When the people," he said, "are dying of hunger, they assemble in bodies; we ought then to ascend to the cause of the disturbances in order to calm them, to take measures to discover the authors of them, to stifle the conspiracy which threatens us." His speech was an indirect apology for popular violence: he spoke of a conspiracy, and was asked what it was; but apparently he made no answer. The "martial law" was a kind of riot act; and it was sanctioned by the king immediately after it was voted by the Assembly.*

* Weber's Narrative (ii., 228) may be taken as evidence that the king's reception at Paris was not unfavourable. He was an eye-witness, and a most zealous adherent of the Royal Family. "This morning," says Mr. Trail, in a letter of the 18th October, 1789, already quoted, "I saw his majesty walking in the Champs Elysées without guards. He seemed easy and cheerful. He passed along the line of 5000 or 6000 of the Paris militia, who are reviewed there every Sunday."

† The decree is printed in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' iii., 147. At the time when it was made, the prisons of Paris were filled with men who were either guilty of political offences only or of being engaged in riotous meetings, and it would have been dangerous to treat them according to the rigour of the old criminal law.

* Letter from Mr. Trail, Paris, October 18, 1789, to Romilly, in which he says, "you will see that Mirabeau has proposed a law for the suppression of riots, similar in many respects to our Riot Act." The date of Trail's letter does

The Assembly had destroyed the power of the nobles; but there remained another body to conquer—the clergy. The church property in France was enormous, the donation of princes, nobles, and pious individuals from the foundation of the monarchy. By depriving the clergy of the lands which they held, not only would the power of the body be weakened, but means would be provided for securing a better allowance to the inferior clergy and for paying the national creditor. The discussion had commenced at Versailles on the 10th of October, and it was commenced by a bishop. Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, now in his thirty-sixth year, belonged to a noble family, and though the eldest of three brothers, his parents had destined him for the church, because, it is said, an accidental fall when he was an infant lamed him for life, and disqualified him for a military career. He first became known as the Abbé Périgord; and the opinion of his talents for business is shown by the fact that in the twenty-sixth year of his age he was appointed agent-general for the clergy of France, an office which he filled for eight years. In 1788, he was made bishop of Autun. Talleyrand's experience in his agency-general, combined with his great abilities and his cool self-possession, qualified him to act an important part in public affairs. His religious opinions were probably very free; and the ecclesiastical profession was not his own choice. A priest by accident, he became by other accidents and circumstances an active politician and a statesman. He was thoroughly acquainted with the condition of France: he knew the necessity of reform and was friendly to it; but he was neither a republican nor a revolutionist. He maintained that the clergy were not proprietors like other proprietors, and he explained his views as to the nature of the interest which they had in church property. If his proposal were adopted, the nation would become the proprietor of all the lands, and of the tithes which the clergy had already sacrificed. He estimated the income from lands and tithes at 150 millions of livres, or between seven and eight millions sterling, of which he proposed to assure two-thirds to the clergy. The nation would undertake all the debts of the order. He said that there were 80,000 ecclesiastics in France for whose maintenance provision had to be made; and among them were reckoned 40,000 pastors "who have deserved so well of mankind, who are so useful to society, that the nation must be anxious to secure and ameliorate their condition; they ought to have in general at least 1,200 livres each, without including in that amount their residence. Others ought to receive more." Thus there was combined with this plan for taking possession of the church property a better provision for the inferior clergy; and Talleyrand enumerated among the advantages which would follow from this measure "the amount of land which would be restored to commerce, which would keep a great number of proprietors in the country; and the cultivators would no longer be afraid of being dispossessed of their farms, as they then were by the changes in the benefices; and agriculture would be encouraged by obtaining this security." * The discussions on the church property were tedious. The ecclesiastical dignitaries made a vigorous resistance, and foremost was the fluent Abbé Maury. It was all in vain the clergy urged their rights as proprietors; they were truly told that they were not proprietors, that the property of which they had the administration was given for the purposes of religion, and consequently it belonged no more to them than to the rest of the nation, who were interested as much as the clergy in its application to religious purposes. The opponents of the clergy had the advantage in the legal argument of proprietorship; but this was a question quite distinct from the proposed application of this large mass of property. Finally, on the 2nd of November, the motion of Mirabeau was carried by a majority of 568 to 346: the motion was in these terms—"That it be declared; First, that all ecclesiastical property is at the disposal of the nation, but charged with a suitable provision for the expenses of religious worship, for the support of the ministers of religion, and the relief of the poor, under the superintendence and according to the instructions of the provinces; Secondly, that with respect to the arrangements to be made for the ministers of religion, there shall not be assigned for the allowance of the curés less than 1,200 livres, not including therein a residence and garden." This motion was carried amidst loud applause from the Assembly and the spectators.

Another measure declared that religious vows were no longer binding, and opened all the convents, without however preventing those from continuing the monastic life, who were attached to it from inclination; but as the property of the religious houses had been taken by the nation, it was necessary to provide annual payments in place of the former revenue of these houses. The allowances to the religious were made proportionate to their former condition: the members of the rich orders received more than those of the mendicant orders.†

One of the most important decrees of the Assembly was a new territorial division of the kingdom. France consisted of numerous provinces, which had been successively attached to the antient kingdom, and these provinces which had their several laws and customs formed an ill-united political body. It might be said that the only unity that they had was in the person of the king. The idea of replacing the old territorial divisions by a new one more suitable for administration, is said to have originated with Siéyes, but it was developed by Thouret, the distinguished lawyer, in a

not agree with the dates in the 'Hist. Parlem.' Romilly wrote to Dumont, who was then at Paris, about this measure, on the 23rd of October, 1789, ('Romilly's Memoirs.')

* The whole plan of the Bishop of Autun is printed in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' iii., 157.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' iii., 472.

speech on the 3rd of November.* He said, "a plan of division of a great empire is itself almost a constitution: in order to have representatives, they must be elected; and to determine the mode of election, there must be divisions." But this great change, which under other circumstances would have been impossible, was rendered possible and unavoidable by the general unanimity of the people: it was demanded by all except the privileged bodies.

In the month of November the Assembly finally adopted the division into departments, by which the old provinces were destroyed, the barriers between free communication were broken down, and new territorial divisions with new names were formed, all subjected to the same system of administration. This was a most beneficial measure for France, in itself a revolution, and a revolution perfectly in harmony with the wishes, with the interests, of the French people; consequently useful and permanent.† The discussion of this matter occupied two months.

France was distributed into eighty-three departments, most of which had their names from a river, a chain of mountains, or some other natural feature: the departments were made tolerably equal in extent and population. Each department was divided into districts, and each district into cantons. Every department had an administrative council of thirty members,‡ and an executive council, both of which were elective. The organization of the districts was similar. The canton, which consisted of from five to six parishes, was merely an electoral division. The districts were divided into municipalities or communes, and the administration was put in the hands of a general council and a municipality, the number of members of which was proportioned to the population of the towns. The municipal functionaries were elected directly by the people, and were alone empowered to call for the assistance of the military. The conditions of having political rights were, twenty-five years of age and the payment of taxes equivalent to three days' labour or about three francs. This reduced the body of electors to about four millions and a half. Those who had these qualifications were called active citizens (*citoyens actifs*): and those who had not, were called passive citizens (*citoyens passifs*). The number of deputies for each department was to be regulated in proportion to the population, the extent of territory, and the direct taxation. The primary assemblies were to elect the electors from among all the active citizens of their cantons; and the electors chosen by the primary assemblies of each district were to choose the members for the administration of the district among those who were eligible in all the cantons of the district. The electors were to choose the members for the administration of the department from among those who were eligible in all the districts of the department, yet so that there should be at least two members for every district. The deputies to the National Assembly who should be elected by the electoral assembly of each department, were to be taken from among those who were eligible in the electing department. The number of electors to be named by the primary assemblies of every canton was to be one for every hundred active citizens present or not present at the assembly.

A criminal court was established for every department, a civil court for every district, and a *tribunal de paix* for each canton.

This great change was not made without resistance, for it was the organization of the sovereignty of the people and the destruction of all that remained of privilege, of all that was an obstacle to the unity of the nation. The states of Languedoc protested against this new division of France: those of Bretagne protested. The parliaments were roused to resistance—particularly those of Metz, Rouen, Bordeaux, and Toulouse: but the Assembly met resistance by increased energy. Already on the 3rd of November, upon the motion of Thouret, it was resolved, that until the new organization of the judiciary should be completed, all the parliaments of the kingdom should remain inactive (*en vacances*); that what were called the *chambres des vacations* should continue or resume their functions and take cognizance of all causes and matters, notwithstanding all laws and regulations to the contrary, until fresh provision should be made; and all other courts were to continue to administer justice in the usual way. The king was to be requested to transmit the orders and letters necessary for giving effect to this resolution.*

The decrees of the Assembly were not executed in the provinces, and on the 5th of November Mirabeau addressed the Assembly on the subject of the provisional law as to criminal procedure: he said that for three months the city of Marseille had been under the yoke of an antient mode of procedure, which was oppressive and tyrannical. This provisional decree of the 4th of October was registered on the 14th by the parliament of Paris, it was publicly known at Marseille on the 18th; and yet on the 27th of that month, judges sent to Marseille by the parliament of Aix acted pursuant to the old forms, with secret procedure and all the barbarous practice of the court.† Various members made similar complaints as to their several provinces. The parliament of Besançon had positively refused to register the decree as to criminal procedure; in fact it had refused to register any decree of the Assembly. A member proposed to adjourn the motion with which Mirabeau had concluded his speech. Mirabeau was always ready with a reply: "If they were going to hang you, sir," he said to the deputy, "would you propose the adjournment of an inquiry which might save your life? Well then, fifty citizens of Marseille may be hanged any day." It was decreed that "all the courts, even during the vacations, municipalities and administrative bodies, which should not register

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' iii., 258.

† Ibid., iii., 318, &c.

‡ Ibid., iii., 321.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' iii., 278.

† Ibid., iii., 305.

within three days, and publish within eight days after receiving them, the laws made by the representatives of the nation, and sanctioned or accepted and sent by the king, should be pursued as guilty of prevarication and liable to forfeit their powers." On the 22nd of December, 1789, the parliaments were suppressed.

These bodies had various functions. They had jurisdiction, absolute and uncontrolled, which made them formidable even to the great nobles: their power to refuse registration gave them a kind of veto against the king; they possessed or usurped administrative functions, and they had to some extent the superintendence of police. They were not inaccessible to corruption; and the proudest of the aristocracy stooped to flatter the members of these bodies, when they had a cause at issue, or any object to gain from them. The poor suitor might be summoned to these courts from an immense distance, and he might wait for years before his matter was decided. In recent times the parliaments had contrived practically not to admit among their members any who were not noble or ennobled. The study of the law had declined, and sunk to a deplorable routine, in a country which had produced the first lawyers in Europe. The attempts at improvement made by the illustrious D'Aguesseau had met with systematic opposition from the parliaments. Their destruction was necessary; their existence was inconsistent with the administration of justice, and the unity of the kingdom. When the indefinite inaction of the parliaments was decreed on the 3rd of November, these bodies were taken by surprise, and the parliament of Paris would have resisted, if the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the keeper of the seals, had not, by his entreaties, saved them from the inevitable consequences,—a new insurrection. The parliament of Rouen registered secretly, and wrote to the king to say that it was only provisional, and out of respect to him. The parliament of Metz did the same, declaring that they "did not recognize in the decree of the National Assembly of the 3rd November, and in the sanction of the king which was added to it, the characteristic of liberty which is necessary to render laws obligatory, and that it had protested and did protest against the said decree and the said sanction." But the protestation was useless: the cities of Rouen and Metz demanded the punishment of their respective parliaments, and the parliaments made their submission. The parliament of Bretagne made the most obstinate resistance. Thrice it refused to register, and rallied all its partizans, all who were interested in opposing all change; the nobles, its own dependants and friends, wherever they could be found. The towns were ready to rise against the parliament and its adherents. Rennes, Nantes, Vannes, and St. Malo, forwarded to the Assembly their loud complaints, their declaration that they abjured all complicity with the parliament and its adherents.* The National Guards of Rennes took possession of the castle on the 18th of December, 1789, and of the cannon. The Assembly summoned the parliament of Bretagne to its bar, and M. de Houssaye spake in the name of the parliament on the 8th of January, 1790. But he did not defend the parliament, he defended the cause of Bretagne: he alleged the marriage of Anne of Bretagne successively with King Charles VIII., and Louis XII., the consent of the Bretons, assembled at Vannes in 1532, to the union of their duchy to the crown of France, and the solemn contracts by which their old constitution was guaranteed to the Bretons—contracts renewed every two years, always registered by the parliament of Rennes by virtue of letters patent, the latest of which were dated in the month of March, 1789. These contracts, he said, declared that not only taxation, but "any change in the public administration of Bretagne," must be consented to by the States of the province. The speaker, in the name of the parliament, had defended not the parliament, but the old constitution of the provinces, and the provincial states. If Bretagne was to remain a province, until the States should consent to the new distribution of the kingdom, France must remain a divided body. But the people of the duchy of Bretagne wished for union and unity with the whole of France: "They will not," said Chapelier, "let these States meet again." "By sending deputies to the Assembly," said Barnave, "Bretagne has submitted itself to the determination of a deliberative body." On the 11th of January the Assembly declared that the magistrates of the *chambres de vacations* of the parliament of Rennes should be incapable of fulfilling any of the duties of active citizens, until at their own request, addressed to the legislative body, they should be allowed to take the oath of fidelity to the constitution, decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by the king. This was enough for the Assembly to do. Bretagne herself kept her parliament in awe, who claimed for the Bretons what they did not want, and refused them that which they did want, to become one with France.

Since the month of November the Assembly had occupied a new chamber: the Salle du Manège, which was near the Tuileries, was prepared for their sittings, and the several parties took their seats on the right, on the left, and in front of the president, as they had done at Versailles, and in the chamber in the archbishop's residence.

There was a rumour that Mirabeau was going to have a place in the ministry, and Barnave and his party resolved to keep him out. The ministers had no right to speak in the Assembly, and Mirabeau would not have occupied a place in the ministry, on the condition of losing his real power, the authority which his talents gave him in the debates. Accordingly he proposed, on the 6th of November, that his majesty's ministers be invited to come to the Assembly and have a voice there (*voix consultative*) until the constitution should form a rule on this matter. Some members thought that this proposition was made less with regard to the public interest than to the personal views of the speaker. "The popular party," says Thiers, "were

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' iv. 6, 228, &c.

alarmed at it without any plausible ground, and appeared to dread the corrupting power of ministers. But their fears were not reasonable, for it is not by their public communication with the chambers that ministers generally corrupt the representatives of the nation. The proposition of Mirabeau was rejected." Lanjuinais moved, and he was supported by Pétion and Target, that "during the present session no member of the National Assembly should accept a place in the ministry." Mirabeau, who knew the real motives of the proposer and supporters of the amendment, said, "that it was not necessary for the sake of a single man to take a measure so dangerous to the state; that he supported the motion on condition that they would exclude from the ministry, not all the present deputies, but only M. de Mirabeau, deputy of the sénéchaussée of Aix." * This was plain speaking—direct and open—the motion was absurd in itself, mean and contemptible, because it was indirect, and covered under a general expression, and a bad principle, an attack on a single man; but it was carried in the very terms proposed by Lanjuinais.

On the 22nd of December, Thouret presented the report of the Judiciary Committee, the organization of the judicial power. He justly said, "that the reform of abuses in the administration of justice presented a difficult task to the representatives of the nation. The committee had examined with great care all that could be preserved of ancient institutions, and it is of opinion that in this matter, as in many others, the regeneration ought to be complete." The first ten articles of the labour of the Judiciary Committee were then read.†

Two classes of men came to ask the Assembly to apply to them the principles of the Declaration of Rights, two persecuted classes, the Jews, and the actors. "Regenerators of the French Empire," said the Jews, "you will not allow us to cease to be citizens, now that for six months we have been so assiduously discharging all the duties of citizens." A great part of the Jews, said Clermont-Tonnerre, are incorporated in the bourgeoise militia; during the time of his presidency he had received several patriotic gifts from the Jews—men are only vile when they are made vile by the law, and when the law ceases to degrade them, all men have the same character and the same capacity for all functions. He was supported by Robespierre: he was opposed by Maury and the Bishop of Nancy. Mirabeau said, "*if the Jews are degraded, we should draw them from the degradation in which they are sunk.*" A motion was carried that non-catholics who should fulfil all the conditions of eligibility, should be eligible to all administrative offices; and capable of all employments, civil, and military: but this was to be understood as not pre-judging the question of the Jews, as to whom the Assembly reserved its decision.

It was the last degree of indecency, said the Abbé Maury, for the actors to address themselves to the National Assembly. They had addressed a letter to the president, a very humble letter, to ask if they were citizens; to which no answer was sent. "The two first men of France and England," observes Michelet, "the author of 'Othello,' the author of 'Tartufe,' were they not actors? The great man who spoke for them in the Assembly, Mirabeau, was a sublime actor." Mirabeau did speak both for the Jews and the actors: as to the actors he said there was no positive law against them. But nothing was done for the actors: they were left in doubt as to their political condition; and the clergy might still refuse them burial, as they had done before. "There is no country in the world," says Voltaire, "where there are so many contradictions as in France—the king gives the actors wages, and the curé excommunicates them."

The Assembly did one great act of justice: they blotted out the barbarous and impolitic decree of Louis XIV., the revocation of the edict of Nantes, by which France was deprived of some of its best citizens, whom England and other foreign countries received and cherished. After a century of wrong, the Protestants were allowed to return to their native country; and some did return. Restoration of their property was made as far as it was possible, but that which had been sold was not disturbed. They came back to the full enjoyment of civic rights, and found two of their body, Barnave and Rabaut-St.-Étienne distinguished members of the National Assembly. Rabaut was shortly afterwards president of the Assembly, and he had the pleasure of writing to his old persecuted father,—a man fourscore years of age, who had once been hunted for years like a wild beast, without a place to lay his head in: "The President of the National Assembly is at your feet." *

* Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' chap. 4. See a sensible letter of Romilly, Nov. 17, 1789, to Dumont, about the ministers being in the National Assembly. (Romilly's Memoirs.)

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' iii, 153.

* Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' ii., 21. When M. Michelet is not governed by some invincible national or economical prejudice, he can be eloquent, and generous, and just. See what he says of the Jews, the actors, and the Protestants.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PENSIONS AND THE RED BOOK.

THE parliament of Metz in its protest had declared that the king was not free, and it was the policy of the anti-revolutionary party to represent Louis as under constraint. It is probable that he, or the queen at least, also wished this opinion to prevail, for he refused to recall his body-guard which had been sent away on the 5th and 6th of October, and he had only the national militia to protect him. The Commune of Paris requested him to recall his guards, but he would not; and his conduct and that of the queen in this affair justify the conclusion that they wished to appear as prisoners.* In the month of October the king was certainly not a prisoner in Paris; but suspicions of plots to carry him off again revived, and the people of Paris, who thought that the security of the revolution depended on having the king, began to watch him closely; and in the month of December he could not have gone away, if he had wished. The arrest of the Marquis of Favras on the 25th of December strengthened popular opinion against the court; and the suspicion as to plots of evasion was quite correct. The king was too irresolute or too indifferent either to plan his escape or to assent to any plan; but those who were about him and in his interest, or affecting to be in his interest, never gave up the scheme.

As soon as Favras was delivered over to the Châtelet, a hand-bill was distributed through Paris, which stated that Favras had formed a plot to get together thirty thousand men, and to assassinate Lafayette and Bailly; and that Monsieur the king's brother was at the head of the plot. Monsieur immediately went before the representatives of the Commune to protest his innocence. His address was brief, well-expressed, and carried conviction; and his audience acquitted him fully of the charge. Lafayette informed the representatives of the Commune that he had arrested the authors of the hand-bill.

On the 4th of February, 1790, the king visited the National Assembly, where he was received with loud applause by the members and the numerous spectators. He stood while he addressed the Assembly, which stood also.† He spoke of the troubles in France, of his efforts to allay them, and to secure the subsistence of the people; of the labours of the representatives of the nation, and of his desire to co-operate with them, particularly at a time when the decrees for the new organization of the kingdom had been submitted to him; and he added, that he would do all in his power to secure the success of this great undertaking. He spoke of his own sacrifices, and he entreated all those who had lost anything by the late changes to imitate his example, and to console themselves for all their losses with the advantages which the new constitution promised to France. In concert with the queen, he said, he would prepare his son for the new order of things, and teach him to place his happiness in the happiness of the French people.* The audience was moved by his address; they stretched forth their hands to the king; they expressed their gratitude and affection by all the demonstrations of an enthusiastic people. The president made a short reply; the king was conducted back to the Tuileries by a great crowd of people; and a vote of thanks to him and the queen was passed by the Assembly. The king in his address had just promised to maintain the constitution, and it was thought fit that the deputies should do the same. Every deputy swore the civic oath, to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king, and to maintain with all his power the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by the king.

The king's address is one of the most remarkable documents of the revolutionary period; an address such as a king has seldom made to a people, full of good sense, and just views of the situation of France and his own position. Louis truly claimed the merit of having begun reform in France, long before the meeting of the States-General was contemplated; and he spoke in language which bears the very imprint of sincerity, and seemed to show that, if he did not write the address, he fully, freely, and without reservation adopted all that it contained. A steady purpose on the part of the king, and fidelity on the part of the Assembly, were apparently all that was necessary now to secure the reforms which had been accomplished, and to fix the prosperity of France on a sure foundation. But this happy prospect was soon disturbed: the court party was not sincere, even though the king was for a moment; and the suspicions and the cabals of the extreme party both in and out of the Assembly, never ceased their labour of confusion and anarchy.

The civic oath was taken at the Hôtel de Ville, and all through France; and if the swearing of an oath could make people moderate and wise, France would have been saved from further convulsions. Everybody was swearing the oath at Paris; and there was a general illumination in the evening, and for some days Paris and the provinces were full of rejoicing. But on the very evening of this day the court resumed its old offensive habits, and showed its antipathy to the Revolution which the king had just declared that he accepted. The popular deputies had quite a different

* Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' c. 4, and note 13.

† "The Assembly was seated," says Thiers. The difference between sitting and standing is considerable under the circumstances. "The Assembly stood; his majesty also stood, while he read his speech," says the 'Hist Parlem.,' and other authorities also.

* This speech is printed entire, 'Hist. Parlem.,' iv., 436, and in Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' note 15, with some judicious remarks

reception at the Tuileries from that given to the nobles. Lafayette urged on the king and queen the necessity of frankly allying themselves with the popular party, as the only means of safety. The king thought his advice *good*, but did not follow it: the queen disliked Lafayette, and followed her own course.

The trial of Favras which had been going on for some time was terminated on the 18th of February. Favras was an adventurer, a bold intriguer, and strongly attached to royalty. He had been in the Swiss guards of Monsieur for some years; and at the present time, Monsieur being much in want of money, owing to his regular income being stopped, and having large payments to make in January, 1790, negociated a loan with some bankers through the Marquis de Favras. This circumstance and the imprudence of Favras seemed to make the supposed design of the Marquis and the negotiation for Monsieur's loan parts of one scheme. It is admitted by the royalist writers that Favras had formed a scheme for carrying off the king and the royal family.* Favras was tried by the Châtelet. The evidence against him was not consistent, and he boldly protested his innocence; but the mob of Paris was in a state of great excitement, and demanded a victim. Besenval had been set at liberty, and the criminal proceedings against him in respect of the 14th of July were quashed.† This irritated the Parisians still more; and the Châtelet, probably partly through intimidation, on the 18th of February, 1790, condemned Favras by a majority of thirty-two to six, to be taken by the executioner in front of the principal door of the church of Notre Dame of Paris, in a tumbril, bare-footed, bare-headed, and in his shirt, with a rope round his neck, and a blazing torch in his hand, with written labels on his breast and his back, bearing the inscription "Conspirator against the State;" there on his knees to declare aloud that he had formed a plan of a counter-revolution, and to ask pardon of God, the nation, the king, and justice. He was then to be taken to the Place de Grève and to be hanged.

This barbarous sentence was executed on the 19th. The court did not exert themselves in favour of Favras, whose only crime, if he was guilty of any, was a plan to aid the escape of the royal family. His execution showed the impotence to which royalty was reduced; he was not convicted on sufficient evidence, and if he had been, a milder punishment would have been more just. The crowd clapped their hands with delight when he came out of the Châtelet to make the *amende honorable* in front of Notre Dame, from whence he was taken to the Hôtel de Ville, where he dictated his testament. The mob was impatient for the execution: it was the first time that a gentleman had been hung. He was executed in the evening by torch-light, persisting in his innocence, and maintaining his indomitable courage to the last. "Citizens," he said, as he mounted the ladder, "I die innocent: pray to God for me;" and then turning to the executioner, he added, "And thou, do thy duty." His secret died with him. His papers, says Michelet, following the authority of Lafayette, were collected by the lieutenant-civil, and given by his daughter to Monsieur, when he became king (Louis XVIII.), who burnt them.

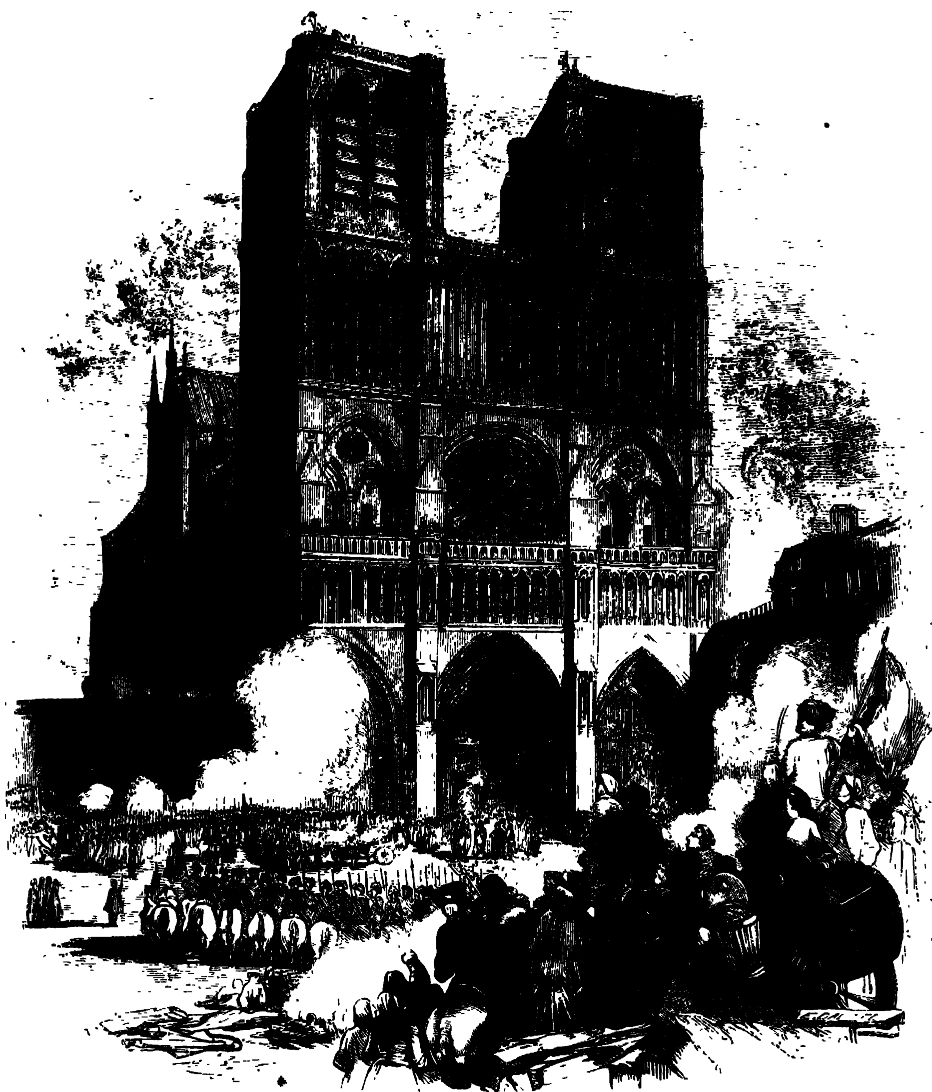
On the Sunday after the execution of Favras, M. de Villeurnoy conducted to the public dinner of the king and queen, the widow of Favras and his son in deep mourning. The royalists expected that the queen would show some kindness to the family of the unfortunate man. But the queen durst not raise her eyes during the dinner: before her were the widow and the child, behind her chair stood the brewer Santerre, one of the heroes of the Bastille, and now a commandant of a battalion of the National Guard, on duty at the palace. She complained bitterly of the folly of the royalists, who did not comprehend her true position. Between enemies and friends, she said, the royal cause would be ruined. In fact her friends, as is often the case, were really the more dangerous. The queen's remarks show that she had a just judgment: "the royalists will blame me for not appearing to take any notice of this poor child: the revolutionists will be irritated, and they will think that the child was brought there, because it was supposed that this would please me." On the following day the queen sent the widow of Favras some money, with the assurance that she should always feel an interest in her and her son.*

The queen had begun to take an active part in public affairs before the convocation of the States-General, and against her will, as some royalist writers say: the king's irresolution and the increasing difficulties of his position had made it necessary, as she and the court party thought, for her to interfere. From the time that she came to Paris she did not despair of the royal cause, and her thoughts were bent on escape. At the close of 1789, negotiations were going on between the queen and Mirabeau, but the motion of Lanjuinais to exclude all ministers from the Assembly nullified for the present whatever plans she might have. She would not put her hopes in the revolutionary party; she could not trust the Comte d'Artois; and she distrusted still more the emigrants who were about him, and particularly Calonne. She had no confidence in Monsieur, whom she suspected of double-

* Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., ii., chap. 20. In chapter 21 he seems not to admit that Favras had formed a plot. As to Monsieur's complicity, see the judgment of Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' ii., 64, &c. In the state in which the evidence remains, all that we can do is to doubt.

† Bertrand de Moleville says that the "brigands were exasperated at having seen Besenval set at liberty and his criminal indictment changed into a civil action." The 'Hist. Parlem.,' iv, 458, states "that some persons said after the condemnation of Favras, that the Châtelet designed to make way by an act of severity for the future acquittal of Besenval." In either way it results that Favras was sacrificed to the populace. The *juge-rapporteur* on reading his sentence told him "that his life was a sacrifice to the public safety and tranquillity." He was sacrificed beyond all doubt. See the 'Mémoires' of Madame Campan, ii., p. 97, &c.

* Madame Campan, 'Mémoires,' &c., ii., 99.



FAVRAS DOING PENANCE AT NÔTRE DAME.

dealing and insincerity. She was not fond of the priests, any more than her brother, the emperor Joseph II., who hated them. Her hopes only rested on Austria, and on the army of Bouillé, who had possession of Metz, with the command of a large extent of frontier, and a powerful army which he kept aloof from the National Guard. Bouillé was a man of courage and of ability, an aristocrat, but less blinded by his position than most of the aristocracy, and possessed of a great capacity for business. If Bouillé, Lafayette, and Mirabeau could have united, the court would have had the army, the National Guard, and the Assembly, the real power, in its hands. But Mirabeau did not like Lafayette, and perhaps was jealous of his influence; and Bouillé looked on Lafayette as a kind of enthusiast. Lafayette wrote to Bouillé to urge him to support the constitutional monarchy; but Bouillé, who probably had his instructions from the court, answered coldly, and kept distant and reserved. The queen's repugnance for Lafayette was probably the chief obstacle to the union of these three men; and this repugnance was continually increasing. She could not submit to be saved by him. She had less objection to Mirabeau, and she had courage for any undertaking. Mirabeau said of her: "She has a prodigious strength of will; she is a man in courage." But she was a woman in obstinacy, and she never could yield to the revolution. Her opposition to this irresistible power, and, still more, the conduct of the royalists greatly contributed to hasten the downfall of royalty.*

It was early in the year, though the precise time perhaps cannot be fixed, that Mirabeau concluded his bargain with the court. His political principles were made known to it, the conservation of the monarchy, such as the revolution had made it; and he engaged to support the court so long as the court should continue faithful to the new principles. In return for his support he was to have a considerable allowance, which his necessities and his extravagance rendered necessary. He did not sell himself to do what the court wished, but the court paid him for doing what he thought best for the country. Perhaps he made his personal interest, his duty, and his convictions, all meet together, as nearly as a man could under such circumstances. Dumont, without fixing the time, speaks of the great change in Mirabeau's habits, when he got an allowance from the court, but he says that it came through Monsieur the king's brother. Mirabeau left his lodgings and took a house in the Chaussée d'Antin, which he fitted up in an elegant style, suited to his luxurious tastes, and adapted for the reception of visitors.

Early in June, either just before or after he had begun to receive his pension, Mirabeau had an interview with Marie Antoinette, probably the only one that he ever had. The king and queen were then at St. Cloud, protected by the National Guard, which was generally not ill disposed to them. They were in a kind of captivity, but not under strict restraint, for they went about without being attended by the guards, and often to some distance. Mirabeau had already hazarded his popularity by his conduct in the Assembly, and he was attacked by a mortal malady, aggravated by his excesses and his labours: his sunken cheeks, his unhealthy complexion, his eyes inflamed, and incipient corpulency, announced that his career was drawing to a close. The queen saw him in a lonely place—in a summer-house, which crowns the highest part of the private park of St. Cloud. The queen herself was much altered. Though only thirty-five years of age, care and sorrow had made their impression on her handsome face. Mirabeau left Paris on horseback, on the pretence of visiting a friend, but he stopped at a gate of the gardens of St. Cloud, and was conducted to the place where the queen alone was waiting to receive him. She addressed him in terms which flattered his vanity, and was herself pleased with the manners of Mirabeau, which were singularly fascinating, when he chose to make himself agreeable, and particularly for women. Little is known of the interview, except perhaps what the queen told Madame Campan. On taking his leave, Mirabeau requested the honour of kissing her hand, which the queen presented to him. "Madame," said the great actor, "the monarchy is saved." He retired full of enthusiasm and of his own importance, but the queen perhaps only wished to make a tool of him. She and the Revolution could never be reconciled.*

The Revolution was gaining strength all over France, and there was only one power that could resist it; and that was the clergy. They had an ignorant people to work upon, and various means of rousing their fanaticism. The king and his family were represented as captives at the Tuileries, which was not far from the truth. The opening of the convents, and the taking of the inventory of the ecclesiastical property, though accomplished with great moderation on the part of the municipalities, was not without danger; the women and the beggars crowded round the doors of the convents with cries and menaces, for the ecclesiastics took care that the business should be done in as open a way as possible. However, in every department, at least one religious house of each order was maintained, to which those could retire who preferred a monastic life: those who quitted it had their pensions.†

The south of France offered the most favourable elements for the clergy to work upon, in the ardent temperament of the people of this country; and it was also near Turin, the centre of the emigration. The nobles themselves cared not for religion: the new ideas, the philosophy of Voltaire, had affected all the

* This was the opinion of Froment. He says, "I maintain that the National Assembly did not make the Revolution, but the advisers of the king and of the princes."

* Madame Campan, 'Mémoires,' ii, 125. She dates the interview after the 14th of July, 1814. Compare Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' ii., 81, &c., as to the evidence of the queen's insincerity.

† The report as to the religious houses of Paris is printed in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' v., 5.

Frenchmen of the higher class. One Froment, from Nimes, who was at the head of the Catholic population there, and saw that their fanaticism could be turned to account, applied to the emigrants of Turin for their support. They gave him a little money, and some encouragement, and sent him off; but they saw no hopes for their cause in reviving the influence of the clergy, whose power they had conspired to break, and whose property they had long been ready to grasp. Besides, the nobles in many parts would gain more by the suppression of tithes than they would lose by the abolition of feudal rights. To appeal to fanaticism was a thing that the emigrants did not understand: their appeal was to foreign intervention in the affairs of France.*

The clergy could not look for help from abroad: they must find it at home or nowhere, and in the mass of their dependents and the peasants. In the discussion on the religious vows, on the 13th of February, 1790, the remark of a deputy that it was monstrous that monastic vows should bind a person for ever, was interrupted by cries of blasphemy, which must have come from the clergy, for they were the sole defenders of the irrevocability of monastic vows; at least not a single noble spoke in their favour, and some of the nobles spoke against them. On the 18th of the same month, a pamphlet was published and widely circulated in Normandy, in which the Assembly were represented as overthrowing both royalty and religion, for the two things were considered as one. As Easter approached, a time of much religious solemnity, a pamphlet entitled the 'Passion of Louis XVI.,' was published and largely distributed, particularly about the churches.

The Assembly also published a book of a different kind, the 'Red Book.'† The king was still paying the emigrants their pensions, for he had not yet sanctioned a decree of the Assembly which was intended to stop this money from going abroad. At Trèves, the Prince of Lambesc received money to maintain the king's household troops, just as if they had been at Versailles. Large sums were paid to the Comte d'Artois, Condé, Bourbon, and others. Camus, of the committee of finance, complained that the treasury was still paying sinecurists, and governors of governments which no longer existed. Some members of the *côté droit* were compromised in this affair, and among others the Duke de Châtelet, who defended himfelf by saying that he did not trouble himself about payments made to his man of business. This 'Red Book' contained, according to the report of the committee on pensions, "the secret list of the gifts made in money to the favourites of power," and the Assembly, which had received it from the king, through Necker, after several applications, had ordered it to be printed, which was done. The usual mode of granting these pensions, says the report of the committee, was, when a loan was made, for the friends of the minister, or the courtiers in favour, to be put down as taking a certain amount of the loan, and they were accordingly registered as entitled to receive so much dividend, and the coupon for it was delivered to them. But they did not furnish the funds, which would justly have entitled them to the stock: the money, which they ought to have paid into the treasury, was paid for them out of the treasury, which was charged with the payment of a perpetual dividend to them. This was a more scandalous mode of granting pensions than the direct grant of them: it was a system of fraudulent misappropriation of the public money, and the most illustrious names in France were among those who received the benefit of the fraud. The Committee on Pensions which reported on the Red Book, stated that it was not the only evidence of the rapacity of those who were in favour: they were still discovering numerous proofs of other depredations on the public revenue; of large sums of money given away at a time when the Assembly was labouring to restore order and economy in the finances, and the people were contributing to the necessities of the state. The amount of the printed orders for money (*ordonnances de comptant*) from 1775 to 1787, both years included, were stated to average above one hundred millions of livres annually. The report says, "A minister loaded with the favours of the king, and already enjoying an allowance of 98,622 livres, after having obtained on the 17th of March, 1785, pensions for ten members of his family, after having added on the 23rd of April on his own authority, an eleventh pension in favour of a relation whom he had at first forgotten, made on the 4th of September, 1787, the following demands: an hereditary duchy, a pension of 60,000 livres, 15,000 livres in reversion for each of his children; and a sum of money to assist him in settling his affairs." The Committee reported that some ministers gave pensions without the consent and against the will of the king; that he had often been deceived by the representations with which the claims for a pension had been accompanied; but that in all matters which concerned himself or his personal inclinations, he could never be induced to deviate from strict economy. By continuing their researches the Committee expected to discover the real sources of this immense debt, which had been contracted in the course of about twelve years, and the state of which as well as its causes, were still a problem. This report was signed by the rigid Jansenist, Camus, and eleven others.

"At last we have got the Red Book," cried Camille Desmoulins in his Journal; "the Committee on Pensions has broken the seven seals by which it was closed. The terrible threat of the prophet is accomplished, and before the last judgment: I will uncover thy shameful parts; thou shalt not have even a fig-leaf to hide thy nakedness with before the face of the world.—Generous republicans—pursue your track in these subterranean passages, enlighten the darkness.

* The evidence for this is Froment himself, in a passage cited by Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' note 16. There was division in the councils of the emigrants.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' v., 285.

Camus holds the terrible torch: he compels Necker to be his guide. The Genevese hypocrite continually strives to lead you astray: at one time he turns round to blow out the light, and at another time he would make his escape; but Camus holds him by the skirt of the coat, and the lantern which he carries recalls to the mind of the prime minister tho sentiments which ought to make him go straight forwards.—While we wait until the Committee shall have fully exposed the shameful parts of the former government, the corner of the mantle which has been raised is enough to make us shudder. Oh, how much will the publication of this Red Book tend to consolidate the Revolution." It did consolidate the Revolution, but perhaps at the expence of some truth and fair dealing.

It is said that when Necker delivered the Red Book to the Committee on Pensions at their request, Camus had promised that it should not be published. The Red Book was a register in folio, bound in red morocco, which contained a great many other accounts besides those of pensions. The *ordonnances de comptant* were an expenditure quite distinct from the Red Book, and they "were chiefly employed in discharge of the useful and indispensable public expenses."—"The *ordonnances de comptant* were deposited at the Louvre, and some of the members of the Committee had even gone to the Louvre to examine them." The person who was particularly alluded to in the report of the Committee was the Maréchal de Segur, who published a reply to it. In his reply he insists on his services, and he says that his "whole life is the only answer he would give to the indecent charges." But he does not deny that he received a pension: he admits that ten poor gentlemen of his name and family did receive a pension through his agency, but it was only six thousand livres among them all; as to the eleventh pension he simply said that he never granted anything during his administration without the king's order or approbation. He did not deny the petition for the hereditary duchy and the pension; his apologist admits the petition, and says that it was not granted. Neither had the report of the Committee said that it was granted; nor had it said that the petition was mentioned in the Red Book. The report of the Committee also did not say that the *ordonnances de comptant* appeared in the Red Book, though a careless reader might make that inference. The Committee had said that "by suppressing for the future all indiscreet gifts, by ceasing to be prodigal in order to be always generous, it would diminish the mass of expense by about one-fifth every year." This was the weak point of their report. The impression from reading it would be that all this saving could be effected by merely checking profuse expenditure. "The sketch of the Red Book as drawn up by the Committee themselves makes the total of the sums entered on the Red Book from the 19th of May, 1774, to the 16th of August, 1789, amount to 227,985,716 livres," or somewhat less than fifteen million livres for each year. The bulk of the expenses of the state amounted to near six hundred millions livres annually, so that if all the fifteen millions could have been saved, it would not have been a fifth of the whole annual expenses, but about three per cent.

The Committee, if they were perfectly honest, did not show any great ability in matters of finance by this report: and the apologists of the old system displayed more dexterity than honesty in dealing with it. The Committee were eager to make a report, and they may have made the best that they could in a short time, but they should have kept the pension list distinct from other charges. The pensions were a scandalous system of depredation on the public money; they contributed to the financial embarrassments, and raised the just indignation of all honest men. Those who had done something for their pensions had good reason to complain of being in the same company with those who had done nothing to merit them. It was also a matter of complaint that many small pensions, granted for real services, were not paid regularly, while the large payments to such men as Condé and Bourbon were duly discharged.*

* In the list of pensions a German prince figured for four: the first for his services as colonel, the second for his services as colonel, the third for his services as colonel, the fourth for his services as colonel; grand total for the German prince, 10,018 livres. M. Desgalois de la Tour had 22,720 livres in three pensions; "the first as first president and intendant; the second as intendant and first president; the third for the same considerations as above;" these are the very words. Madame Isarn had an allowance of 24,980 livres, in six pensions, "to favour her marriage and in consideration of her services." To the name of Broglie was attached a pension of 90,000 livres; of Breteuil, 91,729; of Montbarrey, 61,000; of Ségur, 83,000 livres; and many other illustrious names had the same appendage. Sixty thousand livres were down in the Red Book as paid for the education of the two Lameth, who were now opposed to the Court party. As soon as the Red Book was published, they repaid the money to the treasury.

Those who wish to examine this subject may consult 'Hist. Parlem.,' iii., 408, &c, and v., 42, 286; Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., ii., 23, 'Of the Red Book,' from which chapter the criticisms on the report of Camus and his Committee, stated in the text, have been taken; Weber, 'Mémoires,' &c., ii., 263; and Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' i., civ. 'Du Livre Rouge.'

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CHURCH PROPERTY AND THE ASSIGNATS.

The decree which placed the church property at the disposal of the nation, roused the slumbering hostility of the clergy, who from this time became the most determined opponents of the new order of things. They still retained the administration of this property, and they hoped to save it.

It is necessary, in order to present a clear view of the position of France at this time, to bring together the scattered materials which relate to some important questions. The discussions on many subjects were often interrupted, and it is neither easy nor practicable to follow them strictly in order of time.

On the 14th of November, 1789, Necker presented a long memorial to the Assembly on the financial state of the nation, in which he estimated that a supply of 170 millions of livres would be necessary merely for the extraordinary expenses of that year and of the beginning of the next, without taking into the account the probable deficiency of the taxes. He proposed to make the *caisse d'escompte* into a National Bank, and to fix at 240 millions the issue of its notes, which should be secured by the nation, stamped with the arms of France, and with the words National Security. The *caisse d'escompte* used to emit notes to the amount which was required for the public service, and on its own credit. The remarks which were made on his scheme induced Necker to alter it, and on the 17th of December a new scheme was proposed by M. Lecouteulx, which had been concerted with the prime minister and the directors of the *caisse d'escompte.** This plan was adopted on the 19th without any modification, notwithstanding the opposition of the *côté gauche*, and it was the foundation of the system of assignats. It was determined; 1st, that the notes of the *caisse d'escompte* should continue to be received in payment until the 1st of July, 1790; and that it should receive in respect of its advances for the present year and the first six months of the following year (1790) 170 millions in assignats from the fund for extraordinary expenses (*caisse de l'extraordinaire*), or purchase-notes (*billets d'achats*) upon the lands which should be sold, bearing interest at five per cent., and payable at the rate of five millions a month from the 1st of July, 1790, to the 1st of July, 1791, and then at the rate of ten millions a month: 2nd, that a fund should be formed for the extraordinary expenses, which fund should consist of the proceeds of the patriotic contributions, of the sales made pursuant to the decree for the disposition of the public lands, and all other extraordinary receipts; and the fund was to be employed in paying debts that were due and in arrear, and in extinguishing such debts as the Assembly should determine to extinguish: 3rd, the domains of the crown were to be sold, with the exception of such forests and palaces as his majesty should wish to reserve for his pleasure, and a sufficient part of the ecclesiastical property, to raise altogether the sum of 400 millions: 4th, there should be issued on the credit of the fund for extraordinary expenses, assignats of 10,000 livres each,* bearing interest at five per cent., and to the amount of the property to be sold; and these assignats were to be taken in preference as payment by the purchasers of such property; of these assignats there were to be extinguished by the produce of the patriotic contributions and all the other extraordinary receipts, 100 millions in 1791, 100 millions in 1792, 80 millions in 1793, and the rest in 1795.

The clergy proposed to add to the scheme an article which should limit the sale of the church property to 400 millions, and that the rest should be left to the clergy; but the proposal did not receive a sufficient number of votes in the committee to be received as part of the report. If this proposal had been accepted, it would have nullified, as far as it went, the decree which put the church property at the disposal of the nation. Thus the system of assignats was established to cover a deficit of 170 millions. The history of this system will have to be afterwards traced.

On the 6th of March, 1790, Necker presented another memorial to the Assembly, in which he showed that the delays attending the payment of the taxes and the extraordinary expenses arising from making a provision of corn and other causes had created a deficiency of 58 millions in the first two months of 1790, and in the course of the year would make a deficit of 294 millions.† He discussed the question of the emission of a sufficient quantity of paper money to meet all the wants and the engagements of the year; and he added that the present moment might seem favourable for it, as the *billets d'état* or state notes might consist of assignats founded on real value, on the produce of the sale of ecclesiastical property and of the royal domain. But he pointed out several objections to this measure. There were at that time notes of the *caisse d'escompte* in circulation to the amount of 160 millions; and there were good reasons for attempting to reduce the amount. An addition of 200 or 300 millions to the 160 millions of the *caisse d'escompte* would be a formidable sum-total; and though the Assembly had decreed the sale of lands to the amount of 400 millions, the time of sale was not fixed, nor was it known if purchasers could be found. Some were for removing the difficulty by making the new *billets d'état* a legal payment all over the kingdom, as the *billets de caisse*

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' iii., 474. Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., ii., c. 20, &c.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' iii., 479.

† Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., ii., 22; and 'Hist. Parlem.,' iv., 466, where there appears to be some inaccuracy.

were in Paris, but only in Paris; but he added, the Assembly had always shown great reluctance to adopt this measure, and if it did adopt it, and thus increase the amount of notes in circulation, it would not be easy to foresee all the difficulties attending a forced paper money circulation all over the kingdom, particularly in the present circumstances.

Necker's memorial was referred to the committee of finance, and also an address of the Commune of Paris, which had discovered, apparently with Bailly's assistance, a method of facilitating the sale of the church property. This address contained an account of what the municipality had done pursuant to the decree of the 5th of February as to the religious houses, by which those of the same order were to be reduced to one in each town. There were twenty-seven of these houses to be suppressed in Paris alone, conformably to the decree. To facilitate the sale, the Commune proposed that the Assembly should transfer all this property from the hands of the clergy and the nation to the most considerable municipalities, and sell the property to them in masses, and the municipalities should sell it again in small portions, by which means too large a quantity would not be in the market at once. The Commune developed their plan with respect to the city of Paris. On the 12th, the Marquis de Montesquiou presented the report of the committee of finance, which was a critical examination of Necker's memorial of the 6th of March. In this report it was maintained that Necker's supposition that new notes to the amount of 300 millions would be in circulation, if the *billets d'état* were issued, was by no means necessary, and that new notes to the amount of 132 millions would be sufficient, which added to the 160 millions of the *caisse d'escompte* would make in all only 292 millions.* In the preceding November the report added, Necker proposed to emit *billets de caisse* to the amount of 240 millions, without allowing any interest on them, or founding them upon any security. The committee thought the new *billets d'état* or assignats would be better, and it proposed, 1st, to pay 240 millions to the *caisse d'escompte* in assignats bearing five per cent. interest: 2nd, to allow these assignats to stand in the place of the *billets d'escompte*, and to be received like them in all payments: 3rd, to pay into the treasury by the *caisse de l'extraordinaire* 132 millions in assignats for the service of 1790; and it added, "When it shall be found that the nation has enough in its hands for the support of the clergy, the expenses of public worship, the poor, and the debts of the clergy, without touching what was to serve as hypothecation or security for the assignats, they would be not paper, but real money." On the 17th of March it was decreed that the lands of the domain and the clergy should be sold to the municipality of Paris and other municipalities of the kingdom to the amount of 400 millions; and other resolutions were made for effectuating the sale.

* A few days after Necker published a refutation of this part of the report.

After an animated discussion the question of the assignats was finally settled on the 22nd of April, and sanctioned by "Louis, by the grace of God and by the constitutional law of the state, king of the French."*

This important decree declared that the debt of the clergy should become the debt of the nation; and that the church property should be released from all claims of the creditors of the clergy, and thus would come into the possession of purchasers free from all charges. As the communes could not pay for the lands all at once, they were to be under obligations to pay at certain periods, and the creditors of the state were to receive orders upon the communes which they were bound to pay. These orders, which were called municipal paper, were the assignats; and those who held them had their claim on the municipalities, and not on the state. Thus the holders of these assignats obtained a better security for the time of payment, which, instead of being deferred, according to the original plan, was shortened. Besides this, the holders of assignats could convert them into real value, if they chose to buy any of the lands put up for sale, by paying the price in assignats. To give these assignats a still further value, they were also made a legal tender as money all through the kingdom, and for all purposes. If a man did not choose to buy land with the assignats which he held, another, who received them in payment, might choose to do so; and the assignats which were received as the purchase money for land were to be publicly burnt. It was determined that they should carry interest at three per cent, instead of five, as was originally fixed. They were to be in amount from a thousand to two thousand livres; the interest was reckoned by the day, and it was payable to the bearer at the end of the year at Paris and in the different towns of the kingdom. In some respects they resembled English Exchequer bills.

The clergy saw what they never expected to see, a ready means devised of taking their lands and distributing them among a great number of purchasers, who would all be interested in maintaining their title, that is, the Revolution. They cried out against paper money. The Archbishop of Aix said, "You have denounced the name of bankruptcy; I thought that you had denounced paper money." It was replied to him that it was not paper money, but a paper which was to be substituted for a paper money, already in discredit; a paper which was guaranteed by the lands to be sold, and the additional guarantee of the municipalities. Law's paper and the bankruptcy were of course not forgotten, but Law's paper had not the security that these assignats had, the foundation of which was valuable property. The amount of the assignats also, 400 millions, was below the value of the property which they represented. But like all other paper money the assignats were only bits of paper, which had no value until they were realized in

* The decrees are given in full in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' v., 36, 321.

some commodity. The precious metal is itself a commodity, and though its use is to procure other commodities, it is a step nearer to that point than paper money; for it is a commodity which is received universally in payment. In order that paper money shall have the value of precious metal, there must be perfect confidence that the precious metal, if wanted, can be procured with it; and consequently the slightest want of confidence, arising from the excessive issue of such paper, or from any other cause, depreciates it in comparison with gold or silver. The precious metal was at this time very scarce in France: it had been carried out of the country and hoarded, and it remained to be seen whether the credit of the assignats would be sufficient to call it again into circulation. In the condition of France the emission of the assignats was a very hazardous measure, but with a view of supplying the urgent necessities of the state, depriving the clergy of the church property, and increasing the number of proprietors, who should be interested in maintaining the Revolution, it was as well devised a scheme as the circumstances allowed.*

The discussion, which now terminated, on the mode of disposing of the church property, was going on at the same time with the discussions for supplying the revenue of the tithes, which was taken from the clergy, and providing for the support of religion. Part of the clergy, and particularly the higher clergy, took advantage of this opportunity to speak against the decrees for the sale of the church property, just as if the question was not decided; and this irregular mode of proceeding rendered some of the sittings very tumultuous. The clergy exhausted their ingenuity in suggesting means of filling the treasury without taking the church property. Maury suggested a tax on objects of luxury, to which another abbé replied by proposing that no ecclesiastic should have an income of above a thousand crowns. Maury had no answer to this, for his income was large. Chasset presented the report of the committee on tithes, which fixed the present expenses of public worship in all its branches, including the pensions to the religious, at 133,884,800 livres, or between five and six millions sterling.† The present episcopal charge alone it was proposed to fix at three million livres. The object of the whole measure was, "to suppress the tithes, to raise the general taxation by such amount as would be sufficient to defray all the expenses of worship, and to put in the hands of the nation, free from all charge, the ecclesiastical property which had been declared to be at the disposal of the nation by the decree of the 2nd of November, 1789." The future payment of the Archbishop of Paris was to be 50,000 livres, or about £2,000 per annum; and the lowest payment of a bishop 10,000 livres per annum. The highest payment of a curé was to be 2,000, and the lowest 1,200, livres per annum.

In the discussion which followed this report, Dom Gerles, a Chartreux, said that in order to stop the mouths of those who calumniate the Assembly by saying that it was hostile to religion, and to tranquillize those who fear that it will admit all religions in France, it was necessary to decree that the Catholic religion, apostolic, and Roman, is and will remain for ever the religion of the nation, and that this shall be the only authorized worship.* Charles Lameth entreated Dom Gerles not to draw them away from a question of finance to a question of theology, and he said that the Assembly, which always followed in its decrees the morality and the precepts of the gospel, could be under no apprehension of being accused of an attack on religion. The Bishop of Clermont replied that he was surprised that in a catholic kingdom they should refuse to pay their homage to the catholic religion, not by deliberation but by an acclamation proceeding from the heart, on which the whole *côté droit* of the Assembly rose to express their assent to the Bishop's proposition.

In the evening of this day, according to the 'Chronique de Paris,' there was a meeting in the church of the Capucins, and against the consent of that religious body, of about two hundred members of the National Assembly, among whom were the Bishop of Nancy, the Abbé Maury, d'Eprémenil, Cazalès, the Viscount Mirabeau, the brother of Mirabeau, a violent opponent of the Revolution, and others. In this meeting it was determined that if the motion for the declaration of religion should not be carried, a protest should be made, and immediately presented to the king, and that copies of it should be spread in the greatest abundance in Paris and through the whole kingdom. This was in fact an appeal to a religious war.

Bailly and Lafayette were informed of this resolution, and of the opposing movements at the Jacobins and the cafés of the Palais-Royal; they also knew that the district of the Cordeliers, which was acquainted with this meeting of the *côté droit*, had determined that the citizens who were not enrolled should resume their arms and be in readiness to support the National Assembly. Fearing that the deliberations of the Assembly might be interrupted, they doubled the posts and collected a considerable force about the chamber.

* See the remarks of Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' i., chap. 5.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' v., 325.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' v., 339.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE RELIGIOUS TROUBLES.

On the 13th of April all the approaches to the chamber of the Assembly were lined with troops, and there was a prodigious concourse of people of all classes about the Tuileries and the Palais-Royal. The crowd was extremely impatient: they spoke of getting rid of the insolent nobles, who had no right to be in the Assembly, for they did not represent the nation; nor yet the orders, since there were no longer any orders. In the mean time the debate was resumed on the motion of Dom Gerles.

It was a tumultuous sitting. The Viscount de Mirabeau, always violent on the *côté droit*, and opposed to his distinguished brother, declared that they would not leave the Assembly till it should have been declared that the Catholic was the only national religion. There was in the Assembly a general expression of respect for the Catholic religion, but some members were of opinion that any formal declaration was unnecessary. D'Esprémenil said that some members expressed their respect for the Catholic religion, while at the same time they said that there was no occasion to discuss the question of determining that it should be the religion of France; but this would not satisfy the people. A member reminded the Assembly of the 25th of January, 1677, when Louis XIV. swore at Cambrai to maintain the Catholic religion in that city, without permitting the exercise of any other form of worship, and the building of Protestant churches. This roused Mirabeau: "I will observe," he said, with reference to this remark, "that there is no doubt that under a reign which was signalized by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and which I shall not qualify by any terms, every kind of intolerance was consecrated; but since reference to history is allowed, I entreat you not to forget that from this tribune where I now address you, we can see the window from which the hand of a French king (Charles IX.) armed against his subjects by accursed factions, which mingled temporal interests with the sacred interests of religion, discharged the musket which was the signal for St. Barthélemy. I will say no more: there is no need for discussion."

The discussion was adjourned. The members of the *côté droit* were hooted and hissed as they left the chamber, and some of them were threatened. The Abbé Maury showed his pistols, which he always carried at his belt, and the Viscount de Mirabeau drew his sword. They might have suffered some violence, if the National Guard had not protected them. The *côté gauche* was applauded; and Lafayette, who crossed the Tuileries, was followed with cries of "Vive notre général!" which were heard under the windows of the palace. The journals of Desmoulins and others were not inactive, and their articles were calculated to rouse the people against the nobles and the clergy. There was another meeting this evening at the Capucins, in which it was resolved by those who were present, that they would not protest, but would make a declaration. The discussion was terminated on the 14th of April, by a decree to the effect "that in the budget of public expenses for every year, there should be included a sufficient sum for the expenses of the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman form of worship, for the support of the ministers, for the relief of the poor, and the payment of the ecclesiastical pensions, both secular and regular, of both sexes, but yet so that the property at the disposal of the nation should be relieved from all charges, and employed by the representatives or by the legislative body, for the chief and most urgent necessities of the state; and that the amount for the year 1791 should be immediately determined."* Thus the question raised by the motion of Dom Gerles was eluded.

These dicussions of the Assembly were interrupted, as usual, by other matters, for they had abundance of business on hand. They resolved that the trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope should be open to all Frenchmen; and they finished their regulations with respect to the redemption of feudal rights, and those of the chase, and abolished lettres-de-cachet. In the month of April, Talleyrand presented to the committee a report on the reform of weights and measures. The object of the report was to fix a natural standard in place of the perplexing variety of measures and weights then in use in different parts of France. Two decrees were passed on the 8th of May, one of which was to the effect that the king of the French should be requested to write to his Britannic Majesty, and to invite him to urge the Parliament of England to concur with the National Assembly in determining the natural unit of weights and measures. This decree was the origin of the modern French system of measures and weights; and though it was some time before anything was effected, the credit of originating this important change belongs to the Constituent Assembly.

The anti-revolutionary movement was now apparent, and it manifested itself not only in the discussions on the ecclesiastical property, but when the question as to the power of the Assembly was raised by the royalist party. The new organization of the kingdom was completed, and the people were going to meet to elect the administrative bodies in the departments and the districts; but the committee on the constitution proposed that the new deputies should not be elected until the constitution was completed. Maury now became the advocate of popular rights, and he treated the question with his usual boldness and more than his usual skill. He said that when the time deter-

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' v., 375.

mined by their constituents had come, and it was now nearly come, they ought to retire into the ranks of mere citizens; that a distinction had been made between the National Assembly and the legislature; but what was a national convention? it was an assembly that represented a whole nation, which, having no government, had invested its deputies with the necessary power for making one; if they were a National Assembly, they had the power of declaring the throne vacant. Mirabeau met the wily priest with bold declamation and some show of reason: "It has been asked how from mere deputies of bailliages, we have all at once been converted into a National Assembly. I will answer in plain terms; the deputies of the people became a national convention on the day on which, finding the chamber of the Assembly of the people's representatives bristling with bayonets, they met together, they swore to perish rather than abandon the interests of this people; on that day on which it was attempted by an act of madness to prevent them from fulfilling their sacred mission. They became a National Assembly for the purpose of destroying the order of things in which violence attacked the rights of the nation." "You remember," he said, "the anecdote of that great man, who, to save his country from a conspiracy, had been obliged to determine to act against the laws with that decision which the irresistible summons of necessity justify. He was asked if he had not violated his oath; and the captious tribune who put the question, expected to place him in the dilemma of being perjured or making a dangerous admission. He answered, 'I swear that I have saved the Republic.' Gentlemen," said Mirabeau, pointing to the *côté gauche*, "I swear that you have saved the Republic." The great orator triumphed over the sophistry of his antagonist: the discussion was at an end, and it was decreed that the electoral assemblies should not proceed to the election of new deputies.*

Those who wished to secure the Revolution decided right, for the elections at this time would have strengthened the anti-revolutionary movement. The 14th of July, 1789, had been hailed in the provinces as the deliverance of France: it had been accepted by Catholics and Protestants, and the long separated bonds of unity between the two religions were united in a more comprehensive faith than the dogmas of their several creeds. The two religions were confounded in the permanent committees which were organized in the towns, in the national militia which was formed. In a few months unanimity disappeared. At Nîmes and Montauban, where there were many Protestants, and particularly at Nîmes, companies of militia were formed, exclusively Catholic. A new question had dissolved the union of the two religious bodies, the question of the church property. The priests worked upon this material with untiring industry and surprising vigour. They had the Mendicant monks, the Capucins, and the Dominicans for their instruments, who distributed pamphlets innumerable. Froment too was at work with all the means at his disposal. Meetings were held to arrange things so as to exclude the Protestants in the municipal elections; and thus the power of calling in the aid of the troops, of proclaiming martial law, was placed at Nîmes and Montauban in the hands of the Catholics only. About the 20th of March, came the news that the Assembly had opened to the Protestants all public functions; and more than this, had elected a Protestant, Rabaud St. Etienne, to the presidency of the National Assembly. The 'Annales Patriotiques' of the 13th of April, state that as soon as the election of Rabaud was known at Nîmes, a placard appeared in the streets to this effect, "The infamous National Assembly has just added the finishing stroke to its crimes; it has appointed a Protestant its president." The day after four protestants were massacred,—a fact denied by some authorities and as strenuously maintained by others.

On the 20th of April above three thousand Catholic electors of Nîmes signed a declaration, which was printed and distributed all through the kingdom. In this declaration the Catholic citizens of Nîmes demanded of the king and the National Assembly that the Catholic religion "should be declared the religion of the State, and that it alone should enjoy the honour of public worship;" that there should be no change in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and that no religious reforms should be effected without the assistance of national councils. The movement in the south and the conduct of the *côté droit* in the Assembly were perfectly in harmony: both tended to a civil war.

At Montauban, the Protestants being alarmed, withdrew from all the public functions to which they had been appointed; but this did not disarm the fury of their adversaries. It was the 10th of May, Rogation day, which the municipality of Montauban fixed for taking the inventory of the religious houses; a time when everybody was abroad, and religious exaltation was most intense. The persons who had to discharge this duty went to take the inventory of the moveables of the Cordeliers, but they found at the doors a crowd of women who formed such a dense mass that it was impossible to get through them, and the functionaries retired. The women had been brought together by a solemn mass, which had been celebrated that morning at the instance of a noble lady. A large number of men and women now made for the Hôtel de Ville, but it had been occupied by some national dragoons and some companies of the National Guard for the purpose of securing the arms which were deposited there. The rioters attacked the house of the commandant of the National

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' v., 392. Mirabeau alluded to Cicero, when he retired from the consulship. ('Letters Ad Diversos,' v., 2; and the oration 'In Pisonem,' chap. 3.) In quoting Cicero's words, Mirabeau of course used the word Republic. But it is doubtful if he said "I swear that you have saved the Republic," though these are his words as quoted in the 'Hist. Parlem.' Thiers makes him say, "I swear that you have saved France;" and other authorities also.



RELIGIOUS WAR—MONTAUBAN.

Guard, and threatened to hang him. The soldiers from the Hôtel de Ville coming to his rescue were attacked by the mob; some were killed, and the Hôtel de Ville was taken. A body of insurgents were deliberating in the church of the Cordeliers, and the Duke de Laforce, sword in hand, put himself at the head of this body. The feeble municipality yielded to the insurgents. The dragoons were led bare-headed, in their shirts, through the streets, to make the amende honourable, and then thrown into prison. The Protestants were hunted, and the white cockade was stuck up with a cross in the middle of it.* On the news reaching Bordeaux, the municipality sent fifteen hundred of the National Guard to restore order at Montauban. A commissioner, an officer of Lafayette, was also sent from Paris, who came to terms with the rioters: there was no inquiry into the affair.

At Nîmes, on the 2nd of May, there was disturbance. Some volunteer companies of Catholics assumed the white cockade, which brought on a quarrel with the soldiers of the regiment of Guienne, who fell on the white cockades with their sabres. The workmen collected and attacked the soldiers with stones: many persons were wounded, and a soldier was killed by a brother of Froment. The officers at last got their men into their quarters; and the municipality then began to deliberate whether they should forbid the white cockade. The mayor had by his conduct encouraged the white cockade before the disturbance commenced.

There were also insurrections of a different kind in the south, in favour of the Revolution. On the 30th of April about fifty men at Marseille surprised one of the forts, and the garrison surrendered. Encouraged by this success, the people and the National Guard of Marseille advanced upon two other forts, which were given up to the municipal officers. One of these forts had made some resistance, which was attributed to Beausset, who was in command of it; and the next day he was taken before the municipality to explain his conduct, accompanied by the National Guard and two municipal officers; but on the road he was attacked and murdered, without any effort being made to save him by those who had him under their charge. This affair caused a long discussion in the Assembly, which by a decree expressed its sorrow at the disorders which occurred in different parts of the kingdom, especially at Marseille, and thanked the king for the measures which he had taken to inquire into the excesses which had been committed. The character of the insurrection at Marseille is explained by the 'Gazette de Beaucaire:' It was a movement in favour of the Revolution, and the fortresses were seized by the National Guard, to anticipate the emigrants in their presumed

* It is not surprising that the accounts of these troubles are very confused. All accounts of civil commotions are confused and contradictory.

design of occupying them with foreign troops. At Montpellier, the citadel, which was garrisoned by some soldiers of the regiment of Bresse, surrendered to forty young men, and the garrison cried "Vive la Nation!" M. de Voisins, commandant of the artillery in the garrison of Valence, fearing that the same thing might happen as at Marseille, distributed cartouches among his men, and loaded two cannons which commanded the entrance of the fort. This excited the indignation of the people, and De Voisins being seized in the town, was ordered to be led to prison, but on his way there he was killed by a musket-shot; and the garrison submitted to the orders of the municipality. It is affirmed that there was formal proof of various letters found in the possession of the commandant, from Maillebois, then in Holland, which showed that he was corresponding with him on behalf of the emigrant princes, with the purpose of ascertaining the disposition of the troops.*

The resolution that the public worship should be supported by the State, was in fact equivalent to making the clergy public functionaries; and it was accordingly necessary to regulate the condition of the clergy, in order to secure their subsistence, and to satisfy the nation on the matter of religion; for the religious movement was strong, and the party in opposition were ready to take advantage of it. In fact, many who had sincerely joined the revolution at first, were alarmed. It was said that the curé of St. Etienne-du-Mont, who had headed his parishioners in entering the Hôtel of the Invalides on the 14th of July,† had passed forty days at the foot of the altar, clad in a hair cloth, and praying to God to support the church in its danger. The minority of the Assembly had published their declaration against the sale of the church property, which they called the patrimony of the church; and though it was signed by a minority of the clergy, and of the nobility, and by only forty-nine deputies of the commons, it produced a considerable sensation in the provinces; and it had reached many editions. The discussion of the civil constitution of the clergy began on the 29th of May. The Archbishop of Aix proposed to consult the Gallican Church by a national council; and if this were not adopted, he said that the clergy could take no part in the deliberations. Robespierre, on the 30th of May, supported the plan of the committee as developed by Treilhard. He said that "the priests in the social order are real magistrates, whose duty is the support and the service of the public worship;" and from this fundamental notion he derived, with his usual logical precision, all the principles applicable to the condition of the clergy. He would have no ecclesiastical officers except bishops and curés, and no more than were required: he would suppress the titles of archbishops and cardinals, and would have the bishops and curés elected by the people. He was going on with the announcement of something else which he considered more important than all the rest,

* As to Maillebois and his counter-revolutionary plans, see the extracts in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' v., 145.

† Page 33.

when he was stopped by the murmurs of the Assembly, and could not finish his speech. This discussion, like many others, was adjourned and resumed at intervals.*

It is singular that none of the journals say what it was that Robespierre was going to say. We may conclude that the party which put him down heard enough to know what it was. This man, who formed a better judgment of the ways of accomplishing the Revolution than any other man, wished to secure the support of the clergy. His proposal was, to allow the priests to marry; and the evidence of his scheme being known was the letters of thanks which thousands of priests wrote to him.†

The troubles were not yet over at Nîmes. Froment had armed his adherents, and put some of them in the colours of the Comte d'Artois; these were the origin of the verdets of the south. On the 13th of June, which was a Sunday, he and his party came to blows with the patriotic party and the Protestants; and both sides accuse the other of making the attack. It was the time of the elections, and it was the duty of the municipality to call for the troops and put down the disturbance, but they did not act at first. Froment and his men had their own way; they killed all before them, and began to force the houses of the Protestants; but of the eighteen Catholic companies which had been formed, only three joined him. The verdets of Froment fought desperately, and twice repulsed the municipal body, when at last it was assembled. At last Froment retired into a tower of the old castle, which was his stronghold, and tried to raise all the country around by his emissaries. But the Catholics were slow in responding, while the Protestants hearing of the danger of the electors, poured into Nîmes in order of battle and with the tri-color cockade. The electors at last formed a military committee, got cannon, and fired at Froment in his tower. Froment and his men parleyed and fired: at last the place was taken by assault, and the besieged were massacred. For several days Froment's partizans were pursued; he himself escaped.‡ The convent of the Capucins was forced, and all who were there were killed: some of the verdets who were caught in a notorious wine-shop had the same fate. During all this time the two parties were firing at one another in the streets and from the windows. In three days about three hundred men were killed. The savage people of the Cevennes, who had of old suffered from persecution, marched into Nîmes: they were not the men to spare anybody; but they neither pillaged churches nor insulted women. The projects

* 'Hist. Parlem,' vi., 21, &c.

† The evidence for this fact is stated by Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' ii., 335, and note (1).

‡ The history of Froment is curious, and a collection of his pamphlets would throw great light on the schemes of the counter-revolution party. Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' ii. 147. He had great courage, and some address. He maintained that the Revolution was mainly effected through the bad management of the royalists.

of the counter-revolutionary party were thus frustrated at Nîmes, and their own plot was their ruin.

Avignon, which belonged to the Pope, had already settled its own affairs. This antient city, which had at one time been the residence of the popes, was sold, with Vaucluse, to the papal see, in 1348, by Jeanne, Countess of Provence and Queen of Sicily. Following the example of France, Avignon had organized a municipality and a militia; but on the 10th of June, the nobles and partizans of the Pope were in possession of the Hôtel de Ville, with four pieces of cannon: their cry was "Vive l'Aristocratie!" A conflict ensued between them and the people, in which thirty of the people were killed. The contest was renewed; the popular party were victorious; four of the aristocrats were seized and massacred, and twenty-two were arrested. The neighbouring French towns of Orange, Bagnols, Pont St. Esprit, and others, came to aid the people of Avignon, and to save the prisoners, whom they took under their care. The National Guards of France left a detachment for a few days in the town, to maintain tranquillity. On the 11th of June the people met, and determined to be re-united to France: the papal arms were taken down, and those of France solemnly put in their place. On the 17th of June the municipality of Avignon, by a letter addressed to the deputies, Camus and Bouche, prayed the Assembly to admit the antient city of Avignon into union with France.

On the 22nd the Assembly also received an address from the representative assembly of the Comtat Venaissin, which was also subject to the Pope. Both Venaissin and Avignon prayed for union with France. The anti-revolutionary movement in the south, which was in harmony with the proceedings of the clergy in the Assembly, was thus put down. The religious fanaticism of the people could not be roused.

There was another difficulty: the soldiers were everywhere fraternizing with the people, and in some places killing their officers; they were for the people and the law, for the Revolution. The surrender of the forts at Marseille and at Montpellier to the citizens was undoubted evidence that the army had embraced the Revolution. The civic oath had been taken even by Bouillé: and the Prince of Conti, one of the emigrants, had returned and taken the civic oath in the district of the Jacobins to which he belonged. But the Orleans family still maintained its place in public opinion as the leader of the revolutionary movement among the aristocracy. When the president of the district of the Palais Royal brought to the Duke of Chartres, the eldest son of the Duke of Orleans, (now the ex-king Louis Philippe,) the register-book of the oaths, the young prince erased all his titles and dignities, which were prefixed to his name, and put in their place "citizen of Paris," and then signed. The duke of Orleans sent his oath from England.*

* 'Hist. Parlem.' v., 360, note 1.

CHAPTER XV.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

The progress of the Revolution in France had begun to attract the attention of all the other European states, which felt that their interests might be affected by this great movement. The princes of the Germanic empire, ecclesiastic and lay, whose feudal rights in Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche Comté, had been destroyed on the night of the 4th of August, protested in January, 1790. The deputies of the Circle of the Upper Rhine, assembled at Frankfort, came to a resolution that the Emperor and the Germanic body were bound to protect the States, the nobility, and the clergy of the empire against the arbitrary acts of the National Assembly. The resolution was transmitted to the Emperor Joseph II., and on the 16th of February the king of Prussia wrote to his minister at Ratisbon, to the effect that the empire was bound to use its exertions in favour of the princes who had been wronged in contravention of existing treaties. On the 11th of February the French minister, Montmorin, received a communication of the resolution of Frankfort with a fresh protest, which he sent to the Assembly, who referred it to the feudal committee.

Frederick II., king of Prussia, called the Great, died in 1786, and was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick William II. The new king had assisted the Stadtholder of Holland in recovering his authority; and in June, 1788, a defensive alliance was concluded between England, Prussia, and Holland. The assistance given by the French to the provinces of North America, in their War of Independence, had made it the policy of the British Cabinet to draw Prussia from French alliance, and to prevent the maritime power of Holland from being opposed to England, in the event of a war. The alliance of Russia and Austria, in a war against Turkey, was viewed as tending to disturb the balance of Europe; and thus it was the supposed policy of England to encourage Sweden to engage in war with Russia, and to urge Prussia to oppose the aggrandisement of Austria on the side of Turkey.

In February, 1790, Joseph II. died, and his death was followed by great changes. He was succeeded by his brother, Leopold II., whose administration of Tuscany, as grand duke, had been mild and beneficent. Leopold found his extensive empire in confusion; for Joseph, the reformer, was more hasty than wise. Austria and Russia were still engaged in the war with

Turkey; England and Prussia were unfriendly to the Empire; the Netherlands were in a state of revolt against Austria, in consequence of the measures of Joseph; and France was making her revolution with the king and the queen, Leopold's sister, prisoners in the capital. In January, 1790, before the death of Joseph, a treaty was concluded at Berlin between Great Britain and Prussia, by which it was declared that these powers would not interfere with the troubles in the Netherlands, unless they should be invited or compelled by circumstances, and that they would request his imperial majesty to secure the privileges of the Netherlands; and if the Netherlands should become free, then the allies would deliberate on the constitution, and determine whether they should recognize the Netherlands as free or not. In consequence of this treaty, the Netherlands took into their service an English, a Prussian, and a Dutch legion, and the States named a Prussian general the commander of this force. But after the accession of Leopold, and in July, 1790, the treaty of Reichenbach settled all disputes between Austria and Prussia. Austria made a truce with Turkey, and soon reduced the Netherlands to submission. In August, Russia made peace with Sweden, though king Gustavus had lately gained a victory over the Russians; and the empress Catherine II. had now only Poland and the Turks to deal with. The states of Europe were at leisure to turn their attention to France.

It was before the convention of Reichenbach, and while the war between Russia and Sweden was still raging in Finnland, that a quarrel broke out between Great Britain and Spain about some English ships which had been seized by a Spanish squadron in Nootka Sound; and Great Britain was preparing a large naval force. On the 14th of May, the minister, Montmorin, communicated to the Assembly information of the preparations of Great Britain, and that his majesty the king of the French had given orders for fourteen vessels of the line to be immediately equipped in the ports of the Mediterranean and of the Atlantic. His majesty had only given these orders by way of precaution, and hoped that peace would not be troubled, as he had received assurances from the British Cabinet that the armament of Great Britain was equipped with no other view than with respect to the quarrel with Spain; but though his Britannic majesty had given an assurance of his wish to maintain harmony between France and Great Britain, his majesty could not dispense with ordering these ships to be equipped; "for if England is armed, France cannot and ought not to continue unarmed; we must let Europe know that the establishment of our constitution is far from being an obstacle to the development of our force; and besides, gratitude and our own interest command such a measure under circumstances which concern Spain." It was a common opinion in France, that England intrigued to increase the embarrassments of the French government; and there were suspicions that English money was employed to produce disturbance, particularly as the troubles increased at the same time with the warlike preparations of England. The disturbances at Strassburg, Nîmes, Toulon, and Brest, were attributed to secret agency, which may be quite true without the supposition of England being the agent. Though some of the clubs and societies in London had sent complimentary addresses to the French Assembly, it was supposed that the British Cabinet entertained very different sentiments.* The English ambassador had already been instructed to repel these suspicions and insinuations; but suspicion is one of the elements of all revolutions, and is difficult to cure. Nothing has ever been proved as to any secret influence of the British Government being exercised at this time to foment troubles in France; and Necker often told his daughter, that though he had made the most diligent inquiry during his administration, he never could find the least evidence that English money had been employed to excite disturbance.† The absurdity of the suspicion is made most apparent, when we know that the aristocrats maintained that the English ministry paid the French revolutionists, and the Jacobins affirmed that all the mischief—that is, the efforts of the counter-revolutionists,—came from English gold distributed in France.

The king, in his message, had said that he expected that the Assembly would approve of the measures which he had taken, and would vote the necessary expenses. The Assembly adopted the king's wish; but Alexander Lameth observed, that it must be determined who should have the power of declaring war, if war should be necessary, the king or the Assembly. It was well known what Mirabeau's opinion was: he was supposed to have been gained by the court; and this was considered a good opportunity of depriving him of his popularity. Barnave was to bear the brunt of the battle. This matter occupied the sittings from the 14th to the 22nd of May.‡

Mirabeau contended that as war is almost always an unforeseen event, and that hostilities commence before threats, the king, who has the care of the public interests, must repel hostile attacks, and war might thus commence before the Assembly could interfere. He therefore advised that the executive should have the power of resisting hostilities when commenced, and

* See Burke's 'Reflections on the Revolution in France.' The address of the Revolution Society to the National Assembly, was sent through Earl Stanhope. "The French revolution," says Romilly, in a letter of the 20th of August, 1790, "seems to be growing popular, where one would least expect it, even in our universities. One of the questions proposed this year by the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, for a Latin prize dissertation, was, 'Whether the French Revolution was likely to prove advantageous or injurious to this country;' and the prize was given to a dissertation written to prove that it would be advantageous to it." The dissertation was written by Whishaw. ('Romilly's Memoirs.')

† Madame de Staël, 'Considération,' &c., part ii., chap. 11. "Le Gouvernement Anglais a-t-il donné de l'argent pour fomenter les troubles en France?"

‡ 'Hist. Parlem.,' vi., 34, &c.

that the legislature, according to circumstances, should either allow the war to go on, or demand the restoration of peace. Barnave admitted that hostilities might commence before the opinion of the nation could be taken; but that hostilities are not war; that the king ought to repel attacks, and immediately communicate with the Assembly, which should then declare its will. Barnave's speech was well received, and he was carried in triumph by the people: Mirabeau was denounced as having sold himself. There was hawked about the streets a pamphlet, entitled 'The Great Treason of the Comte de Mirabeau.' If the question had been put after Barnave's speech, his opinion would probably have prevailed; but Cazalès and Mirabeau urged the Assembly to adjourn. Mirabeau replied on the 22nd, in the midst of an immense audience. "It is," he said, "a strange madness, a deplorable blindness, which thus excites against one another men whom one common end, one common opinion, ought, even in the most furious debates, to bring together and unite, men who thus put in the place of devotion to their country the angry passions of self-love, and make one another the object of popular prejudices. Me, too, a few days ago, they would have carried in triumph; and now they cry in the streets, 'The Great Treason of the Comte de Mirabeau.' I needed not this lesson to know that the distance is short between the Capitol and the Tarpeian rock; but the man who combats in defence of reason, in defence of his country, does not allow himself to be so easily vanquished." He then examined the arguments of Barnave in detail with great ability, and showed that his opponent had not proposed to give to the Assembly more power than he had; but that his proposition of limiting the king's power to a simple communication to the Assembly, deprived the king of that consent which was necessary for the expression of the national will. "If the king has not the initiative," he said, "do you mean that he has not also the veto? If so, the king has no voice in the most important act of the national will. How do you reconcile that with the powers which the constitution has given to the king? How do you reconcile that with the public interest? You will have as many provokers to war as there are passionate men." He examined with equal acuteness the case of the king having the initiative: "If the initiative is to be limited to a simple notification, the king will be no party to a declaration of war. If the initiative contains a declaration of the resolution which he thinks ought to be taken, there are two cases for us to consider. Do you mean that if the king decides for war, the legislative body may deliberate about peace? I see no inconvenience in that. Or do you mean that if the king wishes peace, the legislative body may declare for war, and make him carry on war in spite of himself? I cannot adopt your system, because inconveniences would thus arise for which there is no remedy. From war determined upon in spite of the king, there would result a war of opinion against the king, against all who act under him." With wonderful precision of thought and of language, in brief sententious periods, the great orator repeated his blows till he had struck his adversary to the earth. With equal power he defended his own proposition from the objections that had been made to it, and he triumphed by the double virtue of the better cause and his own unrivalled talents.

The proposition of Mirabeau, as amended by Chapelier, was carried, and the first article was: "The power (*droit*) to make peace or war belongs to the nation: war cannot be determined upon without a decree of the National Assembly, which shall be made upon the formal and necessary proposal of the king, and must have his sanction." * Thus the king had the disposal of the forces, he gave notice of the commencement of hostilities, summoned the Assembly, if it was not sitting, and proposed peace or war: the Assembly deliberated upon the proposal, and the king gave his sanction to the result of the deliberation. "This decree, conformable to reason and to the principles already established, gave sincere joy to the constitutional party, and mad hopes to the counter-revolutionists, who thought that public opinion was going to change, and that this victory of Mirabeau's would become theirs. Lafayette, who in this affair had sided with Mirabeau, wrote to Bouillé on the matter, gave him hopes of tranquillity and moderation, and endeavoured, as he always did, to reconcile him to the new order of things." †

The reform of the judiciary system was an arduous undertaking—difficult in all countries, and particularly in France at this period. The basis of the organization was the new division into departments and districts. Thouret made a long speech on the 24th of March, which was printed by order of the Assembly. All judges were made eligible by the people: they were to be elected for a certain time, and were re-eligible. Trial by jury was established in criminal matters only, after very long debates.‡ The king had not the power of refusing his approbation of a judge who had been elected by the people; and the electors were not required to present more than a single judge to the king for his approbation: the judge was to receive from the king letters patent sealed with the national seal. It was also determined that there should be a *tribunal de cassation*, or *grands juges d'assises*—that is, a tribunal of revision for the judgments of all inferior courts. The discussions on the organization of the judiciary occupied many sittings.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' vi., 131. Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., ii., c. 24., who acknowledges Mirabeau's services on this occasion. Compare Dahlmann, 'Geschichte der Französischen Rev.,' p. 309, &c., 2nd edit.

† Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.' "I congratulate you," says Romilly, in a letter dated June 4, 1790, "on the decision of the National Assembly on the king's right of making war." ('Romilly's Memoirs.') Some English writers, by a strange misunderstanding, have said that the decree gave the Assembly the power of making peace or war.

‡ 'Hist. Parlem.,' v., 284. Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., c. 24.

In the month of June the several articles of the constitution of the clergy were discussed. It was merely the civil constitution that the Assembly dealt with; it did not touch on questions of doctrine or on papal authority. This scheme brought great odium on the Assembly, though it was the work of those deputies who were sincerely attached to religion, of Camus,* and others like him. A great majority would not have troubled themselves about the matter, but they yielded to the wishes of those who were zealous to put the civil constitution of the clergy in harmony with other things. The Archbishop of Aix urged a national council, and that the Assembly should decide on that question by a simple vote: but the Assembly passed on to the order of the day. It was determined that there should be a bishop for each department; that bishops and curés should be elected by ballot, and by a majority of votes; and that bishops should be elected in the form prescribed, and by the electoral body appointed by the decree of the 22nd of December, 1789, for the nomination of members of the Assembly for the department. The curés were also appointed by popular election. On the 14th of June it was decreed, without discussion, "that before the ceremony of consecration took place, the person elected should, in the presence of the municipal officers, the people, and the clergy, take the solemn oath of watching carefully over the flock committed to his care, to be faithful to the nation, the law and the king, and to maintain with all his power the constitution decreed by the National Assembly."

On the 9th of June the discussions were interrupted by a letter from the king on the subject of the civil list, which comprehended his personal expenses, those of the queen, and of his children and their education; the household of his aunts, and the establishment which his sister might soon expect: 2, the buildings and the garde-meuble: † 3, his household troops. The king had been requested by the Assembly to "fix his expenses in a manner corresponding to the majesty of his throne, to the love and fidelity of a great nation;" and this letter was the answer to the request. As Paris would be his ordinary place of residence, the king said he thought that twenty-five millions of francs, with the revenue from the parks, the forests, and his country residences, might, with many reductions, be sufficient for his expenses, including his household troops. As to the debt on the royal household, he thought that the Assembly would undertake to pay that. He also expressed a wish that the queen's dower, in the case of her surviving him, should be settled, and he merely mentioned the annual sum of four millions, or about £160,000. The letter concluded by saying that the king would never be in opposition to the National Assembly as to what concerned himself, and provided that liberty and tranquillity were secured, he should not trouble himself about any diminution of his personal enjoyments; he should find his pleasures in the delightful spectacle of public tranquillity. It was proposed that everything contained in the king's letter should be immediately assented to, and the whole Assembly rose without waiting for the president to put the question to the vote. The queen's dower was also granted, amidst shouts of "Vive le Roi!"

The month of July was approaching. It was now a year since the Bastille was destroyed, and the anniversary of that day seemed an occasion for great rejoicing. On the 5th of June a deputation of the representatives of the Commune of Paris, introduced by Bailly, read an address from the citizens of Paris to all the French, inviting them to celebrate the 14th of July at Paris. The deputation prayed that the committee on the constitution would determine the number of deputies which should be sent from each department, to assist at the grand federation of the 14th. On the 9th of June the Assembly fixed the 14th for the great festival, and decreed that six men out of every two hundred should be elected by the districts to represent the rest: when the distance was above one hundred leagues from the capital, they might elect one from every four hundred. The expenses were to be defrayed by the districts. The troops of the line and the royal navy were also to send deputies.

The announcement of this grand festival of fraternity filled all France with enthusiasm, and Paris with pamphlets and projects. Loustalot and Desmoulins proposed a federal pact among writers. This fervid exaltation was followed by a constitutional explosion like that of the 4th of August: the suppression of titles of nobility was decreed on the 19th.

The conquerors of the Bastille were this day introduced at the bar of the Assembly. The committee of pensions had taken pains to ascertain the names of the real conquerors of the Bastille; and they had called for the appointment of commissioners to determine to whom belonged the honour of the victory. It was decreed that each of the conquerors should have a uniform and complete equipment; and on the barrel of the gun and on the sword-blade there should be the inscription, "Given by the Nation to —— Conqueror of the Bastille." They were also to have an honourable brevet, expressive of the gratitude of the nation; and the same was to be given to the widows of those who fell. "On the occasion of the federation of the 14th of July, a place was to be assigned to them in which France could contemplate at leisure the first conquerors of liberty." A royalist writer says, that the conquerors of the Bastille renounced these extraordinary honours, on account of the irritation which they excited in the National and French Guards.

The president announced that a deputation was

* His opinions are shown in his speech of the 1st of June. He was a sincere, religious man. The debates on the articles of the civil constitution of the clergy are in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' vi., 216.

† The term *garde-meuble* comprehended the buildings in which the furniture of the royal palaces and châteaux, and the jewels, and other valuables belonging to the king, were kept.

going to appear. The deputation did appear: it was a deputation from the whole human race—English, Prussians, Sicilians, Hollanders, Russians, Poles, Germans, Swedes, Italians, Spaniards, Brabançons, Liègois, Avignonais, Swiss, Genevese, Indians, Arabs, Chaldæans, &c.* The Prussian baron, Anacharsis Clootz du Val-de-Grâce, a wild enthusiast, spoke in the name of all: he said, that a number of strangers belonging to all the countries on the earth, asked permission to take their place in the Champ de Mars on the 14th; and "the cap of liberty, which they would enthusiastically raise, should be the pledge of the approaching liberty of their wretched fellow-citizens." The president, Menou, replied, that the Assembly would allow them to be present, on one condition—that when they returned home, they would tell their fellow-citizens what they had seen. A Turk, or a man who represented a Turk, attempted to speak, but he spoke French so ill, that his speech was unreported. "These scenes," says Thiers, "which appear ridiculous to those who have not witnessed them, excited a deep emotion in those who were present."

The speech of Clootz, and the appearance of the representatives of the human race, kindled the enthusiasm of the Assembly; and Alexander Lameth spoke. There were four figures representing four provinces, which were chained like the statues of tributary people at the feet of the statue of Louis XIV. at the Place des Victoires: the deputies of these four provinces had always been considered in the Assembly as among the firmest supporters of the rights of the nation; it was not fit that when the deputies from all parts of France should meet to swear the constitution, they should be reminded of humiliation and servitude. He moved that these four figures should be taken away. Another deputy said, "To-day is the tomb of vanity. I move that all persons be forbidden to take the titles of count, baron, marquis, and so forth." There was an animated discussion and some opposition. Lameth modified his motion, which he "limited," or, as one would rather suppose, extended to the destruction of all the emblems of servitude, such as those at the feet of the statue of Louis XIV., and that they should be replaced by others which should commemorate the principal events of the happy revolution; and this motion was carried. The Assembly also decreed the abolition of hereditary nobility in France, and all the long list of titles which were enumerated in the decree: it was forbidden to let domestics wear liveries, or to have armorial bearings; but the decree did not extend to foreigners in France. Lafayette consistently supported the abolition of titles, which reduced him to the name of M. Mottier. A Montmorency spoke for the abolition. Maury, said to be the son of a shoemaker, spoke against it, and he urged some arguments of weight, but he lost what advantage he had gained when he went as far back as Cæsar's Commentaries and the ancient chieftains of Gaul. Mirabeau does not seem to have spoken. It is certain that he would have preferred keeping his title, though he had once said that he would give it to anybody who would have it.*

When the royal family had fixed their residence at the Tuileries, the queen, who could not go abroad with any convenience, employed her mornings in superintending the education of her daughter, and in working with her needle at tapestry. Her mind was too much occupied with the state of affairs to allow her to read, although her library had been brought from Versailles. Twice a-week she received the court before going to mass, and on those days she dined in public with the king. She passed the rest of her time with her family and children. The king's habits were greatly changed: he could not take his ordinary exercise of hunting, and as exercise was necessary for him, he walked about the rooms till he was in a state of perspiration. He ate quick and with good appetite, but he drank moderately. The stories of his sometimes getting intoxicated or drinking to excess are contradicted by better evidence than the reports of his intemperance. He worked at his business, wrote letters, laboured at filing in his workshop, read, and amused himself with his children. At Versailles he had a workshop well fitted up, and he used to employ himself in taking off locks and altering the wards, but he generally spoiled them. There was no forge, and not even a chimney in the room at the Tuileries, where he worked, and he was obliged to be satisfied with working with the file; but he did not do much.† The king had none of his books brought to Paris, except books of devotion, the revolutions of the different states of Europe, and the private history of Charles I. of England. During his residence at the Tuileries of almost three years, if he wanted any other books, he got them from the National Library. This monotonous life at the Tuileries, which was a disagreeable residence in summer, made the queen wish for a change, to which no opposition was made; and early in June the royal family removed to St. Cloud.‡ An immense crowd watched them leave the Tuileries, apparently to make quite sure that they were well secured by the National Guard. They might easily have escaped during the residence at St. Cloud, and there was a plan of escape, but it was not attempted. It 'as apparently soon after the royal family removed to Cloud that Mirabeau saw the queen. The court

* The list is a copy of the list in the 'Hist. Parlem.' Probably Prussians are supposed to be some other people than Germans. The &c. at the end must include the Turks and all the nations that are not named. The Chaldæan must have been an impostor. See the amusing anecdote in Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., ii., c. 26, as to a negro slave, who came to do the African; and the lively satire entitled 'Livre Noir,' in the 'Actes des Apôtres,' Rivarol, 'Mémoires,' p. 359.

His opinions on titles are stated in a letter to Mauillon.

† Madame Campan, 'Mémoires,' &c., ii., 90, &c.; Exaits d'un ouvrage intitulé 'Le Château des Tuileries,' in Hist. Parlem.,' iv., 195; this account is by a royalist.

‡ 'Hist. Parlem.,' vi., 320.



THE KING'S WORKSHOP.

came back to Paris, to be present at the festival, but returned to St. Cloud after it was over.

On the 11th of June, Mirabeau said in the Assembly, "Franklin is dead.—(Profound silence). He has returned to the bosom of the Deity, the genius which liberated America and shed on Europe torrents of light." He moved that the Assembly should wear mourning for three days in honour of Franklin, and it was carried. In the early part of July a deputation of American citizens resident at Paris appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and Paul Jones among them.* They prayed for permission to assist at the great festival of the 14th, which was granted. The revolutionary movement in France was extending its circle to all the world: it was felt to be something different from all other revolutions. Robespierre was delighted with the address of the Americans, and he spoke, but amidst continued interruptions. With great difficulty he was allowed to finish with his proposal for printing "the address of the Americans, and the answer of the president of the Assembly;" to which Maury maliciously added, "and of the speech of M. Robespierre." The Assembly decreed the impression of the American address and the president's answer. Robespierre was accustomed to insult: he waited his time, which was not yet come.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' vi., 372.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FOURTEENTH OF JULY, 1790.

From the time of the convocation of the States-General, the royal authority in France was feeble and uncertain: the 14th of July, 1789, completely paralyzed it. All was in disorder: a kingdom of fragments, never well united, and now dissolved by the impotence to which the royal power was reduced. This disorder was not remedied by the ministers, nor by the king, nor yet by the Assembly. The union of the scattered members was the work of the people themselves. The evidence for this will appear by the references at the bottom of the page.*

"The federations of November destroyed the provincial states; those of January terminated the strug-

* As to the subject of the federations in the provinces, see the various materials scattered through the 'Histoire Parlementaire;' iv., 3—5, at the close of 1789, the Federative Oath of Dauphiné; iv., 309, the federal pact made at Besançon, "to cause the decrees of the National Assembly and the authority of the king to be respected:" one object of these federations, in addition to being patriotic manifestations, was to secure the free circulation of grain, and they were followed by a fall in the price of bread; iv., 393, the federative assembly at Valence on the 31st of January, 1790, when the people swore on the altar "to defend liberty and maintain the constitution;" v., 123, the federative pact of Bretagne and Anjou, in which it was declared that they would maintain "the constitution of the State, the decrees of the National Assembly, and the legitimate and recognized authority of their kings; and that they were neither Bretons nor Angevins, but Frenchmen and citizens of the same empire;" v., 125, the federation of the Vosges, on the 7th of March, and the oath to defend the constitution; the same in Alsace, in Champagne, and in Franche-Comté; vi., 193, the federative pact of the inferior officers, grenadiers and fusi-



GRAND FEDERATION IN THE CHAMP DE MARS.

gles of the Parliaments; those of February checked disorder and pillage; in March and April were organized the masses which extinguished in May and June the first sparks of a religious war; in May also came the military federations, the soldier again became a citizen, the sword of the counter-revolution, its last arm, was broken." (Michelet.) It was the instinctive desire of union which broke down the barriers to the unity of France—custom-houses in the interior, innumerable transit duties payable on the roads and the rivers; twenty-eight duties payable, it is said, on the course of the Loire alone; an infinite variety of laws and customs, of measures, weights, and money; opposition of town and country, of provinces, of corporate bodies. The Assembly would in vain have parcelled out France into departments and other divisions, if the people had not been willing to accept the change. It has been said that the Assembly treated France as a conquered country, and exercised a power greater than even a victorious enemy over a subdued territory. The assertion is extravagantly absurd, and totally untrue; for the Assembly had no power except that of opinion; the Assembly trembled even before the populace of Paris. It did no more in making this new division of the kingdom than follow the almost universal will: it reduced to shape that which France had already presented to it in substance; and the communications of the various federations to the Assembly prove that on the question of unity and union the Assembly had nothing to do but to obey, and to give to opinion the form of law. The difference between the spontaneous movement of a whole people and the agitation of a few is immense: that which all desire, notwithstanding old habits and prejudices, is impressed with the evidence of its necessity and truth. The efforts of a few may either be too far in advance of opinion to be generally received, however wise the measures proposed, however pure the motives of those who propose them; or they may be the crude projects of self-sufficient men, to which society opposes the irresistible weight of its habits, its convictions, and even its prejudices, its blind faith in the past to the illusions of the future.

The federates of Étoile, near the ancient town of Valence, on the Rhone, gave the example of the first federation on the 29th of November, 1789. There was a large meeting at Lyon on the 31st of May, 1790, where were assembled deputations from the east and the south: the deputations from the National Guards alone amounted to fifty thousand. The men from the two extremes of France met to join their hands.

But the great federation was at Paris, the capital of all France, now united.

The expenses of the journey were, as already stated, to be defrayed by the localities, and many of these were poor. But contributions were raised, and the deputies were equipped in the best way that they could do it; yet many came without uniforms. They were lodged and entertained on the road,—National Guards, soldiers, sailors, like pilgrims on their way to the national shrine, relieving the weariness of the way by song.* From a surface of 200,000 square miles, or four times the area of England, from countries varying as much in natural character, and the habits and occupation of the people, as the parts of Europe most remote from one another, but all impelled by one common feeling of nationality, thousands of weary, dusty travellers made their way to Paris under a burning July sun. They came, the men from the foot of the Alps crowned with everlasting snow; from the sultry regions of the south, and the shores of the great internal sea; from the deep valleys of the Pyrenees, and the rugged regions of the Cevennes and Auvergne; from the low and dreary Landes, washed by the waters of the Atlantic; and from the iron-bound coast of Bretagne, which projects its granite forehead into the ocean, frowning and frowned upon by another Britain; from the valley of the Rhone, where ancient Rome has left its imperishable monuments, and from which modern Rome had just been ignominiously expelled; from the vine-clad hills of the Garonne, the spacious bosom of the Loire, and the regal waters of the Seine; from the ancient forests of the Ardennes, and the wide plains of Picardy and Artois, where the natural boundary between nations is obliterated in the great plain of Northern Europe.

The festival of the 14th of July took place in the Champ de Mars, a large open space between the military school and the Seine. The ground was prepared by moving the earth from the middle, and piling it up on the sides, so as to make an immense amphitheatre. Twelve thousand men were employed at this labour, but they worked too slow for the impatience of the Parisians, and there was some risk that the ground would not be ready in time. The Parisians set to work themselves, rich and poor, priests, soldiers, men of all classes, women of all ranks and conditions. They came in sections, with drum and banners, spades and barrows; and when the signal was given, they returned to their homes singing by the light of torches. Even workmen came to help after a day of weary labour. Between the 7th and the 14th the work was ended: a plain was made into a valley bounded by two hills.†

leers of the regiments of Normandy and Beauce, in garrison at Brest, and the oath "to be faithful to the nation, the law and the king, and to defend the new constitution," 18th May. To these authorities add the chapter of Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' ii., p. 161, &c., of which use has been made here. Michelet has treated the subject well, but in his peculiar way. It is a violation of truth to misrepresent or not to record this impulsive instinct of French nationality.

* It was a national song, dull and stupid. It looks as if it were formed by some revolutionary priest: "Le peuple en ce jour sans cesse répète," &c.; but it is not worth repeating. It was changed for something else in 1793.

† There are occasions on which the royalist writers are the least exceptionable evidence. They prove that there was a real sympathy, for the moment, among all classes. Ferrières, ii., 89, &c.; Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., ii., c. 27. The opinion even of Weber, in his miserable 'Mémoires,' (ii., 267,) may go for something.

In the mean time the deputies from the departments were arriving and were received with hospitality; innkeepers and lodging-house folks lowered their charges; private persons received many in their houses. Yet there was fear about such a multitude coming to Paris: some were afraid of plunder and murder. The Jacobins, too, had their fears,—their fears that the king might become popular. Another cause of fear, the idlest of all; the Duke of Orleans, on the 10th of July, had come back from England, and had taken the civic oath before the Assembly, but to fear anything from him was to be more credulous even than a Jacobin affected to be.

On the 14th the federates marched from the site of the Bastille with the banners of the eighty-three departments to which they belonged: they were accompanied by a deputation from the troops of the line, the sailors in the royal navy, and the National Guard, with trumpets, drums, and all the pomp of military display. It rained torrents, but rain did not cool the enthusiasm of Paris. The streets, the windows, the quais on the river, along which the procession marched, were crowded with people. The federates, drenched in rain and streaming with sweat, danced as they went along, crying, "Vivent nos frères Parisiens!" Their brethren of Paris responded by loud shouts, and by letting down from the windows, wine, ham, fruits and sausages for their brethren from the country. Lafayette, mounted on a noble horse and surrounded by his aides-de-camp, gave his orders and received the acclamations of the people. The National Assembly joined the procession at the Place Louis Quinze.

Since six in the morning above three hundred thousand men and women from Paris and its neighbourhood had taken their places on the grass seats formed round the amphitheatre in the Champ de Mars: all was wet and mud, but all were merry and talking while they waited for the federates and the Assembly. The federates as they came joined hands and danced till they formed a ring round a large part of the amphitheatre. When the whole procession was assembled in the Champ de Mars, every federate rejoined his banner. The Bishop of Autun began to celebrate mass at an altar formed in the style of ancient construction, and placed in the centre of the amphitheatre. Three hundred priests in white surplices and broad tricolor sashes stood at the four corners of the altar. An awning ornamented with fleurs de lis was placed in front of the military school for the king and the court: on the right of the royal throne was the seat of the president of the Assembly, without any person between him and the king; on the left of the king and on the right of the president were the deputies.* Mirabeau was ambitious of filling the chair of the president on this occasion, for a new president was chosen every fourteen days, but Lafayette opposed his wishes, and the Marquis de Bonnay, a man of moderate principles and much esteemed, was chosen president on the 6th of July. In addition to the three hundred thousand spectators, this vast space contained fifty thousand armed men, fourteen thousand of whom were the National Guards from the departments. The quai of Chaillot and the heights of Passy were also crowded with people; Montmartre, St. Cloud, Meudon, and Sèvres in the distance formed a natural amphitheatre for this magnificent spectacle.

When the mass was ended, the bishop of Autun blessed the oriflamme, or national standard of France, and the banners of the eighty-three departments; and then gave out the Te Deum, which was executed by twelve hundred musicians. Lafayette at the head of the staff of the Paris militia and the deputies from the land and sea forces now ascended the altar and swore in the name of the troops and of the federates to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king. The president of the National Assembly standing before his seat took the same oath, and the deputies and the people followed with the words, "I swear it." The king then standing in front of his throne, with an audible voice said, "I, king of the French, swear to the nation to employ all the power which is delegated to me by the constitutional law of the State, to maintain the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by me, and to cause the laws to be executed." The queen took the Dauphin in her arms, and presenting him to the people said, "See my son, he joins as well as myself in the same expressions;" this unexpected movement was followed by cries of "Vive le roi, Vive la reine, Vive le dauphin," from thousands of mouths. "The cannon mingled their majestic voice with the sounds of military instruments and the acclamations of the people; the sky cleared up; the sun appeared in all his splendour; it seemed as if the Eternal himself willed to be the witness of this mutual engagement and to ratify it by his presence. . . . Yes, he saw it, he heard it, and the frightful evils which from this day have never ceased to desolate France, O Providence, always vigilant and always faithful! are the just punishment of perjury. Thou hast struck both the king and the subjects who have violated their oath."*

While the federates stayed in Paris there was feasting and dancing every day. The Champ de Mars was the centre of amusement. Lafayette there reviewed a part of the national guard of the departments and of the troops of the line. The king, the queen and the Dauphin were present, and were received with shouts

* Hist. Parlem., vi., 371.

* Ferrières. His remark is quoted, not because it is here assumed to be true or false, but as the opinion of a royalist. Compare Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., c. 27, as to the festival of the 14th of July; and Poujoulat, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' i., 225. This work was published in 1848. The author is a sensible man, and writes in a tone of impartiality. The history of the French Revolution ought to be viewed not only in its bare facts, so far as they can be ascertained, but in the judgments of its contemporaries, and in its reflection in the writings of historians of every shade of opinion. Something may be learned from all of them.

of joy. The federates before leaving Paris paid their respects to the king, to whom they testified the strongest attachment. The commander of the Bretons bent one knee to the earth, and presenting his sword, said, "Sire, I present to you pure and sacred the sword of the faithful Bretons: it shall never be stained but with the blood of your enemies." Louis raised the Breton from the ground and returning his sword replied, "This sword can never be in better hands than in the hands of my dear Bretons; I have never doubted of their affection and their fidelity: assure them that I am the father, the brother, the friend of all the French." The king with great emotion pressed his hand and embraced him.

The municipality of Paris had ordered the banners for the eighty-three departments at its own expense; and it also provided for the amusement of the citizens and the visitors. There were illuminations, and fireworks, a ball at the Corn Market, and a ball on the site of the Bastille. At the entrance of the inclosure of the Bastille were written in large characters the words "Here we dance." The Champs Elysées were a blaze of light. Festoons of lamps were hung from the trees; pyramids of lights placed at intervals turned night into day. The citizen, with his wife and children, sat and talked, or walked about. Young boys and girls danced to the music of the orchestras placed in the open spaces among the trees.

All was, to appearance, joy and merriment; but beneath the surface there were the elements of explosion. The journal of Camille Desmoulins was, as usual, lively and revolutionary. He said that M. Capet the elder (meaning the king, to whom he gave his family name) had not blushed to ask for an allowance of twenty-five millions. "If I had been a deputy, I should have required that the throne where M. Capet seated himself so unceremoniously, should have remained empty in an elevated place, to represent the sovereignty of the nation; I would have had at the foot of this throne the two powers placed on seats at least equal." Marat, in 'L'Ami du Peuple,' abused the people for their indifference in the midst of anarchy, accused Necker of favouring the *accapareurs*, and threw about his insinuations and charges with his usual liberality. "What spectacle more humiliating," said this infuriated journalist, "for the nation, than to see on a mean chair the president of the senate which represents it, while the king, who is only the first servant of the people, occupies a magnificent throne, encircled with all the symbols of triumph! What spectacle more revolting than to see the king disdain to swear fidelity to the nation on the altar of the country!"—"The federative pact, the object of the enthusiasm of all good Frenchmen, has never in my eyes been anything but a mode of subjugation, the wretched consequences of which will soon be felt."



ILLUMINATIONS IN THE CHAMPS ELYSÉES.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE AFFAIR OF NANCY.

The feast of the federation showed that there was yet some loyalty in the provinces, and the deputations went home well satisfied with their visit to Paris. The journalists accordingly were more active than usual in scattering abroad the seeds of suspicion and anarchy. "The sittings of the 27th and 28th" (July), said the 'Révolutions de France et de Brabant,' "have caused a lively interest, like all those of a congress on war in the presence of the people. A courier from the department of Ardennes, sent to M. Dubois-Crancé, excited great emotion among the public. He announced that Bouillé, the aristocrat Bouillé, so often and so uselessly denounced in our journal, had addressed an order to the commandants of Charleville, Mezières, Rocroi, Givet, to open the passages on the Meuse to the Austrian army which was marching on Brabant. On the report of this order sixty thousand citizen soldiers of the department took up arms to watch the Austrian troops. Various other intelligence confirmatory of treason and ministerial machinations, justified the statement of M. Dubois-Crancé and the alarms of the patriots." A paper entitled 'C'en est fait de nous,' or 'It is all over with us,' and bearing the signature of Marat, also appeared in his journal.* On the 31st of July, Malouet denounced Desmoulins and Marat in the National Assembly amidst great opposition from the *côté gauche*. "Read," he said, "the last number of the 'Révolutions de France et de Brabant.'—Are there more cruel enemies to the constitution than those who design to make of the king and of royalty an object of contempt and scandal, who seize on the occasion of this memorable festival, during which the king received from all parts of the empire testimonials of love and fidelity, to speak to us of the insolence of the throne, of the chair of the executive power. Camille Desmoulins calls the triumph of Paulus Æmilius a national festival, in which a king with his hands tied behind his back followed in humiliation the triumphal car; he makes out of this historical event a criminal allusion to the federal festival."† He complained of the state of impotence to which the law was reduced, and he demanded that the *procureur du roi* at the Châtelet should be instructed to prosecute writers who encouraged the people to shed blood and disobey the laws. One side of the Assembly murmured; the other applauded. Malouet read some passages from the paper entitled 'C'en est fait de nous:'—"Citizens of every age and of every rank, the measures taken by the Assembly cannot prevent you from perishing: it is all over with you for ever, if you do not run to arms, if you do not resume the heroic valour, which on the 14th of July and the 5th of October saved France twice. Fly to St. Cloud if there is yet time, bring back the king and the dauphin within our walls, keep them safe, and let them answer for events; shut up the Austrian (Marie Antoinette) and her brother-in-law, that they may no longer conspire; seize all the ministers and their clerks; put them in irons," &c., &c. "Five or six hundred heads taken off would have secured you repose, liberty, and happiness; a false humanity has checked your arms and suspended your blows; it will cost the lives of millions of your brothers," &c., &c. Notwithstanding the opposition of the *côté gauche*, it was decreed that the *procureur du roi* should prosecute for treason against the nation (*lèse-nation*) the authors, printers, and hawkers of publications which excited the people to insurrection against the law, to the effusion of blood, and the overthrow of the constitution. Yet on the 2nd of August, on the motion of Pétion, which was supported by Alexander Lameth, the Assembly decreed that there should be no prosecution for any thing published up to that time; but that the National Assembly had instructed the committee on the constitution and that on criminal law together, to present to it a plan for the execution of the decree of the 31st of July. Camus, however, carried an amendment, by which the paper 'C'en fait' was excepted from the general amnesty. Thus license was encouraged by a majority in the Assembly. There were still complaints of acts of violence in the provinces, and of châteaux being burnt in Lorraine; men ran about the country crying, "Here's the great decree which forbids the paying of tithes and quit-rents." The Assembly decreed that his majesty should be requested to instruct the courts of justice to prosecute all persons who, in contempt of the decrees of the Assembly and the sacred rights of property, should in any way resist the payment of tithes for that year, and all other former seignorial rights which had not been suppressed without indemnity.

The Châtelet had long been engaged in investigating the affair of the 5th and 6th of October (1789). The proceedings had been often interrupted and resumed, and they were now resumed again. Mirabeau and the duke of Orleans were implicated, but the evidence was full of contradictions. When the court ordered the proceedings to be resumed, the object was to crush the duke of Orleans, and to leave Mirabeau alone. The duke had been received with some applause on his return from England, and the court had repulsed all his attempts to be restored to the king's favour. On the 7th of August the Châtelet laid on the

* Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., iii., c. 28. Marat justified the paper in 'L'Ami du Peuple,' without avowing his authorship. 'Hist. Parlem.,' vi., 438.

† The application of this historical event (Livy, xlv., 40,) was not very appropriate; but the French of this period were continually applying to Greek and Roman History for a parallel.

bureau of the Assembly the result of their proceedings with respect to the morning of the 6th of October (1789); and the Assembly instructed the committee of reports to lay before them a statement of the charges which affected the representatives of the Assembly, if there were any. Chabroud made an elaborate, but not an impartial report on the affairs of October, 1789, the reading of which occupied the 30th of September (1790), and the 1st of October.* The report declared that there was no evidence of the invasion of Versailles by the Parisians being the result of a plot; that there was a suspicion of the court having anti-revolutionary designs, and that there was reason for the suspicion; that the charges against Mirabeau and the duke of Orleans were not worth consideration.† It was made a charge against Mirabeau, that when he heard of the Parisians approaching, he went up to the president Mounier, and advised him to pretend sickness, to adjourn the sittings, and go to the king. This prudent advice which would have saved the Assembly from the humiliation to which it was afterwards subjected, was absurdly construed by Mounier into evidence of Mirabeau's complicity, as if there was anything strange in his knowing what was then generally known, and as if it could be treason to go and inform the king. Other absurd charges, some of which were self-contradictory, were brought against Mirabeau. The conclusion of the report was a recommendation that the Assembly should declare that there was no ground of accusation against M. Mirabeau the elder and M. Louis-Philippe-Joseph d'Orleans, and the Assembly by a great majority adopted the resolution.‡ The court thus failed in its attack on the duke: it seemed as if it could never act without committing a blunder. If he was guilty, it might have been foreseen that it would be impossible to punish him: and his guilt was not satisfactorily proved.

The army was the last hope of the defenders of arbitrary power, and also of those who were in favour of the new constitution: it was the only thing that the popular party now feared. But hopes and fears were both extinguished by the general insubordination of the army, and especially of the infantry, which was no longer a secret. The superior officers hated the revolution, because it had opened promotion to merit, and the higher grades were no longer the exclusive possession of birth and favour. They had taken the civic oath slowly and unwillingly; and many of them had emigrated. The soldiers were in favour of a change which altered their condition and gave every man the hope of promotion; but besides this honourable motive for attachment to the revolution, there was dislike of the strict discipline to which the officers, generally of the counter-revolutionary party, subjected them, and perhaps the hope of better pay.* Bouillé, who had full powers from Latour-du-Pin, minister of war, did all that he could to prevent his troops from being carried away by the revolutionary spirit and to maintain discipline.

The first outbreak on the eastern frontier was at Metz, where the soldiers, as in several other places, complained that they were robbed by the officers, who gave no account of the regimental chest. Whether the money destined for the regiments was improperly applied or not, the fact of all the accounts being carelessly kept was sufficient to excite suspicion. In February, 1790, the Assembly had raised the pay of the soldier a trifle, but it was complained that the soldiers, so late as the month of May, had derived no advantage from the decree of the Assembly. Bouillé himself was in some danger at Metz; and the colonel of the regiment of Condé, in a letter to the minister of war, said, "The twenty-two thousand livres unjustly demanded of M. Bouillé have been paid by the officers to save M. Bouillé."

The affair of Nancy was more serious.† The 19th of April, 1790, the day of the federation of Lorraine at Mont Sainte-Geneviève, near Nancy, was the time from which the divisions between the soldiers and the officers of the king's regiment commenced. The officers knew that the soldiers sympathized with the national movement, and they endeavoured to excite jealousy between them and the other troops and the National Guard. Some of the officers at Metz employed a *maître d'armes* belonging to the regiment, who at one time would assume his military dress and insult the National Guards, at another time in the national dress would insult the soldiers who did not know him. The result of these quarrels were duels with this formidable master-of-arms: those whom he had provoked must either fight and die, or be treated as cowards. At last the *maître d'armes* was arrested, when it was discovered that in his own country he had been condemned to be hanged: he was driven away with ignominy, after having a paper cap put on his head with the inscription, 'Iscariot.' The officers whom this assassin named as his instigators crossed the frontiers and joined the Austrian army which was moving on Brabant. This was significant: the officer emigrated and joined the foreigner; the soldier stayed and joined the people,—the class to which he belonged. At Nancy the soldiers formed a club under the name of 'Friends of Peace and the Constitution.'

* Compare Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' c. 5; 'Hist. Parlem..' vii., 17; and J. Droz, 'Mirabeau et L'Assemblée Constituante,' p. 271.

† Printed at length in 'Hist. Parlem.,' vii., 277.

‡ And all sensible writers have come to the same conclusion, as to Mirabeau at least. Compare Dahlmann, 'Geschichte der Französischen Revolution,' p. 285, 2nd ed.; the royalist Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., iii., c. 30; and Droz, p. 30, &c.

* Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' c. 5.

† 'Affaires de Nancy,' 'Hist. Parlem.,' vii., 59—162; Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' ii., p. 261; Thiers, 'Hist.,' &c., c. 5; Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., iii., c. 29; Droz, 'Mirabeau et L'Assemblée Constituante,' p. 248. The necessity for vigorous action in the affair of Nancy must be admitted; the soldiers had cause of complaint, but they were in a state of mutiny. The evidence is confused as usual with the history of this period.

The duels still continued among the soldiers, and were viewed as a good means of purifying the army. It happened nobody knew how that a quarrel arose among the troops at Nancy, and fifteen hundred men on each side were going to fight a pitched battle, when a soldier threw himself between the two parties, and stopped them by begging that they would first ascertain what they were going to fight about. As the Austrian army approached, offers of discharge were freely made to the soldiers; and many were discharged with ignominy.

In the beginning of August there were at Nancy the regiment of the king, the cavalry regiment Mestre-de-Camp, and Château-vieux, a Swiss regiment. The soldiers of the regiment du roi had demanded a statement of the regimental accounts, and the officers gave them 150,000 livres. On the 6th of August a *projet* of a decree consisting of ten articles was presented to the Assembly by Emmery, who acted at the instigation of Lafayette: the object of the measure was to remedy the insubordination in the army. The decree declared that in order to examine the accounts which were kept by the officers, the king would name inspectors from among the officers, that no ignominious discharge should be given to the soldiers except after a sentence passed in the old form: the soldiers might complain directly to the king or to the National Assembly of their grievances.

Two soldiers of the Swiss regiment of Château-vieux came to the regiment du roi on the 5th of August, to ask for information about the way of examining the accounts; and for doing this they were whipped on parade by the order of their officers, the French officers looking on the while and expressing their approbation of the conduct of the Swiss officers. Château-vieux was the regiment that was with Besenval in the Champ de Mars on the 14th of July, 1789, and by declaring that it would not fire on the people, had paralysed the movements of Besenval, and left the Bastille to its fate. It was accordingly popular with the French soldiers, who took the two Swiss, put their own caps on their heads, marched them through the town, and made the Swiss commandant pay each of them a hundred louis by way of compensation for their punishment.* In the mean time the decree of the 6th of August arrived, which had been sanctioned by the king on the 7th, and was read in the Place to the assembled garrison.

A report was spread that the officers intended to go off with the military chest, the colors, and the scum of the army, and to cross the frontiers. The military chest, instead of being at the quarters, where according to the rules it ought to have been, had been taken to the treasurer, and put under the protection of the Maréchaussée, which the soldiers considered an insult. The soldiers of the regiment du roi compelled their commandant to give up the chest: the Swiss seized theirs, with 8,000 livres in assignats in it, and it seems that more money was given to them, to keep them quiet. As early as the 8th of August, Lafayette by letter advised Bouillé to stop the disorders at Nancy. The soldiers sent an address to the Assembly, but it was intercepted; and some messengers with a second letter were arrested by Lafayette at Paris. In the mean time information of the state of the garrison of Nancy was forwarded to the ministry in a letter from Denoue, the commandant, a letter from the directory of the department of La Meurthe, and a *procès-verbal* of the municipality of Nancy. On the 16th of August the Assembly unanimously passed a decree,* which declared that the violation of the decrees of the Assembly, sanctioned by the king, was treason against the State, and that those who had excited the garrison of Nancy to revolt should be tried and punished; and that those who had taken any part "in the rebellion should have twenty-four hours allowed them from the publication of this decree to express their contrition, and in writing, if their officers required it." Malseigne, a general officer who had been summoned from Besançon, reached Nancy on the 26th, to enforce the decree of the 6th of August. All was then quiet; but on his visiting the Swiss quarters, they were dissatisfied with his proceedings, and attempted to prevent him from going away; on which he drew his sword and wounded some of the Swiss; but he was allowed to escape unhurt. Malseigne was a hot-headed man, ill-suited for the mission.

This affair made matters worse, and Bouillé ordered the Swiss to leave Nancy. The Swiss refused, and he marched upon the place with two thousand two hundred infantry, and fourteen hundred horse, nearly all Germans; and about seven hundred National Guards. But the mass of the National Guards would not join him, and they threw themselves into Nancy. On the 31st Bouillé was close to Nancy, when he received a deputation from the municipality and the garrison; and he required that the garrison should leave the city, and that Denoue and Malseigne, who were now prisoners in the place, should be set at liberty. As he approached nearer, he received a second deputation, to whom he announced the same terms, with the addition of the surrender of four of the guilty from each regiment. On coming within thirty paces of the walls, he was informed that the soldiers were leaving the town. In fact the two French regiments were leaving by all the gates except one, which was fortified and guarded by the Swiss and some soldiers of the other regiments. Bouillé marched up to it and summoned them to surrender the gate.† He was answered, according to his own account, by a discharge of grape and musketry: his men broke through the gate, killed all whom they met, and formed on the Place, while his opponents

* Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç,' ii., p. 271; J. Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c, p. 250; Procès-verbal de la municipalité de Nancy.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' vii., 85.

† His own account in his letter of the 1st of September. The king had several copies of Bouillé's report made. (Campan, 'Mémoires,' &c., ii., 122.)

were firing from the windows. A furious battle took place, which lasted three hours. Bouillé estimated that there were ten thousand against his three thousand, for after the affray commenced, Bouillé had the whole town against him. At last the soldiers of Château-vieux being either killed, wounded or made prisoners, and Mestre-de-Camp having fled, the regiment du roi, which took no part in the contest, surrendered. On the following day order was restored. Bouillé reckoned his loss at three hundred killed: no peaceable citizen, he said, was molested. But other accounts say that three thousand citizens, among whom were three hundred women, were massacred; which is doubtless a great exaggeration. After the slaughter, twenty-eight Swiss were hung, and one was broken on the wheel. Horrible stories were told of the excesses which were committed in Nancy, and the stories were believed.*

The king thanked Bouillé for his conduct in this affair, and begged he would continue to act with the same vigour. He extended his command from the borders of Switzerland to the Sambre. The Assembly passed a vote of thanks, on the motion of Mirabeau, to the directory of La Meurthe, and the municipality of Nancy; also to the National Guards who acted under Bouillé; and declared that the general and the troops of the line deserved their approbation for the glorious discharge of their duty. Robespierre in vain attempted to get a hearing.

A few days after the affair at Nancy, Loustalot, the editor of the 'Révolutions de Paris,' the most successful of all the journals, died at the age of twenty-eight. His death was generally attributed to the effect produced by the news of the slaughter of Nancy; for he was a sincerely honest man, and he took the interests of the public as much to heart as other people do their own. He was a man of ability, and carried with him to the grave, after his short and brilliant career, a general testimony to the integrity of his purpose.

The disturbances of Nancy were vigorously suppressed, but the suppression was accompanied with cruelty to the Swiss. Château-vieux had refused to leave the town on being summoned, and it was therefore still mutinous; but there is no evidence to show that the men of the two other regiments would not have quietly left Nancy, if Bouillé had given a little time, and had not been so precipitate in marching up to the fortified gate. It was necessary to restore discipline; but circumstances required both decision and prudence. Mirabeau proposed to disband the army, and to re-form it; a measure which might perhaps have been practicable: but his proposal was not adopted.*

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' vii., 73. Nancy was in fact taken by storm, and it may be safely inferred that some excesses were committed. Bertrand de Moleville, a royalist, says: "The volunteers return the fire and force the gate; they are no longer to be restrained, they put every man they meet to death, and are themselves fired on from cellars, windows, and the tops of houses."

* Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c., p. 259.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY.

NECKER'S credit had long been at an end: his health was impaired, and he wished for quiet and retirement. On the 4th of September he communicated in a letter to the president of the Assembly his intention to resign. His letter bore the imprint of the consciousness of integrity, and of his incurable vanity. "Malebranche," said Mirabeau, "sees all in God, Necker all in Necker." He had lent two million francs to the royal treasury, which he left without alarm "under the protection of the nation." His resignation was accepted; and the National Assembly hardly took notice of his departure. Yet Necker admits that a very slight encouragement from the Assembly would have made him stay. He was twice stopped on his road to his native Switzerland, as if he had been a malefactor escaping from justice; and it was necessary for the Assembly to interfere in order to secure his retreat. He went to Coppet, on the lake of Geneva, "there to contemplate from a distance a revolution which he was better adapted to observe than to direct." (Thiers.)

The immediate cause of Necker's retirement was the state of the finances. At this time the committee of finance, intending to present a plan for the liquidation of the public debt, thought it proper to present first a full statement of the amount of the debt.* The interest of the funded debt, annuities and perpetual dividends together, amounted to 167,737,819 livres: this debt was never payable, so long as the dividends were paid. The debt that was payable, or so considered by the committee, consisted of a great variety of heads, and was 1,339,741,813 livres; and a third class of debts, which were payable at fixed periods, amounted to 538,274,921 livres. Consequently the whole sum which had to be paid, was, according to the report of the committee, the enormous amount of 1,878,016,734 livres. Necker had opposed the original formation of assignats, and he was against any further issue. Though the assignats carried interest at three per cent. payable at the end of the year, they were already depreciated in the departments from six to ten per cent. The debates on a further issue took

* Article officiel du 'Moniteur' sur l'état de la dette publique, in the 'Hist. Parl.,' vii., 164; Bertrand de Moleville, Annals,' &c., iii., c. 29; and Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c., p. 261.

place in September. Maury opposed the measure with his usual vigour; and Talleyrand instructed, it is said, by Panchaud, clearly pointed out the consequences that would follow from the further issue of these promises to pay. Mirabeau, though in his earlier writings he had called all paper money a walking pestilence, supported the proposal of a further issue, and with arguments supplied, as it is said, by Clavière. On the 29th of September it was decreed, by a majority of 508 to 423, to "pay the unfunded debt of the State and that of the former body of the clergy in assignats not bearing interest; that there should never be more than twelve hundred millions of assignats in circulation, including the four hundred millions already decreed; that the assignats which should be returned to the Extraordinary Chest (*caisse de l'extraordinaire*) should be burnt; that no new assignats should be made without a decree of the legislative body, and on the condition that they should not exceed the value of the national property, nor ever be in circulation to a larger amount than twelve hundred millions."

The ministers were not only without popularity, but without power: they were suspected of plots and intrigues, or accused of indecision and weakness, and they had no friends either in the Assembly or out of it. Paris, instead of the former division into sixty districts, had recently been divided into forty-eight sections, with a newly organised municipality. The sections resolved to press on the Assembly the question of impeaching the ministers, and Bailly could not refuse to present a deputation from the sections at the bar of the Assembly. A man of large athletic form, with a coarse expression of countenance, small eyes deep sunk in his head, and a face strongly marked with the small-pox, a vulgarized Mirabeau, read the address of the sections in an impetuous manner, and a harsh sonorous voice, amidst interruption from the Abbé Maury. It was Danton.* The address said, "The National Assembly had thought fit to determine that there was no ground for discussing the proposition which had been laid before it, to declare to the king that the ministers had lost the public confidence. But all France expected the ministers to give in a resignation which the Assembly would always have the right to call for when it should think proper." The Abbé Maury cried out, "Who ever said that?" Maury was called to order. Cazalès said, "We must listen to everything, even to political absurdities." Danton went on with the address. He said that the commune of Paris wished for the immediate dismissal of the ministers: Champion, one of them, was accused and convicted of having altered several decrees: Guignard was an accomplice in the anti-revolutionary plot of Maillebois; La Tour-du-Pin was incapable of any independent action, but was an enemy of the Revolution, because he considered his parchments and his vanity a real nobility; he had exposed the frontiers, and oppressed a great number of soldiers and subaltern officers: it was to no purpose to object that the commune produced no proofs; the nation had a right to say to its agents (*mandataires*): "you are unworthy of the public confidence, simply because you persist in holding power during the preparation of the process which I threaten you with." The president replied that the head of the nation would not reject the charges which the municipality could doubtless establish by evidence, that the Assembly would weigh the charges in its wisdom; and it granted to the deputation the honours of the sitting.

But even Cazalès and his party, though opposed to the ministers, would not ask the king to dismiss them, for such a step would, in the eyes of the *côté droit*, have been an attack on the king's prerogative. The ministers, however, did successively resign with the exception of Montmorin, who was less an object of hatred than the rest. Duport-du-Tertre, an advocate, received the seals. Duportail, who was recommended to the king by Lafayette, succeeded La Tour-du-Pin, minister of war, and his first measures were to check the authority of Bouillé.

A decree of the 27th of November finally settled the civil constitution of the clergy.* Louis had already written to the Pope on this subject. Pius VI. replied that a purely political body could not alter the general doctrine and discipline of the church, or make rules about the election of bishops, or the extinction of sees; that if the king had the right to renounce his crown, yet no consideration should induce him to betray his duty to God and the church, whose eldest son he was. This was well calculated to perplex the conscience of Louis, who was a devout son of the church. The decree of the 27th of November completed the king's perplexity. The fifth article declared that the ecclesiastics who did not take the oath prescribed by the decree of the 24th of July, 1790, within the times fixed by the first article of the decree of the 27th of November, should be considered as having renounced their appointments, which should be filled up. The king deferred his consent to the decree of the 27th for three weeks, when the president of the Assembly waited on him to know the reason of the delay. Louis replied that his respect for religion was one cause of his hesitation; another cause was his wish to prevent the disturbances to which the decree might give rise. On the 26th of December, by letter, the king said, "I have just accepted the decree of the 27th of November."† He accepted, but unwillingly. From this moment he thought only of escape, and in the month of November, when he saw that the Assembly persisted in doing violence to his religious convictions in the matter of the civil constitution of the clergy, he had determined to avail himself of foreign assistance. He sent to Breteuil, who was in Germany,

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' viii., 27; Dahlmann, 'Geschichte,' &c., p. 342; and Michelet's portrait of Danton, ii., 358.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' viii., 142; Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c., p. 295.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' viii., 143

full powers to treat with the different princes of Germany, for the recovery of his authority. In his letter to the king of Prussia, dated the 3rd of December, 1790, Louis says, "I have just written to the emperor, to the empress of Russia, to the kings of Spain and Sweden, and I have suggested to them a congress of the principal powers of Europe, supported by an armed force, as the best means of checking the factious here, furnishing the means of establishing a better order of things, and preventing the evils from which we suffer from reaching the other states of Europe."—"Thus while the king was writing, by the hand of the minister for foreign affairs, to his emigrant brothers and the prince of Condé, official letters to call them back and to represent to them the duty of every citizen towards his country, the baron de Breteuil, his confidential minister to the powers, was transmitting to the king of Prussia letters in which the king's secret thoughts were expressed." *

The oath was taken by above a third of the ecclesiastical members of the Assembly, and among them were Gregoire, and a number of curés. Only three bishops took the oath, Talleyrand, the Cardinal de Brienne, and Gobel, Bishop of Lidda. On the 4th of January, the time fixed for taking the oath had expired, and on the motion of Barnave, the ecclesiastical members of the Assembly who had not taken the oath, were called on to swear.† A single priest, a curé, took the oath. "Does no one else take the oath," said the president, and there was silence for a quarter of an hour. The Bishop of Poitiers said: "I am seventy years of age, and I have been a bishop for thirty-five years, during which I have done all the good that I could. Bowed down with years and my studies, I do not choose to dishonour my old age; I will not take the oath. I will bear my lot in the spirit of penitence." Barnave moved, and his motion was carried by a great majority, that the president should communicate to the king the minutes of their proceedings since the 26th of December, and request him to give orders for the prompt execution of the decree of the 27th of November, with respect to the ecclesiastical members of the Assembly. The whole of France was now divided on the question of the oath. "One would have said," observes a royalist writer,‡ "that the destiny of France and the fortune of all Frenchmen depended on the oath being taken, or not taken: men who were most free in their religious opinions, women most notorious for their immorality, became all at once ardent theologians, ardent missionaries of the purity and integrity of the Roman faith." Mirabeau, as appears from his correspondence, was fully aware of the mischief that would result from this measure of the Assembly, which, in addition to the causes of discord already existing, had brought about a division in the ecclesiastical body. But his real opinions on this matter were not publicly made known.

The places which became vacant in consequence of the decree of the 27th of November were filled up, and the Bishops of Autun and Lidda consecrated the new bishops. Talleyrand soon after laid aside his clerical character: no man ever knew better the signs of the times. The schism was begun and the breach went on widening. The ecclesiastics who were deprived, would not abandon their functions, and treated their successors as intruders, the sacraments which they administered as null, and those who recognized the new priests as excommunicated. There was a constitutional clergy, and a refractory clergy, a clergy that had taken the oath (*assermenté*), and one that had not. Between the revolutionary party and the refractory clergy the people began to lose their faith in the religion of their fathers,—for infidelity had not yet descended from the higher classes to the common people. If the measures of the Assembly as to the oath and the conduct of many of the higher clergy in their resistance, did not create any new difficulties, they certainly aggravated the passions of men, and stimulated the frenzy of fanaticism, religious and irreligious.

Mirabeau's position with respect to the king and his own convictions of the necessity of stopping the revolutionary movement, prompted him to form designs to which his self-confidence gave the promise of success. Breteuil had a plan for rescuing the king, which he communicated to the queen in October 1790. The king was to make his escape from Paris, and throw himself into some strong place which Bouillé could provide: he would then choose a new ministry, and declare his will as to the future constitution, and if necessary call in the aid of foreign troops. The emigrant princes had their plans also, but Louis would not listen to them. Bouillé too had a plan of his own, which depended in some measure on the support of the Assembly, and on Mirabeau's influence; for Bouillé was acquainted with the connection between the court and Mirabeau. In February, 1791, Mirabeau had a plan for saving the monarchy, which he formed during his presidentship of the Assembly; for on the 29th of January, 1791, he was elected president for the first time. During his term of office he displayed unusual tact and ability: the chair had never been occupied with more judgment and impartiality. A writer, who calls him a villain, and who hated him and the *côté gauche*, says: "he had been ambitious to be president, in order to turn to the advantage of his popularity all the consideration he might acquire by showing himself as able to occupy the chair as to shine in the tribune. In fact no person presided with more dignity, or gave better proofs than himself that the president was not solely the organ of the Assembly, but that he ought to be and could be its moderator. His answers to the different deputations that appeared at the Assembly all bore the genuine stamp of elo-

* Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' v., 12. This letter was written before Monsieur escaped from Paris, and before the king's acceptance of the civil constitution. Michelet, ii., 370.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' viii., 354, contains the particulars of the sitting of the 4th of January, 1791.

‡ Ferrières, 'Mémoires,' ii., 198.

quence and wisdom. He always spoke as a revolutionist; but his language, ably seasoned with patriotism, contained only the exact dose necessary to preserve his popularity."—(Bertrand de Moleville.) The fact of Mirabeau having formed a plan is proved beyond doubt from the unpublished memoirs of Malouet, who was present at a conference between Mirabeau and Montmorin, which lasted to a late hour at night.* The means by which this counter-revolution was to be effected, it is of no importance to state. The Assembly was to be dissolved, a new one elected, and the constitution to be revised: there were to be two chambers, the king was to have an absolute veto, and the power of proroguing and dissolving the chambers. In fine, Mirabeau wished to secure the real advantages of the revolution, and to establish a constitutional monarchy, as the term is understood, one in which the power exercised in the name of the crown shall be sufficient to maintain order without infringing liberty. He was not for a counter-revolution, but, as he said, for a counter-constitution.

In February the king's old aunts, Mesdames Adelaide and Victoire, left France. They were uneasy ever since the civil constitution of the clergy was established, which disturbed their accustomed devotional habits by allowing only priests to officiate who had taken the oath. They made their escape at ten of the night with the aid of Berthier, afterwards prince of Wagram. They were however arrested at Moret by the municipality, and after being released by the chasseurs of Lorraine, they were stopped again at Arnay-le-duc, and not allowed to prosecute their journey, though they had a passport from the king. Mirabeau foresaw that their departure would injure the king in public opinion, and excite suspicions of his wish to run away too; and he foretold that they would be stopped. When the arrest* of these two old ladies was communicated to the Assembly, Mirabeau maintained that there was no law against the princesses leaving France; consequently there was no reason for discussing the *procès-verbal* of the commune of Arnay-le-duc; and he moved that the matter should be referred to the executive authority. He and Maury were for once on the same side; but it was not without difficulty that the Assembly adopted the motion of Mirabeau, which was in effect to allow the princesses to go. General Menou settled the matter in their favour by saying: "Europe will be surprised no doubt to learn that the National Assembly has spent four full hours in discussing the departure of two ladies, who would rather hear mass at Rome than at Paris." The king's aunts went to Rome, to seek peace amidst the ruins of the eternal city.

* There is also the testimony of Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., iii., c. 35, who had his information from Montmorin. Whether the accuracy of Moleville's memory may be altogether relied on, is hard to say. He had some ability, as his work shows, and strong prejudices. The whole of this thirty-fifth chapter is worth reading. Compare Dahlmann, 'Geschichte,' &c., p. 355; Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c., p. 334, and his remarks on Bertrand de Moleville.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ix., 43.

CHAPTER XIX.

MIRABEAU.

The long struggle between the order of the clergy and their opponents completed the division of parties, and was followed by fresh emigrations: indeed emigration became a fashion. The emigrants did not expect to continue exiles from their country: they expected to return when the royal authority, or rather that of the aristocracy, was re-established. The head-quarters of the emigrants had been transferred from Turin to Coblenz, at the junction of the Rhine and the Mosel, within the territory of the elector of Treves, whose authority was almost supplanted by that of the intruders. Coblenz was a favourable position, near the north-eastern frontier of France, for keeping up the communication with the foreign powers. The party which relied on raising the people in the south of France, the provincial nobility, were in a minority in the councils of the emigrants: the nobility who were attached to the court, and made their profit out of it, the party whom we may properly call the Court, looked only to foreign aid to enable them to re-enter France as conquerors. This court at Coblenz was as frivolous, proud, and incompetent for all prudent action as it had been at Paris and Turin. It was the plan of the princes, says Froment, to form legions in France of all those who were attached to the king, and to employ them until the troops of the line should be re-organized. Froment, who wished to be at the head of the royalists, whom he had directed and commanded in 1789 and 1790, wrote to the Comte d'Artois to grant him the brevet of colonel-commandant, and begged him to give some intimation that every royalist who should unite under his command a sufficient number of citizens to form a legion, might expect the same distinction. The Comte d'Artois was not unfavourable to the request of Froment, but the members of his council could not tolerate the proposal of giving military rank to a bourgeois. Froment proposed that the new legions should be called Royal Militia. "No," said the bishop of Arras to Froment, "no, sir, there must be some *bourgeois* in your brevet:" and so it was. Froment's brevet had some bourgeois in it; and the scheme failed.



MIRABEAU

The Assembly thought that they ought to do something to check the emigration, to prevent Frenchmen leaving France with hostile views to their native country. On the 28th of February* Chapelier stated that the committee on the constitution had considered whether the principles of the constitution, and the conservation of liberty, public order, and the resources of the kingdom, were consistent with a law on emigration; but the more the committee had considered the question, the greater were the difficulties, the more numerous the exceptions which it would be necessary to introduce into a general measure for forbidding emigration; the committee had, however, framed a draft of a law, but it was contrary to established principles, it was a real dictatorship. Before reading the draft Chapelier asked the Assembly to determine, whether they would have a law on emigration. Robespierre said that he was no more in favour of such a law than Chapelier; but it ought to be discussed, and the proposition should not be rejected except on grounds of reason and public interest. 'Read the draft," "Don't read it," were the cries. "Rousseau has laid it down," said Merlin, "in the Social Contract, that in times of trouble, emigration may be forbidden." Mirabeau insisted on speaking. He read a letter which he had addressed to the then king of Prussia on his accession to the throne, in which he advised the king to allow his subjects to leave their country when they pleased; and he said "the most tyrannical laws on emigration have never had any other effect than to drive people to emigrate, contrary to that natural wish, perhaps the strongest of all, which attaches a man to his native country." He proposed that the draft should not be read, and that the Assembly should pass to the order of the day, without prejudice to the execution of the decrees already made with respect to persons who had pensions or salaries paid by the nation, and who were out of the kingdom. But the Assembly would hear the draft of the law, and Chapelier read it. It was to this effect, that in times of trouble and on the declaration of the National Assembly, the following law should be put into force by proclamation in all the departments: there shall be named by the National Assembly a council of three persons who alone shall exercise a dictatorial power with respect to the right of quitting the kingdom, and the obligation of returning to it; the commission shall name the absent persons who shall be bound to return, and the persons so named shall be bound to obey, under the penalty of losing the rights of French citizens, and the confiscation of their property. Mirabeau spoke again: he was opposed, but he would speak: "The National Assembly had not shown to the committee on the constitution the same respect that the Athenians did to Aristides, whom they allowed to be the judge of the morality of his own plan.† But the horror which was shown at hearing the draft of the committee proves that you were as good judges of this morality as Aristides, and that you have done well in reserving to yourselves the decision.—I will prove that the barbarity of the law which is proposed to you is the most complete proof of the impracticability of a law on emigration." He admitted that there might be occasions in which measures of police were necessary, though they might be against principles, even against the laws; but between a measure of police, and a law, the distance is immense: the Assembly could adopt a measure of police, but the question remained whether they ought to adopt it, that is, whether it was useful, whether they intended to keep citizens in the empire otherwise than by the blessings of the law, the advantages of liberty. "The question is, whether the draft of the committee should be discussed, and I deny it. I declare that I should consider myself released from every oath of fidelity towards those who should have the infamy to name a dictatorial commission. The popularity which I have had the honour to enjoy like others, is not a feeble plant; it is in the earth that I will fix its roots on the immovable basis of reason and of liberty. If you make a law against the emigrants, I swear that I will not obey it."

Even this bold annunciation did not terminate the discussion; it was proposed to adjourn the question, and Mirabeau claimed to speak again. "What is the right by which M. Mirabeau exercises a dictatorship in this Assembly?" said a member. But Mirabeau occupied the tribune without troubling himself about the question of right. "I have not decided that he shall speak," said the president, "though he is on the tribune: he shall speak if the Assembly wish to hear him." The Assembly heard him without expressing a wish. Mirabeau said: "I beg those who interrupt me to remember that I have combated despotism all my life, and be assured that I will combat it as long as I live. I entreat the Assembly to consider that it s not sufficient to interpolate a motion for adjournment n a proposition which contains several others." He ıad already been interrupted by the *côté gauche*; and ıe was interrupted again: "Silence," he cried in a thundering voice,—"Silence, the thirty voices there," looking at the benches occupied by Barnave and the Lameth, whose party at that time was not more than hirty; and there was silence. "If you wish it," he continued, "I will vote for the adjournment, with this addition, that it be decreed that from this time to the expiration of the adjournment there shall be no seditious meetings." The adjournment however was carried.

In the month of February, on the very day of this discussion, the Parisians made an attack on Vincennes, in which the municipality of Paris intended to confine

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ix, 46.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' ix., 59. It was not the plan of Aristides: it was the plan of Themistocles, to burn the Greek fleet. Plutarch, 'Aristides,' c. 22; Themistocles, c. 20). Some versions of Mirabeau's speech make him say, "the morality of plan." The matter is but a trifle, yet Mirabeau may have known the true story.

some of the prisoners, from the over-crowded prison of Paris. Five hundred men had set out from Paris and broken into the prison of Vincennes, and did all the damage that they could. Santerre was implicated in this affair. The rioters were dispersed under the orders of Lafayette, and about sixty of them were seized. At the same time, on the rumour of this riot, a great number of persons were observed stealthily entering the Tuileries, which excited the suspicion of the National Guards. Lafayette came and turned them out. These persons, to the number of several hundred, were armed with daggers, pistols, and other weapons; among them were Virieu, d'Espréménil, and others. During the confusion of disarming them, the king, who was attracted by the tumult, asked what it meant. "It is your faithful nobility," was the answer, "who are come to defend your majesty." "I have no need of defence; I am satisfied with the services of the National Guards," the king drily said. There was much joking in the papers about the kicks and cuffs which these rejected defenders of royalty received. The nickname of 'Chevaliers du poignard' was all that they got by their ill-timed obsequiousness. Lafayette had thus to deal both with the brigands as they were termed, and the over-zealous or pretended royalists. He was in a position between two parties, which a man cannot long maintain.*

On the 26th of March the Abbé Talleyrand, now no longer bishop of Autun, stated that with respect to the establishment of an unchangeable unit as a basis of the new metrical system, there were only three units, the length of the pendulum, the fourth part of the great circle of the equator, and the fourth part of a degree of the meridian, that the Academy had adopted the last; and that the draft of the decree which he had to present had been framed in concert with Lagrange, Lalande, Borda, Laplace, Monge, and Condorcet. The draft declared that the Assembly adopted the fourth part of a degree of the meridian as the base of the new system of measures, and that the operations necessary to determine this base, and specially the measure of an arc of the meridian from Dunkirk to Barcelona should be immediately executed. This great work was afterwards executed by Méchain and Delambre.

Early in March the king fell ill. His indisposition was a cold, to which the official bulletins and the ministerial journals gave a ridiculous importance. The history of this period is left imperfect, if the activity of the press is overlooked, for out of the press came the elements of the future anarchy. The journal of Desmoulins was never more lively and more witty: "the majesty of the Assembly's sittings was interrupted to hear daily the ridiculous technology of the doctors on the occasion of the cold of the eldest of the Capets." * Marat, in his journal, denied that the king had ever been ill, and he affirmed that his pretended malady was an imposition practised by his ministers, with the assistance of the physicians: it was all a trick to favour the king's escape.

But Mirabeau was now dangerously ill. During his presidency he had for two days been obliged to absent himself from the chair; and in the first part of the month of March he had violent attacks of colic in the bowels. But he was still actively employed: he read before the Assembly a long speech on the question of mines, and he took part in the discussion of the question of the regency. On the 27th of March, the discussion on mines was to close, and Mirabeau's friend Lamarck, as a proprietor of mines, was interested in the result. Contrary to the advice of his friends, Mirabeau was present at the discussion: he spoke five times, and the question was decided according to his wishes. But his career was over: on the 2nd of April he was dead.

The rumour of his having died of poison is entirely unfounded, and is disproved by his physician Cabanis who attended him through his illness. He had disease enough to kill any man; for his irregular mode of life, incessant activity, and probably the excitement of the struggle in which he was engaged, had destroyed his naturally vigorous constitution. Excess in wine was not one of his faults: the Viscount Mirabeau said that was the only vice which his brother had left for him. All Paris sympathized with the sufferings of the great orator of the Assembly: the Chaussée d'Antin, in which he lived, was filled with persons anxiously inquiring, and the people stopped up the street to prevent carriages from disturbing him. The king sent daily and openly to inquire about his health. The Jacobin Club sent a deputation to him with Barnave at the head, and though Mirabeau was too ill to receive them, he was pleased with this evidence of their respect. Talleyrand, who had quarrelled with Mirabeau, came to see

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' ix., 140. An affair like that of the "Chevaliers du poignard," assumes different aspects according to the temper of a writer. Bertrand de Moleville says of it, 'Annals,' iii., c. 37: "This noble emotion, which was always so natural to the French nobility, was unfortunately attended with imprudence and indiscretion;" he means on the part of the nobles. He represents the king's behaviour in a different light from that stated in the text.

His own words only can be given: they characterize the epoch better than a page of political remarks: "Quel citoyen n'est pas indigné de la bassesse de ses deputés, qui applaudissent à tout rompre au dire d'un évêque qui monte à la tribune de l'assemblée nationale pour faire cette proclamation, que les selles d'un citoyen enrhumé ont été copieuses et que la matière n'est plus aussi nauséabonde et est tout-à-fait louable. Je m'étonne que MM. Lemonier, Laservole, Vicq-d'Azir, Andouillé, et Loustoneau (les médecins) n'apportent pas en cérémonie l'urinal et la chaise percée du prince sous le nez du president et de l'assemblée nationale, et que l'assemblée ne crée pas exprès un patriarche des Gaules pour faire la proclamation de la qualité des selles du grand lama. On a cité pour le *ne plus ultra* de bassesse, le sénat Romain délibérant sous Tibère à quelle sauce l'empereur mangera un magnifique turbot; mais lequel est le plus vile adulateur du sénat dans la cuisine de Tibère ou du sénat dans la garde-robe de Louis XVI. (Révolutions de France et de Brabant, No. 69.) Desmoulins' classical learning seems to be a little at fault. The discussion on the turbot was in the time of Domitian. Juvenal, Sat. iv.



FUNERAL OF MIRABEAU.

him, and they were reconciled. He gave Talleyrand a manuscript to read before the Assembly after his death, containing his opinions on the question of successions, with which subject the Assembly was then engaged. Lamarck seeing that Mirabeau was dying, entreated him to allow his private papers to be destroyed, among which were his letters to the king and the queen. Mirabeau replied, "What, would you have me die altogether? Some success at the tribune has scarcely effaced the remembrance of my irregularities; but in that portfolio is my justification, my glory; by means of it would be known my views, my plans, my soul, my genius, all that would show me to my fellow-citizens such as I am, all that would have exalted me hereafter; and you ask it to be sacrificed." But on Lamarck's representing to him that he could not deceive the confidence of the king, nor aggravate the misfortunes of the queen, whose fate he pitied, and whose character he respected, Mirabeau allowed his friend to take the papers.

Mirabeau had no religious convictions, though in his speeches he always spoke with respect of religion. A letter to Romilly, written in London in March, 1785, contains a general expression of his opinions on the immortality of the soul. In his last illness he so far complied with appearances as to pass three-quarters of an hour alone with an ecclesiastic, Lamourette, the constitutional bishop of Lyon. His vivid imagination and his intense interest in the condition of his country, produced a state of feverish exaltation. The evening before his death he heard the sound of cannon, on which he exclaimed, "Is the funeral of Achilles already commencing?" The next day he said that he should die: "When one is come to this, there is only one thing to do, to be perfumed, to be crowned with flowers, to be surrounded with music, in order to enter agreeably the sleep from which there is no waking."—Again he said, in his energetic manner, "I wear in my heart the mourning for the monarchy, the fragments of which will be the prey of the factious."—"He died," says a modern French writer, "as a man dies on the stage; he felt that the people were about his house, and he attempted to give to his last hours a poetic majesty." The fine deaths (*les belles morts*) of some of the great men of antiquity had been the subject of a conversation between him and Lamarck. He was in the forty-second year of his age.

Mirabeau's death created a great sensation, for it was universally admitted by his friends and his enemies that he left a blank which could not be filled up. When the man was gone, who by his energy, his eloquence, and his political sagacity, the most remarkable feature in his intellectual character, had bridled the fury of opposing parties, and governed the Assembly, the constitutional monarchy lost its only support, and the transition was rapid to the republic, and thence to anarchy.

The National Assembly resolved that the members should attend the funeral of Mirabeau. It was also decreed that the new church of Sainte-Geneviève, under the name of the Pantheon, should receive the mortal remains of great men, who had died since the commencement of the epoch of liberty; and that Mirabeau should be interred there by the side of Descartes. On the pediment of the church were to be cut the words, "To Great Men, their grateful country." All the public authorities of Paris and of the department, the National Assembly, the National Guard, and the various popular societies, swelled the funeral pomp. The oration was pronounced in the church of Saint-Eustache. The discharge of fire-arms from twenty thousand National Guards shattered all the windows, and seemed to shake the building to its foundation. It was late at night when the procession reached the church of Sainte-Geneviève by the light of torches. The remains of Mirabeau were carried to the grave with more than regal honours.

He died at the right time for his reputation. In the discussion on the residence of public functionaries, a short time before his death, he said: "I will resist every kind of faction which shall attempt to infringe the principles of the monarchy, in whatever system it may exist, in whatever part of France it may show itself." But even if he had remained faithful to this principle, there were too many obstacles to render the success of his efforts probable. A revolution may be prevented, it may perhaps up to a certain point in its progress be arrested or guided; but the energy and versatile talents of Mirabeau would in all probability have struggled ineffectually against an irresolute king, the mad partizans of the ancient *régime*, the disorganization of the army, the strong impulse which carried along the whole mass of the people, the despotism of the democratic societies, and the unbounded license of the journalists. He was also an object of suspicion; his relations with the court were known to some, guessed at by others; but his great weakness, that which he knew and lamented himself, was his want of character. "What could I not have done," he said, "if I had the character of Malesherbes?"

His life presents different phases from the time of the meeting of the States-General in May, 1789. He came to Versailles the enemy of that arbitrary power which he had felt; and when the Assembly went to hold its sittings at Paris, he carried with him a resolution to re-establish order, and as the basis of order, a constitutional monarchy. Even before leaving Versailles, he called for a law to enable the municipality of Paris to disperse disorderly meetings, and check violence. His conduct between the 5th of May, 1789, and the 5th of October, is not consistent. He had always been in favour of order and a constitutional throne, and when he sought and obtained an interview with Necker, after the 10th of June, 1789, he might have been secured for the cause, which he believed to be just and beneficial for France, though his precise plans are not stated. He said to Malouet* on this occasion,

* P. 13. Compare J. Droz, 'Histoire de Louis XVI.,' Liv. VIII., p. 255. Brussels edition, who gives the evidence of Malouet.

"You are the friend of Necker and of Montmorin; I like neither of them, and I think that they have no liking for me; but it is of little importance whether we like one another, if we can come to an understanding. I wish to know their intentions, and I address myself to you to obtain a conference with them. They would be very blameable and show very narrow views, the king himself would not be excusable, if they aimed at bringing this meeting of the States-General to the same result that the others have had. That cannot be. They must have a plan of adhesion or opposition to certain principles: if this plan is reasonable in the monarchical system, I engage to support it, to use all my efforts to prevent the invasion of democracy which is advancing upon us." He had the interview which he sought, and it came to no result, as already stated. From this time to the 5th of October, his conduct was factious, but he never lost sight of his real principles. From the 5th of October his course is different: he made some amends for his past faults. He had already seized on power though he had not place: he commanded, he extorted reluctant admiration: he now wins even some esteem and respect; but esteem and respect not unmingled, nor pure.* His brilliant career is an instructive lesson. The most mischievous statesman is he who has no talent for political affairs, a talent among the rarest of all. He who has power can seldom believe that he is incompetent to use it, and weakness and self-sufficiency combined make him truly dangerous: he invites a revolution, and retreats before it: that was Necker. But even the most exalted talents require the aid of character; it is not enough that men applaud and admire a popular chief: they must believe him to be an honest man.

* J. Droz, 'Histoire de Louis XVI.,' vol. iii., 'Mirabeau et L'Assemblée Constituante,' 1842, has furnished materials for a judgment of Mirabeau. This writer is one of the most exact and impartial historians of the early part of the French Revolution. Dahlmann, 'Geschichte der Französischen Revolution,' has drawn a picture of the Mirabeau family (p. 168), and has traced the course of events from the times immediately preceding the Revolution to the commencement of the war and the establishment of the Republic. The views of two such writers merit the careful consideration of all those who direct the affairs of a nation. Compare Michelet, 'Hist.,' &c., ii., p. 436, &c.; Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' iii., c. 38.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CLUBS.

The revolutionary current was opposed by the moderate party in the Assembly, and Mirabeau himself in the last period of his life had attempted to stem it. But the clubs outside of the Assembly exercised an influence which was now irresistible; that of the Jacobins was one of the most violent, and contained the most talent. Its sittings were regularly attended like those of the Assembly: it anticipated the questions which were discussed there; its decisions were known, and had their effect. This was the club of the principal popular deputies. From the close of 1790 the multiplication of clubs is the striking characteristic of this epoch.*

Duport, Barnave, and the Lameth, thought that France could only be saved by giving to the revolution a more rapid movement; and they attempted to effect this by means of the Jacobin club in which they ruled. Duport had conceived the idea that patriotic societies should be established in all the departments, which should correspond with the Jacobin club, and commucate everything that might concern the public interest. The Jacobin club would thus become a deliberative assembly, and a kind of governing body. There was no difficulty in executing this plan, for the deputies kept up an active correspondence with the departments; and in November and December, 1789, a great number of persons from the provinces visited Paris, which had become the theatre of such important events; and among these persons many were found ready to co-operate in the scheme of Duport. In this way the clubs multiplied all through France. They were not originally composed of violent men only, for there were among the members many men of moderate views and honest intentions; but such men soon ceased to have the chief influence, and the direction of the clubs fell into the hands of others who excited popular passions. As in all such societies, there were also private committees, who formed schemes of their own, and kept up a correspondence without communicating it to the other members. Alexander Lameth formed a little association in Paris, which Lafayette has described in these terms: "It was what the Lameth themselves called the *sabbat*, that is to say, an association of ten men devoted to them, and who received every day the orders which each of them gave to ten men belonging to the different battalions of Paris, so that all the battalions and all the sections received at once the same signal for agitation, the same denunciations against the constituted authorities, the president of the department, the mayor, and the commandant-general." In November, 1790, Charles Lameth was provoked to a duel by the young duc de Castries, a member of the *côté droit*, and wounded. The Jacobins took his part, and by their agents urged the people to the sacking of the duke's hotel: there was no personal violence com-

* As to the clubs, see J. Droz, 'Mirabeau et l'Assemblée Constituante,' pp. 71, 102, 105, 200, 307, 328, 359; Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' ii., 309.

mitted, nothing was stolen, but all the furniture was broken and pitched into the street. Lafayette came with the National Guard, but he did nothing, for many of the guard thought that there was no great harm in destroying the furniture of a man who had wounded Charles Lameth. Madame de Castries made a witty remark on the occasion: she said, "M. de la Fayette and M. le Maire honoured with their presence the pillage of my hotel." Camille Desmoulins said, "There has just been at the hôtel de Castries a sitting of the tribunal de Cassation" (the court for breaking).

The party at the head of which were Mounier and Lally-Tollendal, was disconcerted at being deserted by them. From the time that the Assembly held its sittings at Paris, they took the name of the Independents and the Impartials. They were confounded by the agitators with the *côté droit*, and they had indeed many opinions in common with the reasonable members of that part of the Assembly: they respected royalty, they had a horror of the violence of the revolution; but they were discouraged by the aspect of affairs. The leaders of the *côté droit*, seeing the success of the Jacobin club, resolved to form one of their own, the object of which was to re-establish order. Malouet, who belonged to the Impartials, was invited to meet them; and at last negociations were opened between the Impartials and the *côté droit* for a plan of association; but it resulted in nothing. On the negociation breaking off, Malouet and his friends published a declaration of their principles, and announced that all who would sign it should belong to their society. This declaration was not adopted by any influential member of the *côté gauche;* and it was rejected by all the more violent members of the *côté droit.* The Impartials met, but their club and their journal only existed a few weeks; and when afterwards revived, they were even more powerless than before.

In the month of April, 1790, the club of 1789 was formed, with the object of checking the violence of the Jacobins, where Duport and the Lameth had full sway. The chief founders were Lafayette, Bailly, La Rochefoucauld, Talleyrand, Chapelier, Dupont de Nemours, and Sièyes, who drew up the rules and was the first president. The club met in a splendid apartment in the galleries of the Palais Royal, where they were furnished with excellent dinners at a high price. Mirabeau encouraged the establishment of the club of '89, and he went there sometimes, but without deserting the Jacobins: he would sometimes visit both in the same evening. But Mirabeau was not the man for clubs, which are the theatres for little talents and low intrigues.

The most violent members of the *côté droit* formed a club under the name of the Salon Français, the leading members of which were Maury, Cazalès, the Viscount Mirabeau, d'Espréménil, and others of like opinions. Their meetings were disturbed by the people, and some of the members were even assaulted. Though the mayor and the National Guard attempted to protect them, the people who were so zealous for liberty, would not allow this club liberty to meet and discuss public affairs. So much disorder was occasioned by these proceedings that the inhabitants of the quarter where the club met, complained that they had not a moment's peace, and the tribunal of police finally closed the Salon Français (May 15.)

In December, 1790, Clermont-Tonnerre and Malouet re-established the club of the Impartials under the name of the Club of the Friends of the Monarchical Constitution, which for brevity's sake was often called the Monarchical Club; an unlucky name, which favoured the designs of the Jacobins against it. The founders of this club hoped to form a counterpoise to the Jacobins by means of a club in the capital, and associate clubs in the principal towns of the kingdom, for the fête of the federation showed the disposition of a large part of the people in the provinces to be friendly to constitutional order: and this is probably what Marat meant, when he denounced the festival as a means of subjugating the people. The associate clubs of the Jacobins had not always found it easy to establish themselves in some of the towns, where petitions had been presented to the authorities not to allow such meetings, which were represented as dangerous to constitutional principles and public order. But the National Assembly by several decrees recognized the right of all citizens to assemble to discuss affairs of state, and it did not forbid the affiliation of clubs. The members of the revived club thought that they might do like other clubs, forgetting that during a revolution all cannot have equal liberty of action, which is only secured by the supremacy of law. The club was accordingly assailed by calumny, for people are not particular about making nice distinctions among those whom they hate: in the streets people talked of Clermont-Tonnerre and the abbé Maury, as if these two men were of the same party; and so in certain circles of society they coupled Bailly and Danton together. The new club distributed tickets, by which the poor got bread. It may be quite true that if the Jacobins had done so, they would have been praised, while the Monarchical club was charged with corrupting the people; but this distribution of bread was an unworthy and unwise means of courting popular favour. The number of members of this club amounted to eight hundred in the month of January, 1791, and many of them men of good sense and high social distinction, which irritated the Jacobins still more. It happened that some soldiers had a skirmish with smugglers at one of the barriers, which was excellent matter for the Jacobins, who set abroad a report that the Monarchists had paid the soldiers to fire on the people. The Jacobins said, in a circular to the associate clubs, that the existence of the Society of the Friends of the Monarchical Constitution was a calamity, and that they had resolved to meet daily till the danger was over. At the close of November, 1790, there were one hundred and twenty-one of these associate Jacobin clubs; in the beginning of March, 1791, there were two hundred and twenty-nine; and the number went

on increasing. The two rival clubs of Paris became violently embittered against one another. Barnave, at the tribune of the Assembly, denounced an insidious, perfidious, and factious association, and called upon the authorities to keep a strict watch over it. Malouet, in the midst of great tumult, replied to these calumnies, aud said that the Jacobins were the cause of the disorders, and that this despotic club ought to be closed. The club of '89 was afraid to let the Jacobins leave it too far behind, and it published a declaration that admission into the Society of the Friends of the Monarchical Constitution should be considered as a renunciation of the club of '89. The heads of the Monarchical club commenced legal proceedings against those who denounced it, on which the Jacobins took measures more effectual than legal process. The proprietors of houses were afraid to let them to the Monarchists; and when they found a place at last, where they intended to meet on the 28th of March, four thousand men assembled in front of the house, insulted some of the members of the club, and wounded others. There was a cry that these aristocrats wore the white cockade, and white cockades were produced, which the leaders of the mob had brought with them; and thus the lie had the semblance of credibility given to it. Bailly came up when the disturbance was over: he did not find fault with the rioters, and he assured the crowd that measures should be taken to prevent a society from meeting again which disturbed the public tranquillity. In fact the club did not meet again: the vigour of the Jacobins, and Bailly's want of vigour, suppressed it.

On the last day of November, 1790, Mirabeau was elected president of the club of the Jacobins, of the men who had caused "the great treason of the Comte de Mirabeau" to be hawked through the streets. Mirabeau despised many of them, but he was greedy of every means of strengthening his popularity, and he had at this time great designs in his mind. Mirabeau did not encourage the violence of the Jacobins. In the speech in which he returned thanks for the honour conferred upon him, he said: "All Frenchmen are now friends of liberty; it only remains to make them all enemies of licence." He often gave utterance to wise counsels in this dark cave of turbulence; and on one occasion he called Robespierre to order. Mirabeau visited the Jacobins the evening of that day in which he had imposed silence on the "thirty voices" in the National Assembly. He was ill received, and violently attacked; but he defended himself with temper and great tact, for it was one of the merits of this great orator, so impetuous in private, to be perfectly calm and collected amidst the storms of a popular assembly. He left the Jacobins with applause; but it was his last visit. He died shortly after.

There was another active club at Paris, the Cordeliers, who met in the convent of the Cordeliers, which was at the bottom of a court nearly opposite to the School of Medicine. The Cordeliers were essentially a Paris club, and at this time of a much more popular character than the Jacobins.

Duport, the Lameth, and Barnave, swayed the Jacobins; but there was a little man of slender form, mean appearance, and sinister aspect, who was most assiduous in his attendance. He was struggling for power with a strong conviction of the rectitude of his purpose: he had laboured to gain a hearing in the Assembly, and so far with little success. He found out that the Jacobins was the place for him, but it was some time before he ruled there. His own party discredited him by smiling when he spoke: everybody was ready to laugh at him, except Mirabeau, who treated his diminutive, feeble adversary with the respect due to sincerity and indomitable perseverance. Mirabeau's sagacity discovered the true character of this man, his unbounded pride, his illimitable faith in himself, his steady purpose, his undeviating forward course. "Robespierre will go far," he observed, "for he believes all that he says." He did believe in his own ideal of the Revolution, and faith gave him force and will.

The family of Robespierre, from father to son, had been notaries at Carvin, near Lille, and it may be traced as far back as 1600.* It is supposed that the family was of English or Irish origin, and may have sprung from some of the Roman Catholics who went over to the monasteries and religious schools of that part of France. In the eighteenth century a branch of the Robespierre family settled at Arras, and an advocate of Arras became the father of Maximilien Robespierre in 1758. His father appears to have fallen into some difficulties, and he left home and never returned. At the age of about ten years, Maximilien, the eldest child, was left to take care of a brother and two sisters. Circumstances thus contributed at this early age to fix in him that serious character which he maintained through life. If there was ever a smile on his face, it was not the smile of joyous content: it was a sarcastic grin; and when he spoke to a man, he could not look in his face. Robespierre was one of the best pupils at the college of Arras, and he easily obtained from the princely abbé of Saint-Waast a bursarship (*bourse*) at the college of Louis-le-Grand, in Paris. Within these gloomy walls this poor orphan received his education: and he laboured hard to merit the assistance that he had obtained. He had for his companions here Camille Desmoulins, also a bursar of the clergy, who was somewhat younger than himself, and Danton, who was about the same age as Robespierre, and attended the same classes. He passed seven or eight years here, and then studied the law at Paris; but though he had a logical head, he had little success as a *procureur*. He was too much given to generalities to be successful in the little strategy of a lawyer's practice. His studies were in Rousseau and Mably: he was a philosopher after the manner of the times. He made rhymes also, and wrote for the prize given for an *éloge* on Gresset: he did not get the prize, though he had the honours of

* Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' ii., 314; Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. i., 17.



an *accessit*. As he had been a successful pupil at the college of Louis-le-Grand, he obtained from the abbé of Saint-Waast, for his younger brother, the bursarship which he had enjoyed himself; and on his return to Arras the bishop made him a member of the criminal tribunal; but having been obliged by his office to condemn a murderer to death, he was so affected, says his sister, that he resigned his place.* His writings at this period show a pastoral sentimentality. After resigning his judgeship, he became an *avocat;* but though poor, he would not undertake every cause. He was put in an embarrassing position by being requested to undertake the suit of some peasants against the bishop of Arras, but as he thought their case good, he undertook it, and exerted himself against his patron. When the States-General were summoned, he was elected a deputy of the Tiers Etat, and in the chamber of the National Assembly he met the clergy who had protected him, and whose hatred he had earned. They despised the man who had been educated by their charity, and was now sitting on the same benches with them. At first he was so timid, that when he ascended the tribune, he trembled all over;† but he persevered, and he succeeded: he became an orator, not of the first class, yet a speaker and debater of some ability. On the 5th of October he supported Maillard, when that leader of the Parisian female army appeared before the Assembly. This man, who was naturally timid, gradually became bold and ambitious; and his ambition and his vanity furnished matter of ridicule for the noble Jacobins of the Assembly, who formed a very imperfect estimate of his real character.

Robespierre was poor: he lived with the utmost frugality on his pay as a deputy, of which he sent one-fourth to his sister at Arras, and another fourth he gave to a mistress, for whom he had no affection. He dined at thirty sous, lodged ill, and wore an olive-coloured coat, severely brushed. When the Assembly went into mourning for Franklin, it was an unlucky affair for Robespierre: he had no money to buy mourning with. He borrowed a black coat from a man much bigger than himself. His labours and the intensity of his purpose soon took away the youthful appearance that he brought with him to the Assembly: his face became dry and hard; his features expressed the concentration of his mind. He belonged to the party of the extreme *gauche*, but Robespierre was not the man to remain in the train of the Lameth: he broke with them and followed his own course, the realization of Rousseau's Social Contract. He was believed to be honest, and the opinion of his honesty and his own stedfast purpose gave him power.

The club of the Jacobins at this time contained a great number of literary men: Laharpe, Chénier, Champfort, and others, and Laclos, the author of the 'Liaisons Dangereuses;' the painters, David and Vernet; the actor, Talma. On the 12th of July, 1790, Talma petitioned the National Assembly to help him in a difficulty: he had chosen a woman for wife, but the curé, in conformity with the canonical rules, had refused him the sacrament of marriage, because he was an actor. Talma entrusted his case with confidence to the justice of the Assembly, who referred it to a committee.* Among the censors at the door of the Jacobins, whose business was to examine the tickets of admission and to recognize the members, there was seen the young duke of Chartres, the eldest son of the duke of Orleans.†

The Cordeliers had among their members Danton, their great orator; Marat, and Desmoulins, who spoke rarely, but wrote much; Fréron, Hébert, Fabre d'Eglantine; Anacharsis Clootz, the orator of the representatives of the human race, and the butcher Legendre, an ignorant, illiterate, furious man, yet "a good man," says Michelet, "in his lucid intervals;" but they were rare. Mademoiselle Théroigne de Mericourt appeared at the Cordeliers in February, 1790. She came to make a motion, and she was admitted to the bar. An honourable member was seized with a fit of enthusiasm at the sight of the handsome Amazon of Liège. "It is the queen of Sheba," he exclaimed, "coming to see the Solomon of the districts." "Yes," said the queen of Sheba, "it is the fame of your wisdom which brings me among you. Prove that you are Solomons, that to you it was reserved to build the temple; and make haste to construct a temple to the National Assembly: that is the object of my motion." She went on with a rhapsody of allusions classical and scriptural, and ended amidst a frenzy of applause. Her motion was, to build the palace of the National Assembly on the site of the Bastille. A committee, consisting of Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, Desmoulins, and others, was appointed to draw up an address to the French nation, and to invite them to subscribe to build the "temple of liberty, of humanity, and of reason, to which all people should come to consult the oracle." The address was drawn up, but it had no result; "it was not written in a style which the masses then understood; but it is a singular monument of enthusiasm,

* Plutarch ('Life of Sulla,' c. 30) says of Sulla, "He was from his youth fond of mirth, and so soft to pity as to be easily moved to tears. It was not without reason, then, that his subsequent conduct fixed on the possession of great power the imputation that it does not let men's tempers abide by their original habits, but makes them violent, vain, and inhuman. Now whether fortune really produces an alteration and change in a man's natural disposition, or whether, when he gets power, his bad qualities, hitherto concealed, are merely unveiled, is a matter that belongs to another subject than the present." Power does develope a man's bad qualities: and excessive sensibility may become cruelty.

† This is what he told Dumont 'Souvenirs,' &c. p 251.

* The 'Ami du Roi' shows how unreasonable Talma was: he had only to submit to the "usual fiction," to tell the usual lie on such occasions, to say that he was a musician, the usual name under which actors were married, and after having received the sacrament of marriage as a musician, he might have resumed his profession of an actor.

† See p. 95.

and a curious prelude to that classical licentiousness which at a later epoch made so astonishing an explosion." *

One of these Cordeliers requires a particular notice, Marat. He was born in the neighbourhood of Neufchâtel, in Switzerland, in 1744; and was a Swiss as well as Rousseau. His mother, a woman of romantic turn, wished to make of her son a second Rousseau; for, when Marat was a boy, Rousseau was already an object of enthusiastic admiration. Marat's father, a worthy minister, was also anxious to make his son a great man, but he went the wrong way about it, for he filled the youth's head with all that it could hold, and more. This education ingrafted on a temperament of great sensibility and a premature ambition, made Marat what he was. The basis of his character was a restless desire for distinction, to be something before the world. He had untiring industry; he is said to have been disinterested in pecuniary matters; he was temperate and frugal. The distinction which he could not gain as a man of science, or in any other way, he tried to gain as a popular leader in a period of revolution. Inordinate self-sufficiency, vanity in the extremest degree, found its gratification in the unbounded licentiousness of the press,—the most deadly weapon that disappointed hope and fanaticism can wield. To designate him simply as a bad man is to say nothing. There are many bad men, who do not resemble Marat at all.

Marat was very little; his face was large and bony, his nose broad. His physiognomy was not agreeable. He called himself a physician, but it is said that no proof has been found that he ever got his title of doctor in medicine. Like many of his countrymen, he sought his fortune abroad, and in 1772 was teaching French at Edinburgh. He had witnessed in London the riots about Wilkes and liberty. He knew the English language, but he never understood the institutions of the country. His first publication, an anonymous work, called the 'Chains of Slavery,' appeared in London, and in English, as it is said. His second work, also first published in English in 1773, was in opposition to a posthumous work of Helvetius, entitled 'Man;' the work of Marat was also entitled 'On Man,' and was afterwards published at Amsterdam, enlarged from one volume to three. It is a work physiological and psychological. Marat had ventured to attack Voltaire, whom he mentions in a note with "Hume, Bossuet, Racine, and Pascal;" a sample of his discrimination. The old man of Ferney replied by one of his lively, witty, and malicious sallies, in which his usual good sense is conspicuous.† "The author," he begins by saying, "is penetrated with the noble desire of telling all men what they are, and of communicating to them all the secrets which we have so long in vain been seeking to discover."—He ends thus: "It is amusing to see a physician quoting two romances, the one named Héloise and the other Émile, instead of citing Boerhaave and Hippocrates. But this is the way that people too often write in our days. Every one does his best to surprise his readers. Everywhere one sees Harlequin cutting his capers to amuse the pit." Voltaire has here touched the true character of Marat.

Marat returned poor from England, and in some way got employed in the household of the Comte d'Artois, first in the capacity of doctor to the stables, or veterinary surgeon, from which he was promoted to be the doctor of the prince's bodyguard. He was in the count's household twelve years, during which time he renounced politics and metaphysics, and applied himself to physics, but with no success. He had just returned from a journey to England when the insurrection of the 14th of July, 1789, broke out, and he was at once fired with ardour in the cause of liberty. He says that he sold the sheets off his bed to enable him to commence his journal, but when Marat's personal glorification is concerned, his testimony about himself is not worth much; for vanity begets lying. However, he commenced his journal, called 'L'Ami du Peuple,' in conducting which he showed some tact amidst his violence. He did not trouble his readers with theories which they could not understand, nor much with foreign affairs, or even those of the departments. He found matter enough for him in Paris: he was accuser and informer-general, discoverer of plots, existing, and not existing; he denounced men by name; his personal animosities were most violent and vindictive. It was consistent with his character to hate, to envy, and decry talent, as we see in his 'Twelve Letters against the Academicians.' The illustrious chemist Lavoisier was the object of his implacable enmity. His journal was all written by himself, and appeared daily; uniformly outrageous, and monotonously wearisome, and yet it was read. Sometimes he writes with a kind of energy, but it is only a specious show of energy, for if the words "infamous," "infernal," and such epithets are taken away, there remains little at the bottom. He was always calling for heads to be taken off; and the only variation was in the number of heads that he wanted: the lowest number that he mentioned was five or six hundred, but in one of his fits he called for two hundred and seventy thousand.

In 1789, Marat published a plan of a constitution, and in 1790, a plan of criminal legislation, which he presented to the National Assembly. In his Constitution he says that a monarchical form of government is the only one suitable to France. Even his address to Louis, which appeared the day after the king had accepted the civil constitution of the clergy, (December, 1790,) does not attack the principle of royalty, but only the king's sincerity.* What then

* 'Hist. Parlem.' iv., 465.

† 'Œuvres de Voltaire,' Paris, Lequien, vol. xlvi., p. 352, 'Observations sur le livre intitulé, De l'Homme, ou des Principes et des Lois de l'Influence de l'Ame sur le Corps et du Corps sur l'Ame, 3 vols., 12mo, par J. P. Marat, docteur en médecine. Amsterdam, 1775.'

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' viii., 174.

were his opinions, or had he any, any definite object, determined by the application of general principles The answer is that he wrote perpetually withou knowing what his end was: his horror of abuses was sincere, he had some generous and vague aspirations after universal good, but his feeble head, more feebl for its violence, in vain attempted to sound the depth in which social existence has fixed its roots. Wit the phrases "nature," "state of nature," "rights of man," and the like, he perplexed a brain that was naturally confused and unsteady. His opinions are wavering and uncertain: from some passages one would suppose that he would have a perfect community, and strict equality of property; but elsewhere he says that "such an equality cannot exist in society, that it does not even exist in nature." One example of his absurd assertions may suffice: he says, "Whatever crime a man commits, whatever outrage he does to beings like himself, he no more disturbs the order of nature than a wolf does when it kills a sheep."

Marat lived a solitary life, and showed himself rarely: and this isolation nourished all his furious passions. When Malouet denounced him to the National Assembly, he could not be found. In January, 1791, when he recommended the massacre of the National Guards and a short way of dealing with Lafayette, he was accused before the tribunals. He came from his den to meet the charge, but with an army to protect him; the court was filled with his frenzied admirers, all the approaches were crowded with his friends. Nothing less than a pitched battle could have sufficed to bring the matter to a hearing: his accuser did not venture to appear, or was kept away by those who wished to save him from danger. Thus, by merely showing himself, Marat proved the nullity of the courts, and the impotence of the civil authority, of Bailly and Lafayette. From this time he reigned supreme, and denounced at his pleasure; he filled his journal with rumours and lies, which he perhaps half believed, for his judgment was as feeble as his passions were violent. He had now obtained the distinction that he sought: every eye was upon him, he was listened to, he was feared; he was laughed at too, but he was too serious a fool to understand a laugh or a joke.

Marat's writings, and his journal are not worth notice for what they contain: his journal is utterly barren in political instruction, and exceedingly tiresome. The journal of Desmoulins is always amusing, and may be read with pleasure even now. Marat wrote all his own journal: his journal was himself, violent, sanguinary, without plan or purpose, except to stir up insurrection. The mischief that he did was enormous; and this is the only glory that those political writers can aspire to, who would put in motion the inert mass of society, without directing the movement to an object both useful and practicable, and without showing how it may be attained.*

The characteristic of this epoch was the violence of passion on all sides: on the side of the clergy and the nobles; on the side of the popular leaders, who themselves, alarmed at the position of affairs, saw no ans of crushing their adversaries except by alarming them, by terror. The popular journalists vied with one another in maintaining their influence, and to maintain it there was a rivalry of violence. Marat, in order to keep the lead, must still be moving onwards, for his rivals pressed upon him: each made the other more violent. There were also the royalist journals l pamphlets, charged with wit, satire, and stinging rony. The ministers tried to purchase this army of terrists: "Montmorin admitted to Alexander Lameth, hat he had in a short time spent seven millions in urchasing Jacobins, in corrupting writers and speakers. What the royalist journals cost, 'L'Ami du Roi,' Les Actes des Apôtres,' &c., nobody can tell, no more han any one will ever be able to say what the duke f Orleans spent in stirring up riots." (Michelet, i., 109.) "Montmorin," says Droz, speaking of the lose of 1789, "being authorized by Louis XVI., emloyed at a later period seduction towards some demaogues. Danton and Camille Desmoulins received money, but nevertheless continued their attacks, which were scarcely abated for a moment. If Mirabeau had paid them, he would have known how to bring them to a reckoning." †

* Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' ii., p. 375, to whom the writer is indebted for this sketch of Marat. Those who will take the pains to read the chapter, 'Le Premier Pas de la Terreur,' will see that Michelet has handled the matter well and impartially. Such men as Robespierre and Marat are a study when they show themselves; and they are not so rare as many suppose.

† 'Mirabeau et L'Assemblée Constituante' p. 81, note (1).

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FLIGHT TO VARENNES.

After Mirabeau's death, Montmorin, it is said, formed a scheme for releasing the king from his difficulties, or rather partially adopted Mirabeau's plan. The ideas of Montmorin resembled those of Bouillé: the emperor was to make a demonstration which would serve as a pretext for collecting the French troops; the king was to put himself at the head of them; and then, according to Mirabeau's scheme, he was to summon

the National Assembly to him and to modify the constitution. Louis assented to Montmorin's scheme, empowered him to make arrangements with the ambassadors of Austria and Spain, and all the while kept a profound silence as to the plan which he had really adopted. It was Breteuil's plan which he had adopted; to leave Paris secretly, to throw himself into some strong place which Bouillé should name, and there to take such measures as should be best adapted to restore tranquillity to the kingdom. If the king could not succeed in this enterprise with the assistance of his own troops, he was then to call in foreign aid; but at all events by thus putting himself at the head of this new movement, the emigrant princes would play only a secondary part, and the king would be secured against the dependent position which he would be in, if he recovered his authority by means of the emigrants alone.

In the month of April the season of Easter was approaching, and the king wished to perform his devotions at St. Cloud. When it was known that he intended to leave Paris on the 18th, the club of the Cordeliers published a placard, in which they denounced the first functionary of the nation for allowing refractory priests to assemble in his house and to exercise their functions there. There was also great disturbance in front of the church of the Théatins, where the municipality had allowed the priests who had not taken the constitutional oath to perform religious service. On the 18th of April detachments of the National Guard were placed about the Tuileries, to secure the king's departure; and Bailly and Lafayette were there. As soon as the king and queen were seated in their carriage, they were assailed by the crowd with threatening cries, in which many of the National Guards joined. In vain Lafayette and Bailly attempted to establish order: Lafayette begged the king to wait, for he was resolved not to yield to the riot, and he would make way for him by force. But he could do nothing; and the king and queen, after sitting in their carriage near two hours, where they were subjected to all kinds of insult, at last returned to the palace. On the 19th the king came to the Assembly by the advice of his ministers, where he spoke in very moderate terms of the events of the preceding day, said that it was for the interest of the nation that there should be no doubts about his personal liberty, and he declared that he still persisted in his intention to go to St. Cloud; he said that he had accepted and sanctioned the constitution, of which the civil constitution of the clergy was part, and that he would maintain it with all his power. The president in his reply said nothing about the journey to St. Cloud. In order to convince the people of the king's sincere attachment to the constitution, Montmorin communicated to the Assembly an official copy of a circular letter to the French ambassadors at foreign courts. He had signed the letter by the king's order, and much against his will. The letter began thus: " Sir, the king commissions me to instruct you that it is his most particular pleasure that you make known his opinions on the revolution and the French constitution to the court at which you reside. The ambassadors and ministers of France at all the courts of Europe receive the same instructions, in order that there may remain no doubt either about the intentions of his majesty or the open acceptance that he has given to the new form of government, or his irrevocable oath to maintain it." This letter is the most absurd act of all the revolution, a glowing panegyric on the revolution by the king. It was received with the most lively enthusiasm by the *côté gauche* and the galleries, and the reading "was interrupted at every phrase by plaudits and cries a hundred times repeated, of 'Live the King.'" It is hardly conceivable that Louis should have condescended to order his minister to sign such a pitiable document, one in which the report that he was not free, is called "an atrocious calumny;" and so called by the man who could not even go a few miles from Paris when he wished.*

Lafayette was humbled as much as the king, for his own National Guard had refused to obey him. He sent in his resignation; and though urged not to persist in his resolution, he did persist until it was proposed by one of the battalions, and all the rest agreed, that every citizen soldier should swear upon his honour to obey the law, and that those who would not take the oath, should be excluded from the National Guard. Upon this Lafayette resumed his command on the 25th of April, and his first step was promptly to disarm, in conformity with a decree of the municipality, a company of grenadiers, who had set the example of insubordination on the 18th. But the clubs were not disconcerted: the Cordeliers denounced the new oath which the National Guard had taken, and by a placard declared it to be unconstitutional; and they received among them a man who had been expelled from the National Guard, for grossly insulting the king on the day of the intended journey to St. Cloud. After all, the king did not go to St. Cloud, and he heard mass performed at his parish church by constitutional priests. He was a captive, and he knew it.

As soon as the circular to the ambassadors was sent, the panegyric of the revolution, and the denial of the king's captivity, two secret agents were despatched, one to the Archduchess, who governed the Low Countries, and the other to the King of Prussia, to explain the king's real meaning; which, however, might have easily been extracted from his circular. The foreign princes had only to imagine themselves in the place of Louis, and they would read the letter in the right sense. At the same time, wishing to avail himself of every possible chance, the king and queen sent an agent to the Comte d'Artois; and the agent was instructed to keep Calonne also in good-humour. Montmorin, who had a plan of his own, and Breteuil, whose plan the king was going to follow, and Bouillé

* Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c., p. 377, says that the Lameth were the advisers of this circular. Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' iv., c. 39.

who was to assist in the execution of it, knew nothing of the mission to the Comte d'Artois. About the close of April, Goguelat, an officer, came to Louis from Bouillé, to receive the king's final orders, and Louis sent for answer, that he should leave Paris about the 15th of June, and would send more precise information.

Within three days after the death of Mirabeau, Robespierre assumed a new position in the Assembly: he saw that a place was left vacant by Mirabeau's death, and though he could not fill it, he knew that nobody else could. On the 17th of April he said, "a philosopher, whose principles you honour, has remarked that to inspire more respect and confidence, the legislator should isolate himself from his work. It is the application of this maxim that I wish to propose to you, and I move that no member of this Assembly shall have a place in the ministry during the four years which shall follow this session." This motion was extended by Bouche to future legislatures, and also to the holding under the executive of any place or emolument; and in these terms it was carried. On the 16th of May, Robespierre made a motion, which was carried almost unanimously, that the members of the Constituent Assembly should not be eligible to the first Legislative Assembly. Almost as unanimously the Assembly voted for printing Robespierre's speech:* his position was wonderfully changed; he was already assuming a dictatorial tone; he was listened to, and his speech was printed, as Maury had maliciously recommended on a former occasion. "In no sitting was the number of dupes so great as in this: men whose intentions were most pure, thought that to vote against re-election was to secure the glory of the Assembly, and the honour of its members," (Droz.) There still remained another question, whether the members of one Legislative Assembly should be eligible to a succeeding Assembly? and this question was warmly debated. The two chief speeches were by Duport and Robespierre.† Duport, the organizer of the clubs, was alarmed: he said, "step by step you have been brought to a real, a perfect social disorganization: I know not what mania for simple principles persons have for some time been attempting to instil into you, but the effect of them, which is well understood by those who are the first propagators of them, is to loosen all the springs of government, and to destroy, not its abuses, for you have gloriously done that, but all salutary, all conservative action; to speak more clearly, to lead to a total change of the form of government; for, in spite of all protestations to the contrary, a man must be very ignorant of the affairs of this world to doubt about the great schemes which exist with respect to this object." One would suppose that Mirabeau was speaking, and not Duport, the leader of the Jacobins. He added: "If you do not establish a constitution wise and free, a government honourable, just, and firm, the only remedy which the nation asks for, you prepare for yourselves long and useless remorse. The real danger, still concealed beneath the cloud of opinion, but already deep and extensive, is the exaggeration in the ideas of the public, their divergence, and the want of a common centre, a national interest to draw them together, and to unite them. One step more, and government can either no longer exist, or it must be concentrated entirely in the executive power. What is called the revolution is accomplished: men will no longer obey old despots; but, if you do not take care, they are ready to create for themselves new masters, whose power, more recent and more popular, would be a thousand times more dangerous. I repeat, the revolution is accomplished; but it is a false conclusion to say, as it is generally said, that for that reason liberty is not in danger; it is for liberty alone that I am alarmed." For these and other like grounds, Duport opposed the proposition to prevent the members of one legislature from being eligible to another; he showed the danger of having a completely new legislative body, which would in fact be a revolution in the whole system of government, for the new men would come without experience, and could be more easily misled by any minister. Robespierre put the question on its true ground with great precision: "is re-eligibility well adapted, or not, to secure the people good representatives?" and he answered the question by declaring himself for the re-eligibility of members after the interval of one legislature. The discussion was terminated by a vote in favour of Barrère's motion, "that the members of one legislature should be eligible to a succeeding legislature, but that after such second election they should not be eligible again for two years." The *projet de loi*, on the organization of the legislative body, consisted of ninety-nine articles: one of them was, that the king should not have the power to dissolve the legislative body. A member of the *côté droit*, said that he had a slight amendment to make in this article, which consisted simply in substituting for the words, "the king should not," the words "the king should:" this raised a laugh, but the article was voted without discussion. The constitutional committee were hastening to the close of their labours: a decree of the 27th of May fixed the meeting of the primary Assemblies between the 12th and the 25th of June, and that of the electors, who were to choose the members of the legislative body, for the 5th of July.

The great object of the Jacobins was to influence the new elections. Robespierre, encouraged by his success in the Assembly, moved that every domiciliated Frenchman should be an active citizen and eligible. A member supported him, but he was overpowered by shouts, and the Assembly decided, by a great majority, that Robespierre's supporter should not be heard. On the 19th of June, Robespierre was appointed by the

* It is printed in 'Hist. Parlem.,' x., 28, six pages of it; and it is a speech of some ability.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' x., 35. In p. 35, the motion that was carried is called Barnave's; in p. 52, it is called Barrère's, and it was the motion of Barrère, a feeble middle term.

Jacobin club to draw up the instructions for the affiliated clubs. His paper was approved of, three thousand copies were printed, and it was sent to the affiliated societies, and to the sections of Paris.* It was an exhortation to electors to attend punctually at the primary assemblies, and to vote for virtuous men and men of ability: but if they could not find both qualities united, they were to vote for the virtuous man in preference to the man who had only ability. Those whom the electors were to distrust most were the "men who were cruelly moderate, they were more dangerous than the declared enemies of the revolution." Hopes were held out that poor persons would be paid for their trouble in attending the elections."†

In the discussion on the punishment of death, Robespierre and Duport spoke against it. That of Duport is the better speech; that of Robespierre is not without merit: but it is the future career of the man which renders it worth notice. "If the laws make human blood flow, which they can spare and which they have no right to shed; if they exhibit to the eyes of the people scenes of cruelty and dead bodies mutilated by torture, then they destroy in the heart of the citizen the ideas of justice and injustice; they sow in the bosom of society the seeds of furious prejudices, which produce others in their turn. Man is no longer for man an object so sacred; we have a less elevated idea of his dignity, when the public authority sports with his life." On the 1st of June the Assembly decreed that the punishment of death should be retained, but it should be simply a privation of life, without the addition of any torture, and that it should be effected by decapitation.‡

The troubles of France had now produced that which Duport described as social disorganization. There was persecution of the priests whose consciences were stronger than their love of worldly profit; patriotism had become a kind of frenzy; a noble or a former noble was hardly looked upon as a man. The agents of the revolution and of the counter-revolution were scouring the provinces, working towards one end by different means; and the colonies were thrown in a blaze by the declaration of the rights of men,—for the slaves thought that they were men. The Assembly did not mend matters by decreeing that there should be no discussion on the political condition of men of colour, without the initiative of the colonists; but that from that day, colored persons who were born of free fathers and mothers should be eligible to the Colonial Assemblies. On the following day the members from the colonies wrote to the Assembly, to say that they thought it their duty to abstain from attending its sittings.

Fenelon had predicted a violent revolution in France. "There will come a revolution sudden and violent, which, instead of simply moderating the excessive power of the king, will destroy it irremediably." The time was come: all authority was destroyed; the kingly power was overthrown, and there was no other in its place. Early in May came a brief from the Pope, in which he declared the late election of curés and bishops to be null, and forbade them to administer the sacraments, under pain of excommunication. A patriotic society made an effigy of the pope, which was taken to the Palais Royal, and after a mock trial burnt, with a copy of the brief in its hand, amidst the acclamations of the spectators. At the same time the Journal of the Abbé Royou, the favourite of the priests, was burnt, after first being dipped in the dirt. The Abbé, in a subsequent number said, "Doubtless the National Assembly will give directions that the guilty be prosecuted, and handed over to the sword of justice; it is impossible for it not to avenge the insult done to the head of that religion which has always been the dominant religion in the state." The Assembly did nothing of the kind. Avignon and the Comtat de Venaissin, which belonged to the pope, were in a state of civil war; they had offered themselves to France, and the Assembly had neither accepted the offer, nor renounced the claims of France. But the Assembly did one positive act: they decreed that the remains of Voltaire should be removed from their resting-place to the church of Sainte Geneviève. On the 30th of May, 1778, the body of Voltaire was hurried off from Paris, to be buried in the church of the monastery of Scellières, where it had been half furtively interred before the letter of the bishop of Troyes, which forbade the interment, could reach the prior of Scellières. On the 30th of May, 1791, it was decreed that his remains should rest in the national Pantheon.*

In the midst of all this confusion the king made his escape.

The king's agent, Alphonse de Durfort, found the Comte D'Artois at Vicenza. The emperor Leopold had on the 18th of May signed a declaration at Pavia, in which he declared his intention to release Louis from his captivity by acting in concert with the other powers. On the 20th he had an interview at Mantua with the

* 'Hist. Parlem.' x., 231.

† One expression in the address was modified by the club, because it seemed to promise payment, and Roederer remarked, "however sound the principle might be, the application might be dangerous in that year, for there were no funds set apart for the electors." Robespierre replied, that it had not been decided that they should not be paid; a motion had been made to that effect in the National Assembly, and the opinion of the members seemed favourable to it: he thought that this opinion should be announced, as the object was to induce a greater number to attend the primary assemblies, which in general were not well attended. This was the fact: the citizens were rather indifferent about their new suffrage. See Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c., p. 394, note (1).

‡ The instrument adopted was the guillotine, which had already been proposed by Guillotin, a deputy of Paris.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' x., 151; Œuvres de Voltaire, vol. i., Lequien, p. 600. To decree the removal of the remains of Voltaire at this time to the Pantheon was not an indifferent matter. Voltaire was not a revolutionist, though he was the enemy of abuses; but he was not only the enemy of the Roman Catholic church: he was the enemy of Christianity.



CAPTURE OF LOUIS XVI. AT VARENNES.

Comte d'Artois, in which he verbally renewed to him the same assurance; and asked the French prince what his plans were. Calonne had proposed a plan, which required one hundred thousand men, who were to be sent to different parts of the French frontier, to enter France in July or August, and effect a counter-revolution in a few days. The emperor did not object to the number of men, but he made material alterations in the plan, and such as did not satisfy the impatience of the Count and of Calonne: the troops were to assemble on the frontiers in July, but were to stay there; and a congress was to be held to regulate ulterior operations. In the mean time Louis was thinking only of Breteuil's plan; and on the 27th of May he informed Bouillé that he should leave Paris on the 19th of June, a little after midnight. On the 27th of May, Durfort returned, and gave the king a copy of Calonne's plan as modified by the emperor; and at the end of this plan the king and queen were urged not to think of attempting to recover their freedom themselves, but to increase their popularity, so that when the foreign armies approached, the people might see that their only hope of safety was in the king's mediation.

But the king and queen were resolved to attempt an escape at all hazards. In the month of May there were rumours of the king's intended flight, but Montmorin, who knew nothing of the plan nor of the two counter-letters, which were sent at the same time as the circular to the ambassadors, strongly denied that there was any truth in these reports. He also sent a number of the 'Moniteur' (31st of May) to the Assembly, and in a letter he declared upon his responsibility and his honour that the project of escape attributed to the king in that number had never existed; and a postscript declared that the minister had submitted his letter to the king, who had permitted and even commanded him to address it to the Assembly.* Lafayette also spoke to the king about the rumours, and the reply of Louis was so frank and positive that Lafayette declared he would answer with his head that the king would not go; and thus suspicions were somewhat calmed.

The king's plans were ill-concerted. Montmédy was the place which he designed to reach; and he resolved to pass through Varennes contrary to the advice of Bouillé. The king wished that military detachments should be placed on the road beyond Châlons: the general replied that if the detachments were small, they would be of no use, and if large, they would excite suspicion; but Bouillé was obliged to yield. The king intended to have a carriage large enough to hold himself, the queen, his sister, the two children, and Madame Tourzel their gouvernante. Bouillé thought it better to leave the gouvernante behind, and have an officer who was accustomed to travelling and could take such measures as emergencies might require. But Madame Tourzel had sworn never to leave the children, and her tears made the king yield. The king had fixed on three of his body-guards to accompany him, but it never came into his head that he might take two of them, and in place of the third take d'Agoult, the officer whom Bouillé had recommended.

It was not very difficult to leave the Tuileries, for there was a gate at which no sentinel was stationed, because there were several sentinels at a short distance from it. The sentinels were accustomed to see persons leave the palace between eleven and twelve at night, after the king had gone to bed; and accordingly the fugitives quitted the Tuileries by this gate in separate parties. One of the guards, who had the care of the queen, knew so little of Paris that he lost his way, but at length he and the queen reached the rue de l'Échelle, where they found a coach waiting, with the Count de Fersen, a Swedish gentleman, for the driver. A good deal of time was lost in Paris, as Fersen did not know the shortest road through the streets, but at last he cleared the barriers and conducted the royal family safe to Bondy, where post-horses ready, and the fugitives got into the big coach. Monsie who was informed by the king of his determination on the evening of the 18th, set out the same night as the king, and he and his wife reached Brussels by different routes.

About eight in the morning the king's escape was known in Paris, and excited mingled sensations of alarm and suppressed indignation. Crowds flocked to the Tuileries, to the hall of the Assembly, and to the Hôtel de Ville. In some places the men armed with pikes appeared. Lafayette on hearing the intelligence complained of being so completely duped, but he took it very coolly; and some persons inferred from his expressions and his behaviour that he was not sorry to be relieved from his troublesome office of the king's keeper, and that he had hopes that it might end in their doing without a king altogether. As he was going to the palace he met Bailly and Beauharnais, and upon their expressing an opinion that it was necessary to stop the royal family to prevent a civil war, the general said that he would take upon himself the responsibility of doing it, and he immediately instructed two of his aides-de-camp and several officers of the National Guard to go from Paris by different routes, and he gave them notes signed by himself, in which the National Guards and the citizens were requested to prevent the king's escape. As Lafayette made his way through the crowd to the Hôtel de Ville, he found the people in a state of extreme irritation: the opinion or the report was, that the king was going to put himself at the head of the foreign troops, and that his escape had been aided by traitors, with Lafayette and Bailly at the head of them. His coolness and his presence of mind, however, saved him from any danger that might have existed.*

* Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c., p. 400; Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' iv., c. 40, who gives the article in the 'Moniteur,' No. 151.

* There is an anecdote worth recording. "A man shaking his fist at him, cried out, 'France is ruined.' 'How ruined?' replied Lafayette. 'France has twenty-five millions

Upon the president, Alexander Beauharnais, informing the Assembly that the king and a part of the royal family had been carried off in the night by the enemies of the public interest, prompt measures were taken: it was decreed that couriers should be despatched to the departments to forbid the royal family from leaving the kingdom, and if the persons who were carrying off the king should be found, they were to be arrested; the people were recommended to be tranquil and to respect the law, and they were assured that the Assembly would watch over the public interests. The ministers were sent for, but Montmorin, who was besieged in his hotel by a crowd, required an order of the Assembly to enable him to get there. The king, while attempting to save himself, had exposed his ministers, and particularly Montmorin, to the greatest danger The Assembly gave the executive power to the ministers, and declared that its decrees should require no other sanction than the signature of the keeper of the seals, who should also put the state seal to them.

The two aides-de-camp of Lafayette were stopped by the people; and on one of them appearing at the bar of the Assembly, he received a copy of the first decree which the Assembly had passed, and commissioners were appointed to secure his departure from Paris. It being clearly established that Lafayette was ignorant of the king's departure, the Assembly took pains to make this fact known in order to stop the rumours about treason. The anarchists however were in motion, and Santerre had got together about twelve hundred pikemen who went about endeavouring to agitate the people. The emblems of royalty which were found in the streets were destroyed; and this was the amount of the mischief which the agitators did.

The intendant of the civil list, La Porte, sent to the Assembly an unsealed packet which he had that morn- received from ne of the king's servants. It was a proclamation to the French people in the handwriting of the king, and signed by him, in which he protested against all his acts since the 6th of October, 1790. He recapitulated the insults to which he had been subjected, and showed the degraded state to which the royal power had been reduced. With many just causes of complaint he mixed up others of a trivial kind: he said that the palace of the Tuileries was not prepared for his reception when he came to occupy it, and that the arrangement of the apartments was not suitable for his convenience: he said that the Assembly had given him twenty-five millions for his civil list, but that the maintenance of the splendour of the crown and the charges with which it had been encumbered since the grant would absorb the whole of it.*

The club of the Jacobins was not idle on the 21st of June. In the evening Robespierre was there, deploring the feebleness of the measures taken by the Assembly: he said that Louis relied on the traitors whom he had left behind him; that the king admitted in his own hand-writing that he had fled, and yet the Assembly by a gross falsehood, the purpose of which was to maintain the king in his power, had declared that the king had been carried off: he accused the minister of war, of foreign affairs, and the minister of the interior, of a conspiracy; by such charges, he said, he knew the danger that he brought on himself, but the consciousness of his integrity would make him view death almost as a blessing, as it would relieve him from witnessing those misfortunes which he saw to be inevitable. "We will all die with thee," cried Camille Desmoulins, and the club responded by acclamation. Barnave and his friends, with Lafayette and others, now arrived. Danton made a furious attack on Lafayette, who was defended by Alexander Lameth. Lafayette briefly replied to Danton's charge. Upon the proposal of Barnave a circular was sent to all the affiliated clubs, in which it was declared that all patriots were united, the National Assembly was their guide, the Constitution the rallying cry.*

The club of the Cordeliers put forth a republican manifesto headed with some lines from Voltaire's tragedy of 'Brutus,'† adapted to the occasion: and they sent an address to the Assembly, in which it was declared that the king had abdicated; that royalty and particularly hereditary royalty, was incompatible with liberty, and they urged the Assembly to proclaim a republic, or to wait at least till the primary assemblies had expressed their opinion and decided the question. The king's flight was the signal for an open declaration in favour of a republic. It was a direct step from the throne to a prison.

Two of the queen's women, who had set out before er in a small carriage, met her at Bondy: and here Fersen took leave of the king, and made his way to Brussels. When day broke, the queen once more breathed freely and enjoyed the pleasing aspect of the country to which she had long been a stranger. The carriages travelled at a quick pace on the road to Châons. The queen had been making great preparations for the journey two or three months before: her bag- e was enough for a voyage round the globe. The gardes du corps had new dresses of bright yellow, well adapted to attract attention: they had never travelled he road before, and they were unarmed. The huge carriage of the king was followed by another containing he queen's women. The king was disguised like a

of inhabitants, the civil list costs twenty-five millions; every one of us gains twenty sous by Louis XVI. relieving us from this payment.' This pleasantry was often repeated, and more than one republican used it as a serious argument." Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c, p. 405, note (1).

* The 'Mémoire du Roi' is printed in the 'Annals of Bertrand de Moleville,' iv., Appendix, No. 17. This memoir, which is the production of Louis himself, is drawn up with some ability. He showed it to Monsieur in their last interview, who suggested some alterations.

* Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c., p. 417, Compare, as to this itting of the Jacobins, 'Hist. Parlem.,' x., 284, &c.

† Acte 1. Scene 2.

"Si *parmi les Français* il se trouvait un traitre,
Qui regrettât les rois et qui voulût un maître," &c.

valet, and yet he rode in the same carriage as Madame Tourzel, who acted the part of a Russian baroness: the servant and the mistress were sitting face to face. "This journey to Varennes was a miracle of imprudence: it is sufficient to consider well all that good sense required, and then to imagine the contrary; and thus, if all the Mémoires were lost, we should be able to reconstruct the whole narrative." (Michelet.) Eight post-horses at each post, and the king's strange-looking carriage built for the occasion, were a sufficient announcement that some persons of distinction were hurrying to the frontiers. Though it was not likely that the king could be easily recognized in his disguise, he carelessly showed himself at the carriage window, and thus lost the habit of taking due precaution. One garde-du-corps was on horseback at the carriage door, another sat on the box, and Valory, the third, rode on to order the horses; he paid the postillions royally: he gave them a crown apiece for drinking-money, which was what the king only gave. At Montmirail, a small town between Meaux and Châlons, an accident happened to the harness, and it took an hour or more to repair it. The journey was resumed, and every thing promised success: the relays of horses were punctually in readiness, and few people were seen on the road. Châlons-on-the-Marne was the only large town which the royal fugitives had to pass through, and on reaching it they were about one hundred miles from Paris by the road. At Châlons the post-master recognized the king, but without showing the slightest emotion he himself assisted in putting the horses to the carriages, and got the postillions off as quick as he could. The royal family quitted Châlons, and the king, the queen and his sister simultaneously exclaimed, "Now we are safe!" The next relay of horses was at Pont de Sommevelle, where, pursuant to the orders of Bouillé, M. de Choiseul, and Goguelat, were to be in readiness with forty hussars to protect the king if necessary. But they were not there: the king had not arrived at the time fixed, and they had left about half an hour before his arrival, for Choiseul, the commander of the detachment, thinking that a collision might take place with the people, drew his men off towards Varennes. The people at Pont de Sommevelle eyed the carriage suspiciously, but it moved off without any opposition being made. Between seven and eight, while it was still quite light, the king reached Sainte-Menehould; and being uneasy at not having seen the escorts that he expected at the two relays which he had last passed, he put his head to the carriage-door to speak to the officer of a detachment of dragoons which had arrived there by Bouillé's order. This officer also spoke to the courier. Drouet, the post-master, thought that he recognized the king from his resemblance to the royal effigy on an assignat of fifty livres.* However Drouet did not venture to stop the carriages at Sainte-Menehould; he says they were escorted by a detachment of dragoons, followed by a detachment of hussars, who were said to have under their care a quantity of money; for it was under this pretext that the troops had been sent there. Drouet adds, that the travellers asked for carriages for Verdun, but as he observed that they took the road to Varennes, he went to Varennes with a companion by a cross-road, and got there about eleven in the evening. He was followed by a dragoon, who probably intended to kill him, but Drouet knew the roads better, and left his pursuer behind. The king's carriage went by the way of Clermont, which was much longer. When the commander of the dragoons at Sainte-Menehould was going to set out with his men after the king, the people who suspected that it was the king who had passed by, cut the horses' girths, the bell was rung, and the municipality arrested the officer, whose men fraternized with the people.

At Clermont the royal family found the Comte de Damas with a detachment of cavalry, and the king and queen gave him tokens of acknowledgment. Madame Tourzel even called him to the carriage, and conversed with him a moment, and also the king. However the horses were put to without any obstacle, and the order was given aloud to move on to Varennes. It is said that the postillions from Sainte-Menehould as they were returning met Drouet on the road to Clermont, and that being informed by them that Varennes was the king's destination, he then changed his direction, and instead of going direct to Clermont, he took the cross-road to Varennes. Drouet's brief narrative does not mention this. When Damas was about to leave Clermont, his dragoons joined the people, and Damas only escaped by the swiftness of his horse, followed by an officer and five or six soldiers.

Valory, the king's courier, reached Varennes near midnight, and expected to find horses on the heights and in advance of Varennes, according to the arrangement; but there were no horses. Varennes is a small place on the Aire, a branch of the Aisne, and is divided into an upper and a lower town, which are united by a bridge. Goguelat had placed the relay of horses on the other side of Varennes, and had forgotten to inform the king of this change in the plan. Louis had an excellent memory, and told Valory to look for the horses at the place which had been agreed on. Valory finding no horses, made his way into Varennes, and groped about in the dark, knocking at the doors, and waking the people. When the carriages reached the heights at the entrance of Varennes, all were asleep in the king's carriage; but they were roused by a horrible jolt, and the first thing they heard was that the courier could not be seen. The house at which the carriage was to stay, was known; but on the master being roused, he said that he knew nothing about any horses. The horses however were ready, and waiting at an inn in the lower town, where Bouillé's son and Raigecourt were expecting the courier's orders. The king and queen got out of the carriage to make inquiry, but

* Extrait du récit fait par Drouet à l'Assemblée dans la séance du 21 Juin, 1791, in the 'Annals of Bertrand de Moleville,' iv., Appendix, No. 19; and 'Hist. Parlem.,' x., 354.

after a few minutes they got in again, and with some difficulty prevailed on the postilions to go on. At this moment two men on horseback passed rapidly, and one of them called out to the postillions, "I forbid you, in the name of the nation, to go on: you are conveying the king." This was Drouet, who hurried down into the town and made straight for the bridge, on which there was a tower with a low gateway under it. Drouet and his companion found a loaded vehicle near the bridge: they turned it over, and blocked up the passage.

One of the king's guards went to look for the commandant of the detachment which was posted at Varennes, but he could not be found. He was a young man hardly twenty years of age, and was not in the secret. During the day his men had been drinking with the people of Varennes, and this youth set off to Bouillé as soon as there was confusion in the town. Bouillé's son and Raigecourt, who were afraid of being arrested, took to flight shortly after.

The town gate was half closed, and there were a few armed men there. When the king's carriage came, the passport was demanded by the commandant of the National Guard and the Procureur of the Commune, who put the light into the carriage right in the king's face. The passport was signed by the king, and was for a Russian baroness named Korf, who was represented by Madame Tourzel; for Durand, her valet-de-chambre, who was the king; the governess of her children, who was the queen; for her two children, the dauphin and dauphiness; and her companion, who was Madame Elizabeth. In the mean time Drouet was rousing the inhabitants, the National Guards, and the soldiers; the alarm-bell was rung, and the people from the country were flocking in, armed with guns, forks, scythes, and what they could find. The procureur of the Commune, M. Sauce, a little dealer in groceries and the like, was much perplexed as well as the municipality; neither of them knew exactly what to do. At last Sauce with a few of the municipal officers approached the king's carriage, and said, that the municipality were discussing the question of allowing the travellers to pass, but that it was rumoured that they had the honour of having within their walls the king and the royal family; and he begged the king to retire to his house while the municipality was deliberating, for the streets were filling with people from the surrounding country, roused by the sound of the bell. The people who had crowded round the carriage were already uttering menaces, when the three ladies, the two children, and Durand, entered the shop. It was in vain for the king to deny himself; both he and the queen were recognized by their features. The bell of Varennes was still sounding the alarm, and all the village bells responded. In the darkness of the night lights were seen flitting here and there: all the country was aroused: whether it was a fire, or whether an enemy was coming upon them, they did not know. But they all flocked to Varennes, where they heard the truth: the king was escaping, he was going over to the enemy, he was betraying the nation. They forced their way into the shop, uttering curses and imprecations against their king, who was going to run away and desert them. Sauce and others had gone to the mairie to report the proceedings. A deputation, with Sauce at its head, returned; and they respectfully said, that as they had in truth the honour of having the king among them, they came to ask for his orders. Louis replied that his orders were to put the horses to the carriages, and to allow him to continue his journey. The deputation professed their willingness to obey, but prayed him to wait till daybreak, and to permit himself to be accompanied by a detachment of the National Guard. The king consented; he hoped that in the morning he should be allowed to go.

Choiseul, Goguelat, and the detachment from Pont de Sommeville, now arrived at Varennes; and Choiseul hearing of the king's arrest, went with his hussars to the barrack to get a reinforcement; but the soldiers whom he looked for were drinking in the wine-houses. He had only forty men with him, whom he placed in battle order in front of Sauce's house; and just at this moment Damas, with his five or six men, came up. Choiseul and Goguelat with difficulty made their way through the crowd to the house of Sauce. They ascended the winding staircase to the first floor, and they found a room filled with peasants, some armed with forks, who said they should not pass. But they did pass, and in another chamber they found the royal family; the dauphin was lying asleep on a bed; the gardes-du-corps and the queen's women seated on chairs; Madame Tourzel, the queen's daughter, and Madame Elizabeth, seated on benches near the window; the king and queen standing, talking to Sauce. On a table were some glasses, with bread and wine. Choiseul advised that all the royal family should mount on horseback, the king should carry the dauphin, and they should force a passage. The king said that if he was alone he would follow their advice; but that he could not risk the safety of the queen, his sister, and his children with so feeble a protection. He also urged that the municipality had not refused to let him go, and only requested that he would stay till daybreak; and that Bouillé would certainly be at Varennes between four and five in the morning: he was only eight leagues off, an affair of two or three hours.

In the mean time the hussars were drinking with the people. It was now near three of the morning: the municipality came to Sauce's house to say that the people would not let the king go, and that they had resolved to despatch a courier to the Assembly to know their pleasure. Goguelat went out of the house to see the state of affairs, when Drouet came up to him and said, "You shall not carry off the king alive." He approached the carriage, in spite of the threats of the commander of the National Guard; two shots were discharged at him and he was slightly wounded. The hussars were now with the people, and they were somewhat alarmed at the sight of four pieces of old cannon, so placed as to put them between two fires; "but,"

says Drouet, in his report to the Assembly, "I have the honour to inform you, that there was nothing in them."

Goguelat returned to the shop, where he found the king and queen completely humbled by this unexpected reverse. The queen appealed to Madame Sauce, as if she could help them in their difficulties "Have you no children, no husband or family?' Madame Sauce said that she should wish to oblige the queen, "but dame," she said, "you think of the king, and I think of M. Sauce: every woman for her own husband." M. Deslon, who commanded at the next post to Varennes, arrived, and contrived to make his way to the house through the crowd; he assured the king that Bouillé would certainly come soon. He had to repeat this three times before Louis seemed to understand him. "I beg your majesty," said Deslon, "to give me your orders for M. de Bouillé." "I have no longer any orders to give," said the king, "I am a prisoner: tell him that I entreat him to do for me what he can." Deslon hastened back to Bouillé.

The crowd was afraid that the king would be carried off, and they cried out, "To Paris." To quiet them the king and queen showed themselves at the window of the front room. It was already daylight, when the majesty of France presented itself to its astonished subjects in the small town of Varennes—the king [illegible] the dress of a valet, with a grey coat, a small wig on his head, and that in disorder, a fat, heavy-looking man, pale, without expression in his face or eyes: he protested that he was only going to Montmédy, that he would return to Varennes. The humiliating spectacle forced some cries of "Vive le Roi" even from the infuriated people.

The door of the apartment, which contained the royal family, opened, and an officer of the National Guard of Paris entered, with all the marks of hurry about him. He could hardly utter some confused words; but he said enough to show that he had come from the Assembly, and that he brought a decree. "Where is it?" said the king, "My comrade has it," he replied. The door of the front room was opened, and M. Romeuf appeared, with tears in his eyes, holding the paper in his hand. The king snatched it from him, read it, and said, "There is no longer a king in France." The queen read the paper: the king took it and read it again, and then placed it on the bed where his two children were lying. The queen seized the paper, and throwing it from the bed said, "It shall not defile my children." There was a murmur among the people who were in the chamber, members of the **municipality and inhabitants of Varennes, and Choiseul prudently took up the paper and laid it on the table.**

Bouillé did not arrive in time, though he had received so many summons: the reason was, he could not come. He could not depend on his troops, and all the towns around were hostile to him. He was near Stenai, when he first heard of the arrest of the king, at about half-past four in the morning. With some difficulty, he and his son, who had joined him, got the cavalry regiment of Royal-Allemand in motion, the only one that they could depend upon. The soldiers were first well paid, and they made their way at full speed to Varennes, through a country filled with armed men all in motion. On the road Bouillé heard that the king had left Varennes for Paris. Still he pushed on to Varennes; but the entrance was stopped up. His men forded the stream, and came upon a canal, which they were preparing to cross, when they were saved the trouble by Bouillé ascertaining, beyond all doubt, that they could not overtake the king, who was an hour in advance of him. The Germans said their horses were too tired to go any further; and the garrisons of Metz and Verdun were marching upon them.

The affair was at an end. Louis was on his way back to Paris; and Bouillé returned to Stenai. On the same day, accompanied by a few officers, he forced his way across the frontiers. He who had commanded so many legions was now a fugitive and an exile.*

* The facts of the king's arrest at Varennes depend on very slight evidence. There is the report of Drouet, which has been already referred to; the 'Relation du Voyage de Varennes,' by Madame Royale, afterwards the Duchess l'Angoulême, which is printed in 'Weber's Mémoires,' ii., 304, but it contains very little; and the narrative of Valory, the courier, which was written after the Restoration. The narrative of Valory is circumstantial, though confused; and there can be no doubt of his intention to tell the truth. There is also printed in 'Weber's Mémoires,' the 'Relation du Voyage de Varen[illegible] adressée par un prélat, Member de l'Assemblée Constituante, à un Ministre en [illegible] Etra[illegible] But th[illegible] nly h[illegible] de[illegible], though [illegible] be tr[illegible] Weber states, that the writer had his information from the king and queen. In the absence of further direct evidence on the affair of Varennes, there is room for the embellishments of fiction. Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. i., 11, &c., and Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française, ii., 96, have each treated the matter in their peculiar way. The narrative of Michelet is clear, precise, and picturesque. Droz has told the story in a sober, sensible manner, 'Mirabeau,' &c., p. 400, &c. See the various Mémoires on the flight to Varennes, by Bouillé and others, in the collection of Berville and Barrière.

CHAPTER XXII.

ROYALTY SUSPENDED.

From the time when the king's flight was known to the 26th of June, the sittings of the Assembly were permanent: its conduct was prudent and firm. It had to protect France, apparently deserted by the king, from the possible danger of foreign invasion and the violence of revolutionary movement. Commissioners were appointed to administer a new oath to the army, which was to swear to protect the country against all its enemies within and without, and not to obey any orders except such as were given pursuant to the decrees of the Assembly. The primary assemblies were still to go on with the nomination of electors, but the electors were not to meet until a time should be fixed by the Assembly.

About ten on the evening of the 22nd, some deputies hastily entered the hall of the Assembly, and there was heard the cry, "He is arrested, he is arrested." The president read a letter from the municipality of Varennes, which announced that the king was in that place, and asked for instructions. The Assembly named three commissioners, Latour-Maubourg, Pétion, and Barnave, who were invested with authority to secure the return of the king and the royal family to Paris, and they were enjoined to observe all the respect due to their rank. Bouillé was deprived of his command, and an order made for his arrest.

It was a little after eight in the morning, on the 22nd of June, when Louis set out from Varennes to return to Paris, escorted by National Guards, who succeeded one another by relays. The whole population crowded on the road to see the captive king, whom they looked upon as a traitor to the country. The guards could sometimes scarcely make way for the carriage amidst this crowd of furious people, who loaded the royal party with curses and insults. An old gentleman of Champagne, M. de Dampierre, who was on his way to Châlons when the king was passing, attempted to approach to pay his respects to him: he was massacred on the spot by the infuriated people in the king's presence. Between the towns of Epernay and Dormans, when about half the journey to Paris was accomplished, the three commissioners met the carriages, and read to the king the order of the Assembly. Barnave and Pétion took their seat in the king's carriage, but though their authority preserved the royal family from personal violence, they could not protect them against insult. A poor village curé, who attempted to speak to the king, was seized by the crowd, and thrown at the feet of the horses, and his life was only saved by the earnest appeal of Barnave. The conduct of Pétion in the carriage was very different from that of Barnave. Pétion was a vulgar man, with a mediocrity of talent. He ate and drank in the carriage in the way that a vulgar man eats and drinks; he threw the bones of the fowl that he was eating through the carriage door past the king's face; when Madame Elizabeth was pouring out wine for him, he would put up his glass to show that he had enough, without saying a word. Barnave was requested by the queen to take some refreshment in the carriage, but he respectfully declined. His behaviour pleased the queen and Madame Elizabeth; he discharged his commission faithfully by treating the royal family with the attention due to their rank and their unfortunate situation. When the carriage stopped at the inns, Barnave had several private interviews with the queen. He had already adopted more moderate opinions, and feelings of admiration and pity for the captive queen were insensibly mingled with his ardour for the cause of liberty.

As the carriages approached Paris, the crowd increased: it had increased all the way from Meaux to the faubourgs, and it was not possible for the horses to go faster than a walk. The royal family entered Paris on the 25th of June, about seven in the evening,* under a burning sun and suffocating clouds of dust, raised by the feet of thousands of spectators. The crowd said little, but their silence and their looks expressed indignation and contempt. To prevent any outbreak, Lafayette stationed troops on the boulevard from the barrière de l'Etoile to the Tuileries, and the king was conveyed to his palace between lines of armed

* The 'Hist. Parlementaire,' x., 401, quotes the following passage from Thiers, 'Histoire de la Révolution Française' (i., c. 6): "The journey was slow, because the carriage followed the pace of the National Guards. It took eight days from Varennes to Paris." On which the authors of the 'Hist. Parlem.' observes that "the king was arrested on the 21st, at eleven in the evening, and entered the Tuileries on the 25th, at half-past six." They add in a note, that there are many inaccuracies of the same kind in the history of M. Thiers. This is quite true. The merit of Thiers consists in his rapid, comprehensive sketch, his good sense, and his sound political judgment on most matters. Such errors as the 'Hist. Parlem.' remarks upon, proceed perhaps partly from hurry, and partly from an impatience of examining the evidence of trivial things.

The 'Hist. Parlem.' itself has been much criticised. But those who use it must distinguish between what the authors give as their own opinion, and the documentary evidence which they cite. As to the general views of the authors, Michelet has given his judgment in his second volume of his History of the French Revolution. As to the documentary evidence, the fault of the compilers of the 'Hist. Parlem.' consists in admitting some, such as a pretended letter from Louis XVI. to the Comte d'Artois, ('Hist. Parlem., ii., 101), *Correspondance Inédite de Louis XVI.*); and in omitting other evidence which ought to have been inserted. But as their plan and the limits of the work did not allow the insertion of every thing, their omissions are reduced to a question of their judgment in selection, and their impartiality.

men, without receiving military honours. The National Guards simply looked on as he passed, with their arms reversed: all the spectators kept their hats on, except one man, the deputy Guilhermy; and when the mob were attempting to force him to keep his hat on, he threw it from him into the crowd. This notice appeared in many places: "He who applauds the king shall be beaten: he who insults him shall be hanged." When the carriages had entered the gardens of the Tuileries, the mob attacked the three gardes-du-corps, who were on the seat of the king's carriage, and they would probably have been murdered, if the commissioners of the Assembly had not rescued them.* The queen did not leave the carriage to enter the Tuileries, till the king, his children and his sister were quite safe. The Viscount de Noailles, a member of the *côté gauche*, offered her his arm, but she rejected it with contempt, and took the arm of a member of the *côté droit*.

On that morning the Assembly adopted the draft of a decree proposed by the constitutional committee, that as soon as the king arrived, a guard should be appointed which should be under the orders of the commandant of the National Guard of Paris, and should watch over his safety and be responsible for his person. Similar precautions were taken with respect to the queen and the dauphin. All those who accompanied the king were to be put under arrest and interrogated; and the king and queen were to make their declaration as to the circumstances of the escape. The minister of justice was to put his seal to the decrees of the Assembly, and the sanction of the king was to be dispensed with: the executive power in the mean time was to remain in the hands of the ministers. This was a suspension of the royal power. The king and his family were prisoners in their palace, and subjected [illegible] Thi [illegible] the Tuileries as before, but Lafayette gave the orders, and none came from the king. All the approaches to the palace were closed, and sentinels were placed in every part of it. The queen could scarcely change her clothes without being seen; and the doors of her chamber and that of the king were kept open, that the sentinels might see whether they were safe in their beds. The king deeply felt his degradation, and almost succumbed to it: for several days he did not speak to his family. The queen's courage did not fail her, but she suffered the torments of a proud spirit insulted and humbled.*

On the 26th the Assembly decided that the tribunal of the arrondissement of the Tuileries should proceed to the interrogatory of the persons who were arrested, but that three commissioners, members of the Assembly, should be appointed to take the declarations of the king and queen. Robespierre protested against this exception in favour of the king and queen: he said, "The queen is a citizen, the king at this moment is a citizen, accountable to the nation, and in his capacity of first public functionary, he ought to be subjected to the law." But the commissioners were appointed: they were Tronchet, d'André, and Duport. It appears that they made such suggestions to the king as would contribute to render his declaration more agreeable to the public; and on the whole it was not ill received. The king stated that the insults which he had sustained on the 18th of April, and the impunity with which he was assailed by libellous attacks were the cause of his attempt to escape: he declared that his intention was not to leave France, and that his journey had not been undertaken in concert with foreign powers or with any Frenchmen who had left the kingdom: he added, that in Paris he could not well know public opinion, but he had learned by his journey how strong it was in favour of the constitution. The queen's declaration was very brief: the king wished to leave with her children, and she would not stay behind: she had a positive assurance that the king did not intend to leave the kingdom; and if he had intended, she would have used all her influence to prevent it. She declared that the persons who accompanied her did not know the object of the journey.

Bouillé wrote a furious, threatening letter to the Assembly from Luxembourg, which was read amidst silent contempt or roars of laughter, and the Assembly passed on to the order of the day. But Bouillé wished to save the king by sacrificing himself. He had too much good sense to write such a letter without an object. He well knew the state of opinion in France, and in a letter shortly after addressed to the emigrant princes, he told them that "nearly all France was against the ancient régime; the exceptions were a few persons who were interested in its restoration: it was impossible to re-establish the old order of things except by force; and if the people were subjected by force, it would be impossible to keep them quiet; their obedience could only be secured by an order of things which should be agreeable to them individually—tranquillity could only be established and maintained by a government which should ameliorate the condition

* The 'Orateur du Peuple' says they had their feet chained; but this is false. It also gives the wrong names. The 'Hist. Parlem.,' x., 422, corrects the error as to the names, but leaves the story of the chains uncorrected. One of the most recent writers (Poujoulat, i., 265) also repeats the story of the guards being chained. The pamphlets and journals of the day swarm with falsehoods. The 'Annales Patriotiques' of the 27th of June, begins in this style: "As soon as Louis XVI. was in the Tuileries, he threw himself in an arm-chair, saying, 'It is devilish hot,' and so on.—'Oh, it is a foolish thing that I have done, I admit. Well, must not I play my tricks as well as another?' Then he called for a fowl, eat and drank, and went to sleep." But there is generally a foundation for a lie. The journalist has doubtless embellished a few plain facts.

* Some particulars about the return of the king are given in Madame Campan's 'Mémoires' (ii., 149), who had them from the queen. The first time that Madame Campan saw the queen after her return, she was getting out of bed. The queen took off her cap, and showed what effect grief had produced upon her hair: "In a single night it had become as white as the hair of a woman of seventy."

of the people, and secure for ever the destruction of old abuses." *

The leaders of the *côté droit*, on the 29th of June, drew up a declaration against the decrees by which the Assembly assumed all the power, and suspended the king's functions; and they declared that they would henceforth take no part in any deliberation of the Assembly which did not solely concern the interests of the king's person and the royal family. Two hundred and ninety deputies signed this declaration, which number was afterwards increased to three hundred and fifteen; but about thirty, among whom was Malouet, signed it with this restriction, that while they disapproved of the decrees, they would speak and vote whenever they thought it advisable.† Among the signers was the Marquis de Ferrières, one of the most estimable men on the *côté droit*, and yet he admits the impolicy of the measure, and says that those who drew up the declaration thought more of the damage which they could do to the constitutional party, which they detested, than of the service which they might render to the king and the royal family. The king's flight thus brought the parties more distinctly in opposition. Many of those who signed the declaration were in favour of the old monarchy, and by this act they separated themselves from the moderate constitutional party, who however were less afraid of them than of the demagogues, who were ready to proclaim a republic. The name of Republic had for some time been made familiar to the French by a few writers; but the republicans, such as Brissot, had treated of the republic as a theoretical rather than a practical question: circumstances now made it a practical question. Even those who were in favour of a monarchy, as it was termed, Duport and his friends, had served the republican cause by their measures: they had thought more of establishing a free government than of giving stability to it. Before the king's flight Camille Desmoulins had said: "There is left to France only the name of monarchy, and this is done in order not to alarm those who are bigots, idiots, crawling wretches, animals of habit; but setting aside five or six decrees, which contradict one another, we have been formed into a Republic."

Lafayette, probably in theory a republican, looked at the question as one of expediency. With his friends he discussed the matter of the republic: there were reasons for and against it. The question was

* 'Mémoires de Boullé,' p. 290.

† Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c., p. 440. In the 'Hist Parlem.,' 432, where the declaration is printed, and the names of the signers are given; the number of signatures is stated to be 270. Bertrand de Moleville, iv., c. 43, also says 290; and adds, "it is the part of history to collect these honourable acts, as so many monuments of courage and fidelity."



THE KING'S RETURN FROM VARENNES TO PARIS.

whether people's minds were prepared for the republic there was no mean to choose between a republic and the monarchy with Louis XVI.: if the king was deposed, and his son proclaimed in his place, a regent would be required, and there was no person whom public opinion would accept as a regent. In the Assembly there would have been very few votes for a republic: the conclusion of Lafayette and his friends was, that they must stand by Louis XVI., and hope for the best.

The Jacobins discussed, on the 23rd of June, which was before the king's return, what the Assembly should do with Louis XVI. Danton said that the king was either criminal or imbecile; and it would be a horrible thing, when they had the power to find him criminal or imbecile, not to adopt the latter alternative. His proposal was that "the departments should assemble that each should name an elector; that the electors should appoint an executive council of ten or twelve who should be changed like the legislature every two years." An address from the club of Marseille to the French people recommended Robespierre, "that only rival of the Roman Fabricius," and Danton, to their especial protection. "Know, Frenchmen, that your brethren of Marseille have sworn to watch over the precious safety of these rare men, which the capital has the happy advantage of possessing in its bosom.—On the slightest show of danger, men of Marseille will fly to you (Parisians) to aid you with their arms; and followed by excellent patriots from the departments, they will come to the capital to tear the mask from the hypocrites, and to place truth on the national chair between Robespierre and Danton." The prospectus of a Journal entitled 'Le Républicain' was posted up even at the doors of the Assembly: it was signed by Duchastellet "colonel des chasseurs," but is said to have been drawn up by Thomas Paine, the author of the 'Rights of Man,' who was then in Paris. There was at this time a report that Sièyes had turned republican. Sièyes denied it in a note to the 'Moniteur:' he said that he preferred a monarchy, because it was demonstrable to him that there was more liberty for the citizen in a monarchy than in a republic: and every other reason for determining in favour of one or of the other was puerile. This was precise and clear: to secure individual freedom of action is the great end of government; and in order to secure it, law is necessary; and that law may perform its purpose, there must be an efficient executive. But Sièyes' notion of a monarchy was somewhat obscure and mystical:* he thought of an elective monarchy, and he possessed the secret of securing all the advantages of the hereditary principle without any of its inconveniences, and all the advantages of election without any of its dangers. Paine, in a long letter published in the 'Patriote Français,' gave notice that he accepted the challenge which Sièyes gave to the sincere republicans, and would prove the superiority of the republican system over this nullity of system called monarchy. It was a strange course of events which had brought a Frenchman, a priest, and an Englishman, born of a Quaker father, and bred a stay-maker, to discuss together the question of a monarchy and a republic.

The people of Paris were told, and they believed, that the departments called for the deposition of the king; and the people in the departments were told that the Parisians called for it. But a great majority were well aware of the dangerous precipice to which the Jacobins were leading them, and were anxious to see the king's ambiguous position finally determined. It was not till the 15th of July that this was done, after much debating in the Assembly. It was first decreed that if the king should retract, after having sworn to the constitution, he should be considered to have abdicated; also, if he put himself at the head of an army to act against the nation, or gave orders to that effect, or if he did not, by some formal act, oppose any attempt of the kind being done in his name; that in case the king should abdicate and be judged to have abdicated, he would become a plain citizen and be responsible in the usual way for all his acts after his abdication.* Thus royalty was saved for a time, and the flight of the king was declared not to be a constitutional Pétion, Robespierre, Buzot, and a deputy from Pamiers, hitherto unknown, Vadier, spoke against the report of the committee, which resulted in this decree. Vadier spoke with such violence that several voices cried out, "It is Marat;" and Marat said that the speech was a tissue of phrases borrowed from the patriotic journals, particularly his own, 'L'Ami du Peuple.' The speech of Barnave in favour of the decree produced a great effect: it was a warning against the miseries that were to come. He treated directly of the question that was before the Assembly, but he also treated the great question of the Revolution. "It is," he said, "a great evil to perpetuate this revolutionary movement which has destroyed all that there was to destroy, which has brought us to the point at which we ought to stop—you have made all men equal, before the law civil and the law political; you have resumed, you have restored to the state all that had been taken from it: hence results the great truth, that if the Revolution makes a single step in advance, it cannot make it without danger; that in the direction of liberty, the first act would be the annihilation of royalty; and in the direction of equality, the first act which could follow would be an attack on property." At the same time it was decreed that Bouillé, and others who were concerned in the king's evasion, should be prosecuted. The Assembly were bold enough to set at liberty the king's equery, and the two chamber women of the Dauphin, and Madame Royale.

* Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c., p. 449; 'Hist. Parlem.,' x., 451. It is hardly necessary to remark that "monarchy" strictly means that kind of government in which one man has formally the sovereign power. But the term "monarchy," as used by the French of this period, and as often used now, simply means that there is a power in the state called a king, or by some other equivalent name.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xi., 20—69.

In the evening the decrees of the Assembly were read at the Jacobins, who were disconcerted at the result. But the appearance of Robespierre gave them fresh hopes: he observed that the decree said nothing of Louis XVI., and that the question concerning him still remained to be settled. Biauzat replied and showed that there could be no doubt as to the meaning of the decrees. Laclos moved, and it was seconded by Danton, that they should draw up a petition and send it to all the affiliated societies for signature, and that it should be signed by everybody, even women and minors, and then be presented to the Assembly with eight millions of signatures. A committee was appointed to draw up the petition, and it was to be signed on the following day in the Champ-de-Mars. Upon this the Assembly took active measures for preserving the peace; and to remove all doubt about the meaning of their former decrees, it passed another to the effect that the royal authority should be suspended until the constitution was presented to the king for his acceptance. On the same day almost all the deputies, who were members of the Jacobins, met at the convent des Feuillans, with the intention of transferring to this new locality the sittings of the club, of which they were the founders, and with the declared object of purging the society, and only retaining those members whose principles were in harmony with the objects which they had always had in view.

A number of people assembled at the Champ-de-Mars, and some members of the club of the Cordeliers came with a banner bearing the inscription "Liberty or Death." But there were certain expressions in the petition, which implied that Louis was to be deposed and his son put in his place with the Duke of Orleans for Regent; these words, it is said, had been dictated by Laclos to Brissot, who had the chief hand in drawing up the petition, that the words were afterwards erased by Brissot, and yet they still appeared in the copies of the petition. The express[illegible] hich were found fault with were altered in the Champ-de-Mars, so as to express clearly that the petitioners wanted neither Louis XVI., nor any other king. But the petitioners could not agree: some were for signing the petition immediately; others were for taking it back to the Jacobins to be corrected. In the midst of these disputes they separated, but agreed to meet again the next day. The majority of the Jacobins, that is, the body who had been deserted by the deputies, were afraid, and they refused to sanction the alteration made in the petition.*

Early on the 17th, the address made by the president of the Assembly to the Mayor of Paris, in which he had been urged to maintain the peace, and the decree which declared the suspension of the royal authority, were published; and people were warned that all assemblages of people, with, or without arms, were contrary to law. Before the time appointed for the meeting, the altar in the Champ-de-Mars was covered with men and women. Two men were found concealed under the steps, and it was forthwith believed that they were conspirators hired to blow up the altar. They were carried off to the committee of the section Gros-Caillou, and examined, but on their way to the Hôtel de Ville they were murdered by the crowd, and their heads were put upon pikes.*

About one o'clock there was an immense crowd in the Champ-de-Mars, and a few obscure emissaries of the Jacobins were there, but the chief members of the club were not. The Cordeliers were there, and stirring. The Jacobin emissaries were instructed to say that as a new decree had been made, there must be a new petition. The Cordeliers said that as the Jacobins had not drawn up a petition, they would draw one up on the spot; they drew up their petition, and separate leaves were distributed in order to be signed; about six thousand persons signed, including those who merely made their mark. The petition exists, for the leaves were picked up by the National Guards. The chief names attached to it were those of Santerre, Chaumette, Hébert, and Henriot: the rest were names still more unknown. The tumult was now at its height, and the leaders talked of going in a body to the National Assembly. The people began to throw stones at the National Guards, and a man was arrested, who fired at Lafayette, but the general set him at liberty. The municipality at last proclaimed martial law, the Mayor and part of the municipal officers put themselves in motion, preceded by a detachment of cavalry, three pieces of canon, and the red colours (drapeau rouge) and followed by a battalion of the National Guards. The municipality was received with hootings and a shower of stones, and a pistol shot passed Bailly and broke the thigh of a dragoon. There was no time to summon the rioters in legal form. Lafayette fired without ball, but the people, seeing that no damage was done, made a fresh attack. A second discharge with ball killed some of the rioters, and the cavalry dispersed the rest. The number of persons killed is estimated at one hundred by some writers. St. Just spoke of two thousand being killed. The official returns make the number eleven or twelve, and the number of wounded about the same.

On the following day the Assembly, through their president, Charles Lameth, thanked the magistrates and the National Guards for their conduct. A single discharge of fire-arms had frightened the agitators: Danton, Desmoulins, Fréron, ran off: Marat hid himself; and Robespierre was so terrified that he did

* Madame Roland gives some, but not a clear account of this affair, 'Mémoires,' i., 279, which she represents as an Orleans intrigue. Compare 'Hist. Parlem.,' xi. 71.

* 'Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c., p. 462, &c., and his note. This affair has sometimes been misrepresented. The story thus, in brief:—"Le massacre de deux invalides saisis sous les marches de l'autel de la patrie, où les avait conduits une indécente curiosité, ouvrit la journée du 17 Juillet." Poujoulat.) Compare the evidence of Santerre, 'Hist. Parlem.,' xi., 104; and what Robespierre says in his 'Adresse aux Français,' referred to in the next chapter.



CONFLICT ON THE CHAMP-DE-MARS.

not venture to sleep in his own house for several days.*

Several writers were arrested after the 17th. Of the royalists, Suleau was put in prison: Royou hid himself, and his brother, an avocat, looked after the 'Ami du Roi' till the Abbé could show himself again. Deflers, the editor of 'The Journal des Debats des Jacobins' was arrested.

On the 11th of July the remains of Voltaire were removed, in pursuance of the decree of the Assembly.† The Jansenists made some feeble effort to oppose the apotheosis of the "impious man," but they were only laughed at for their pains. The design for the car, of antique form, which contained the remains of Voltaire, was furnished by David. The car bore a sarcophagus, which contained the coffin, and it was covered with branches of laurel and oak, intertwined with roses, myrtles, and wild flowers. On the car were the inscriptions, "If man is born free, he ought to govern himself;" and "If man has tyrants, he ought to dethrone them." On the 10th the coffin was taken to the site of the Bastille, which was tastefully decorated for the occasion, and deposited on a platform which occupied the site of the tower in which Voltaire had been imprisoned. It was Monday, the 11th, when the procession moved from the site of the Bastille to the Panthéon Français, where the body was placed, to be immediately transferred to the church of Sainte-Geneviève, to repose with Mirabeau and Descartes. The procession opened with a detachment of cavalry, sappers, drummers, deputations from the colleges, and the patriotic societies, who had different devices. A deputation from the theatres preceded the gilded statue of Voltaire, which was surrounded by pyramids bearing medallions in which were written the titles of his chief works. The statue, crowned with laurel, was carried by men dressed in classical costume. The academies and men of letters surrounded a golden (gilded?) chest, which contained the seventy volumes of the works of Voltaire. Bodies of musicians, instrumental and vocal, swelled the procession, and preceded the funeral car, which carried the sarcophagus, and was surmounted by a couch on which the philosopher reclined, while Fame was placing a crown upon his head. On the sarcophagus were these inscriptions: "He avenged Calas, la Barre, Sirven, and Montbailly:"* "Poet, philosopher, historian, he gave to the human mind a great impulse, and prepared us to be free." Twelve horses drew the car, led by men in classical costume. The car was followed by a deputation from the National Assembly, the department, the municipality, the judges of the different courts, and a battalion of veterans: a body of cavalry closed the procession.

The theatres past which the procession moved were appropriately decorated to honour the man who wrote 'Œdipe' at the age of seventeen, and 'Irene' at the age of eighty-three. The procession halted before the house of M. Villette, where the heart of Voltaire was deposited: on the front of the house was the inscription, "His mind is everywhere; his heart is here." Madame Villette placed a crown on the statue of Voltaire. Some strophes of an ode by Chénier and Gossec were sung in front of the house, accompanied by instruments, some of antique form. Madame Villette and the family of Calas joined the procession; and other females dressed in white, with tricolor belts and ribands, preceded the car.

The king, a fugitive, arrested, brought back, and confined in his own palace: Voltaire, once a captive in the Bastille, called from his humble grave to see the ruins of his prison, and be led in triumph through the streets of Paris, to rest in the national temple—this was a contrast, a revolution.

* 'Mémoires de Mde. Roland,' i., 281. She was in the Champ-de-Mars on the occasion, and witnessed the proceedings. For the matters treated of in this chapter, see 'Droz,' 'Mirabeau,' &c., chap. 6, p. 103, &c.; Dahlmann, 'Geschichte der Franz. Rev.' p. 365, &c.; 'Hist. Parlem.,' x., xi.; and, as to the 17th of July particularly, 'Hist. Parlem.' xi., 103, &c.

After the 17th, Desmoulins published the last number of this, his first, Journal, (No. 86) which was addressed to Lafayette, "The Liberator of the two Worlds, flower of the Janissary-agas, phœnix of Alguazils-majors, Don Quixote of the Capets and of the two Chambers, Constellation of the White Horse." Lafayette used to ride a white horse. ('Hist. Parlem.,' xi., 72, 126.

† The 'Hist. Parlem.,' x., 455, contains the 'Apothéose de Voltaire,' taken from the 'Moniteur.'

* This allusion is well understood by all who know the life of Voltaire.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CONSTITUTION.

The Assembly had struck alarm into the leaders of the Jacobins, into the preachers of anarchy; but the Assembly did not follow up its victory. The clubs were not closed: the violence of the press was not restrained. A draft of a law about the press was proposed, but it was rendered null by the addition of a single word proposed by Pétion, which restricted the decree to such writings as should formally urge to disobedience to the laws.

Lafayette, Barnave, Duport, the Lameth, D'André, Chapelier, Beautmetz, and others, who were opposed to the extreme party in the Jacobins, had meetings at the house of the duc de la Rochefoucauld, but they were too much divided in opinion to agree on any plan

of operation. They wanted the vigour and sagacity of Mirabeau to direct them.

The Jacobins were so much humbled on the 17th of July, that for several days their club only retained six deputies among its members. Robespierre, Grégoire, and Pétion, were three of them. But the Jacobins conducted themselves with prudence, and turned a defeat into a victory. On the evening of the affair of the Champ-de-Mars, the club passed a resolution in which they declared their attachment to the constitution and their obedience to the decrees of the Assembly, and the next day they sent an address to the Assembly, in which they expressed their sorrow at the views and principles of the club being misunderstood.* Pétion published a letter on the schism in the club of the 'Amis de la Constitution,' expressed in moderate language: he admitted that some errors had been committed by the club, but its services were great: he was near abandoning the cause in despair, but he had been prevailed upon by some friends to remain at his post.

There was a contest between the two clubs for the possession of the affiliated societies; and a circular was sent by each of them to the clubs in the departments.† But the Feuillans were engaged in an unequal contest; for the greater part of the moderate members had retired from the affiliated societies, and they were now directed by men who did not entertain the opinions of the Feuillans. Three questions presented themselves for the consideration of the affiliated societies,—re-union of the two clubs, adhesion to the Feuillans, or a continuance of their union with the Jacobins. The circular of the Jacobins received the adhesion of the greater part of the clubs; many of the deputies rejoined the Jacobins, and the supremacy of the Friends of the Constitution sitting at the Jacobins was at last firmly established. This formidable association in the last months of the sittings of the Assembly numbered above 1,800 members, and 250 affiliated societies. Since the time when the Breton club had hired a place for a few francs in the Jacobin convent, it had made rapid progress. It first sat in the spacious refectory; then it required all the space of the library; and finally it fixed itself in the church: its progress is significant from the kitchen to the library and the house of prayer. The president had his chair, the secretaries their seats; it had a tribune, a regular order of business, and a journal, in which the debates and resolutions of the club were published. Everything was framed after the model of the Assembly; and as admission to membership was not difficult, a popular orator would seek to satisfy his ambition in a field which was open to adventure.

It was in the month of July, and after the affair of the Champ-de-Mars, that Robespierre published his address to the French.* He had recovered from his fright: he saw that the Assembly would not follow up their victory; that the Jacobins would triumph; for he says: "At the moment when I am writing, we know that several patriotic deputies have only remained at the club of the Feuillans to act as a counterpoise to the dangerous influence of the heads of factions." This man, timid in action, and alarmed at the sight of personal danger, was infinitely bold when he saw his opportunity. His address is written with great ability: "It was in defence of his honour and his country;" for Robespierre could never separate his personality from his cause. He was a persecuted man, a man calumniated; and persecuted and calumniated, because he did his duty. His persecutors were a powerful faction, which aspired to rule in the National Assembly; but Robespierre was not the real object of their attack; it was his principles; it was the cause of the people, which they designed to crush by oppressing the defenders of the people. "To wrest from me at once," he said, "the means of serving my country and my honour, is too great a combination of atrocities; if I must see liberty fall beneath their efforts, I will at least, while I perish in its defence, leave to posterity a name without reproach, and an example for the imitation of honest men." He laid down a plain rule by which he might be judged: "if I can refer all my conduct to one single principle, and if this principle is honest and pure, with what face could my opponents seek to impute to me culpable motives, and place me among the number of the enemies of my country?" He said that the principles which he had brought with him to the Assembly, and which he had constantly supported, were those which the National Assembly had solemnly recognized by the Declaration of Rights as the only legitimate basis of every political constitution and all human society. He said that he thought, "that all the decrees of the National Assembly, that all his own opinions at least, could only be consequences of the two principles to which we might reduce the Declaration of the Rights of man and of the citizen, Equality of Rights, and the Sovereignty of the Nation." Robespierre had the merit of being consistent. He applied these two principles, as he proceeds to show, to all the questions which were deliberated in the Assembly. It was a logical consequence of these principles that the king was the agent (*mandataire*), the delegate (*délégué*) of the nation, which was sovereign: the king was not a power, but an individual to whom power was given by the nation. "As to the monarch," Robespierre said, "I have not participated

* 'Adresse à l'Assemblée Nationale par la Société des Amis de la Constitution, séante aux Jacobins à Paris,' 'Hist. Parlem.,' xi., 146; said to have been drawn up by Robespierre.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' xi., 154, &c.; where both addresses are printed, and the history of the correspondence with the departmental clubs is given.

* 'Adresse de Maximilien Robespierre aux Français, à Paris, Paquet, Rue Jacob.' It is dated 'Juillet, 1791,' but the day of the month is not given, nor the residence of Robespierre. The address consists of forty-eight pages octavo. The date is however the end of July: "le drapeau rouge reste encore déployé au moment ou j'écris, après quinze jours de calme," p. 37.



APOTHÉOSE DE VOLTAIRE.

in the alarm which the title of king has inspired in most free peoples: provided the nation were put in his place, and full scope were allowed to the patriotism to which our revolution has given birth, I did not fear royalty, nor even the hereditary character of the royal functions in one family."

A committee for revising the constitution had been appointed in the lifetime of Mirabeau, who however failed in being chosen a member of it, as he wished to be; and his failure was owing to the influence of Lafayette. Both of them were then in favour of two chambers, but Lafayette was afraid that Mirabeau would introduce some aristocratic notions into the committee.* The business of the committee was to select from all the decrees of the Assembly those which were of a constitutional character, to classify them, to indicate what was obscure, to supply what was deficient; and also to suggest alterations where they were considered to be necessary. The committee of revision met the committee on the constitution, when they had to consider the most important matters. On the 5th of August, Thouret presented the constitution to the Assembly, which was read amidst the applause of the members. Barnave was almost the only member of the *côté gauche* who made a serious attempt to modify it, to give to the royal authority a surer basis; and he spoke to Malouet on the subject, and concerted with him and Chapelier a plan of operations. Barnave thought if the *côté droit*, instead of irritating the *côté gauche* by an obstinate resistance, would support the revision, France might still have a good constitution. Chapelier asked how the *côté gauche* could be expected to give to the royal authority the necessary power, if the opposite side should persist in its aristocratical notions, and if the *côté gauche* should have reason to fear that the *côté droit* would endeavour to employ against it the authority which they should give to the king? "If," said Malouet, "the *côté gauche* will renounce the reveries of the social contract, and show itself truly monarchical, it will be supported by an immense number of citizens, and will have nothing to fear from the two extremes."

Before the discussion commenced on the different articles of the constitution, Malouet said:—"When you affirm that the sovereignty belongs to the people and only delegate powers, the enunciation of the sovereignty of the people is false and dangerous: it is false, for the people as a body, in its primary assemblies, cannot lay hold of any part of that which you declare to belong to it; you even forbid them to deliberate: it is dangerous, for it is difficult to keep in the condition of subjects those to whom we are continually saying, You are sovereign; in the impetuosity of their passions, they will always seize on the principle, and reject your consequences. Such is the first vice of your constitution, to have placed the sovereignty in abstraction; you thus weaken the supreme powers, which are only efficient in proportion as they are connected with a visible and uninterrupted representation of the sovereignty, and which, by your making them depend on an abstraction, in fact assume, in the opinion of the people, a subordinate character. This new combination, which appears to be for the advantage of the people, is altogether prejudicial to them, for it deceives them as to their claims and their duties."

Malouet was interrupted by Biauzat, who cried out: "It is nothing less than a counter-revolution which is recommended to you." This was the signal for confusion: the *côté droit* did not support Malouet; the *gauche* supported the constitution. The revision went on with great rapidity: the article, "The legislative body is composed of a single chamber," passed unnoticed, and yet it contains a principle which has not even yet been satisfactorily resolved. The constitution gave to the Assembly the power of adjourning, prolonging, or closing the session; but no opposition was made to this. The article, "The French constitution is representative; the representatives are the legislative body and the king," did not please the *côté gauche*, and Robespierre spoke against it: Thouret, D'André, Barnave, supported it. This article seemed to acknowledge the king as a distinct power, to which Robespierre of course objected: it gave him a will distinct from his executive functions. It was carried by a great majority, but a single expression of this kind was insufficient to secure to the king the necessary powers for efficient action. The constitution gave the king no power to suspend the administrators in the departments without informing the legislative body, which had the power of removi[illegible] confirming the suspension.

The article which did not allow a deputy to be chosen for three successive legislatures, was retained; also that which forbade the king to choose his ministers out of the legislative body, and prevented the deputies from receiving any place or office under the government, for two years after the cessation of their functions. After some discussion it was agreed "that the ministers should be heard in the legislative body whenever they should ask to be heard upon matters relating to their administration, or when they should be required to give explanations; and on matters foreign to it, when the Assembly should allow them a hearing." This was the solution of the question, hitherto unsettled, as to the admission of the ministers to the sittings of the legislative body.

As to the future revision of the constitution there was some difficulty; but it was finally settled, agreeably to Frochot's proposal, who delivered an excellent speech on the occasion,* that when three successive legislatures should have agreed about changing a constitutional article, there should then be a revision. But the next legislature, and the third also, were deprived of the power of proposing any change in the constitution.

* Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c., p. 476, note (1).

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xi., 372. Lavie exclaimed, "This speech is worthy of the friend of Mirabeau." The Assembly ordered it to be printed.

Before the revised constitution was read, Malouet made a final effort. He reminded the Assembly that in their address to the king, on the 9th of July, they had said to him, "You call us to labour in concert with your majesty at the constitution of the kingdom: the National Assembly promises you that your wishes shall be fulfilled:" he asked, if by subjecting the king to the alternative of acceptance or refusal, they could say that they were making the constitution with him? His address was followed by a burst of disapprobation.

The constitution was completed. It was presented to the king on the same evening, the 3rd of September, by sixty members of the Assembly. Thouret made no speech when he presented the constitution. The few words that he uttered were these: "The representatives of the nation present to your majesty the constitutional act which consecrates the imprescriptible rights of the French people, which restores to the throne its true dignity, and which regenerates the government of the empire." The king replied that he would give his answer with as little delay as the importance of the matter required. The day after, the Tuileries were opened; and the system of surveillance which had been exercised since the king's return, was terminated, but he was still secretly watched in all his movements. In the last sitting but one the Assembly made a decree relative to the patriotic societies, or clubs, founded on the preamble, "that no society, club, or association of citizens, can have under any form a political existence, nor exercise any influence or inspection over the acts of the constituted powers and legal authorities; that under no pretext can they appear under a collective name to draw up petitions or form deputations, to assist at public ceremonies, or for any other object." Robespierre spoke against the measure.* A decree of September gave to the Jews the rights of active citizens. Another decree of the same month declared that Avignon and the Comtat de Venaissin were annexed to France; which, in addition to the treatment that the pope's letter had received at Paris, was a sufficient cause of quarrel with the Holy See.

Disorder prevailed in the provinces, and the constitution gave the king but feeble means of repressing them. Some of the clubs in the departments were guilty of violence and illegal acts. The army was in revolt in various places: at Arras one battalion had seized the citadel, and another had formed itself into an association which recognized no authority. Pétion and Robespierre wished the Assembly to deal mildly with rebellious soldiers. Alexander Lameth told them that such speeches as theirs were the cause of the disorders. A rigorous decree was passed (August 28th).† The western departments were in a state of violent excitement, owing to the religious troubles which the Assembly itself had engendered by interfering with peoples' consciences. The state of foreign affairs, or the rumours about foreign affairs, contributed to the uneasy state of public opinion. The emigration had increased since the return of the royal family, and the emigrants had left France with threats of war. But the foreign powers were not so ready for war as the emigrants wished, nor so ready to interfere as the revolutionary party endeavoured to persuade the people that they were.

There was no wish for war with France by any foreign power, except perhaps Prussia, and Prussia could not move without the empire. Leopold wished his brother-in-law, Louis, to be released from his captivity, which he thought that he could effect by threats and negociations. At the conference of Pilnitz (August 27th), the king of Prussia and the emperor were present. The Comte d'Artois came uninvited; and Calonne and Bouillé were there. The declaration of Pilnitz evaded the question of armed interference, notwithstanding all the efforts of Calonne. It declared the intention of the king of Prussia and the emperor, conjointly with the other European princes, to use "the most efficient means, in proportion to their power, to put the king of France in a condition to secure, in the most perfect freedom, the basis of a monarchical government equally adapted to the rights of sovereigns and to the well-being of the French." The case of intervention was put hypothetically and obscurely. "The truth is, the French had much to fear from themselves, and very little from abroad." (Droz.)* The Assembly took measures to strengthen the army and to protect the frontiers.

Before giving his answer on the Constitution, Louis consulted men of all parties, except the revolutionists.† He finally, by a letter (September 13th) accepted it, and declared that he would cause it to be executed; but he distinctly said that he did "not perceive in the means of execution and administration, all the energy that would be necessary to give movement, and to preserve unity in all parts of a vast empire." After the king's letter was read, Lafayette moved the release of all persons who were confined on account of the king's flight, and a general amnesty, which was carried. On the 14th of September the king declared his solemn acceptation of the constitution in the presence of the Assembly: the members sat while he took the oath standing, and the proud queen was present to witness the humiliation of her husband. The king's acceptation was the signal for public rejoicings, but Louis did not rejoice: on returning to the palace he threw himself into a chair, and burst into tears.‡ On the 18th

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xi., 454.

† Ibid., xi., 449.

* This declaration of Pilnitz is viewed in different ways, according to a writer's opinion. Compare Mignet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' c. 4; Dahlmann, 'Geschichte,' &c., p. 416.

† Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., iv., c. 45.

‡ Madame Campan, 'Mémoires,' &c., ii., 167; 'Hist. Parlem,.' xi., 399, &c.; and Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' iv., c. 45; where the ceremonial is described. The king sat by the side of the president: the two chairs were exactly the same. He rose to take the oath, but seated himself when he had taken it, and he finished his speech sitting. The president rose to address the king; but as the king continued sitting after the president had commenced his



PRESENTATION OF THE CONSTITUTION TO LOUIS XVI.

of September the Constitution was solemnly proclaimed in Paris and in the departments and municipalities. On the 30th the king in person closed the long session of the National Assembly by an address, to which the president, Thouret, replied; and after he had retired, in the midst of applause, the president uttered these words: "The National Constituent Assembly declares that its mission is ended, and that it now terminates its sittings." The labours of the Constituent Assembly were ended, after two years and four months: the first, the most important, the most instructive act of the great drama is closed.

The judgment of posterity on the Constituent Assembly cannot even yet be pronounced impartially: the final results of its labours are still unknown; the present generation still obeys the impulse impressed upon it by the convocation of the States-General in 1789. A fault was committed by the king and his ministers in not being better prepared to meet the States-General. The wishes of the French people were known by the cahiers, and it would have been easy to satisfy many of their just demands, without impairing any degree the efficiency of administration. But though easy, in one sense, to do what was reasonable

speech, the president seated himself also, and delivered the rest of his speech in that attitude, with his legs crossed, says his unfriendly biographer (Beaulieu, 'Biog. Univ.,'

this attitude, which, indifferent in itself, would have been highly indecent under the circumstances. Thouret was proposed for the presidency of the National Assembly on the 3rd of August, 1789; but the threats of the revolutionary party made him decline the honour. (p. 51.) After the 4th of August he joined the movement, and was one of the most active members of the Assembly. When he made his address to the king on the 14th of September, he was then president for the fourth time: and he spoke from his chair to the king with all the complacency of satisfied vanity of the merits of that constitution, a great part of which was Thouret's own work. Thouret died on the scaffold, April 22, 1794, in less than three years after he had lauded the new constitution.



THE CONSTITUTION PROCLAIMED IN PARIS.

and just, it was not easy under the actual circumstances, for the court party was not disposed to yield anything. Malouet had urged Montmorin and Necker to be prepared to meet the States: "You have," he said, "the cahiers, the mandats; ascertain the will of the majority, and let the king take the initiative with the States-General." Montmorin was disposed to follow this advice, but he always yielded to Necker; and Necker was too self-sufficient to think that he wanted advice. Besides this, he had his own ambition to gratify: if the deputies did not agree, he thought that he would be looked to as the mediator. It was certain before the States met, that the question of the verification of the powers of the deputies, and that of the vote by head or by order, would be raised. As to the verification of the powers, the king might have safely assumed to settle that question before the opening of the States. He could not have disposed of the other question so easily.

The advice of the bishop of Langres, who proposed two chambers, one of which should contain all the noble deputies in the three orders, seemed to promise a solution of the difficulty; but it would not have suited those who wished for a union of the three orders, nor those who insisted on their separation. Necker gave the Tiers Etat the double representation—the power; and they brought the will. If there was a chance of avoiding the revolution, it was in the king exercising all the power that he could; and, as Malouet said, conceding everything that was just and reasonable. But that a revolution was inevitable, is a conclusion that we can hardly escape. The union of the three orders in one Assembly was inevitable, and that was the Revolution. But it still remains a question, whether this one Assembly might not have acquiesced in some reasonable and practical reforms, if they had been proposed by the king. Yet, on the other hand, a constitution, or a modification of existing forms, was required. France demanded regular meetings of the States-General; and how would France have consented to their meeting in the old form; and how was the problem to be solved of giving to the States-General a new constitution?

The chief faults of the Constituent Assembly were owing to their inexperience. It contained some able and many honest men: but it contained two most dangerous elements—the royalists of the extreme right, and the theorists, few in number, of the extreme left. The most dangerous man, beyond all doubt, was Robespierre. The Declaration of Rights, as dangerous politically as the wildest religious doctrines have been, was not regarded by Robespierre "as a vain theory, but as maxims of justice, universal, unalterable, imprescriptible, adapted for application to all people;" and he applied them from the beginning of his career to the close of the Constituent Assembly in defending every act of violence and insubordination to the law.

Though the Assembly possessed men of ability, it contained few who had sound political knowledge. The French nation had not been trained to the conduct of political affairs either by experience or by education. For a long time the education of that class which supplied deputies to the Assembly had been conducted on a vicious principle in the schools and colleges. The study of Greek and Roman history and literature, which, if well directed, is adapted to strengthen the understanding and to prepare a man for active life, may be made the means of weakening the judgment and perverting the taste. A vague admiration of the Grecian republics and of the Roman republic, things that had little resemblance except in name, and a fluent readiness in appealing to Greek and Roman history for illustration, for ornament, for rhetorical effect, without regard to the propriety of the application, characterized the French of that day. The immense difference between antient and modern society was overlooked; and all that might have been learned from a sound study of antiquity was neglected, because it was unknown: vapid common-places, stale, and sometimes dubious anecdotes, was nearly all that even the ablest men, who ransacked their college recollections for some half-forgotten piece of learning, could produce. The useful lessons that might have been derived from Roman history would certainly not have been applied by the classical revolutionists; but the defenders of order might have found an example to justify the suppression of the clubs, in the steady opposition which the Romans made to these dangerous associations.*

The most useful reforms which the Constituent Assembly effected were recommended by their instructions; but they went beyond their instructions. If they had only done what they were asked to do, their reforms would have been acknowledged as beneficial by all except a very few. For the nation to demand a share in legislation, the equal distribution of taxation, and the redemption of feudal rights, was reasonable, just, and practicable. The nation did not demand that the royal authority should be reduced to nullity, that the clergy should have a constitution, which was a torch of discord: it did not call for the destruction of titles of honour, the suppression of which offended the vanity of a large part of the French nation. The cahiers must not be judged by taking single instances: the fair estimate of them is made by seeing in what points they agree, or in what points a great number of them agree.

The Assembly sometimes acted with wisdom and firmness, as on the occasion of the king's flight. Sometimes it acted with precipitation, and fanned the flame of disorder, which it ought to have quenched. It rejected the plan of the constitution which was sup-

* Those who are curious to examine this matter will find materials in Rein's 'Criminalrecht der Römer,' p. 824, &c.

In England the study of antiquity has never produced such fantastic explosions as in France. A public speaker has seldom appealed to his school recollections of antiquity for more than a trite quotation from a Latin poet. If English classical education has been poor in its results, it has at least not been so directly mischievous, nor so ridiculously foolish.

ported by Lally-Tollendal and Mounier at the close of August, 1789; and this rejection, a judicious French historian (Droz) has considered as the limit of the term during which the revolution might have been directed and governed.* It allowed the clubs and the press to inoculate the whole nation with the principles of anarchy. Many of the members were greedy of a temporary popularity; and after braving the king and the court, they quailed to the orators who declaimed in the clubs. This weakness was one of the causes which led to the decree that the members of the Constituent Assembly could not be elected for the next Assembly; certainly an unwise measure, though we cannot affirm that many of them would have been re-elected.

The faults of the king and of his ministry were as great as the faults of the Assembly. Louis never had a competent ministry; and though he possessed good sense, good intentions, and a real desire to reform, his vacillating and uncertain conduct contributed to his own degradation, and, combined with circumstances, made him guilty of duplicity, for which even circumstances are no excuse.

The Constituent Assembly gains by a comparison with the Assemblies which followed it: and a great number of its most distinguished members paid the penalty of their political inexperience and their weakness by shedding their blood on the scaffold.†

NOTE.—Robespierre said that the Declaration of Rights in the French Constitution of 1791, was not a "vain theory;" and he said the truth. The importance of the questions involved in this Declaration will never allow it to remain a "vain theory." It may be excusable to show in a few words that it is a false theory; and consequently, if not a vain theory, it is dangerous.

The French Declaration of Rights declares "that the principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; no body, no individual, can exercise any authority which does not expressly emanate from it." Neither sovereignty, nation, nor rights, are defined. All the practical meaning that can be extracted from the Declaration of Rights is this: that for the conservation and happiness of society, certain fundamental principles must be admitted. But we may also collect from this Declaration, that such things as cannot be enunciated so clearly as to be intelligible, ought not to be enunciated at all. The enunciation that "the principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the *publics* (or a) nation," or as it is expressed (Titre iii, Des pouvoirs publics) "the sovereignty is one, indivisible, inalienable, and imprescriptible; it belongs to the nation; no section of the people and no individual can claim the exercise of it," is vague and ambiguous, and not adapted for popular comprehension, which requires something positive.

The sovereignty of the nation is admitted by the Constitution to be an abstraction; for the nation requires to be represented in a bodily form, in "a legislative body and a king." All that the sovereign nation is supposed to be capable of doing, as an act of sovereignty, is to elect the members of the legislative body, and even that indirectly. If a king other chief administrator is elected by a people, their functions are still reduced to a vote. A form of government, then, being once constituted, the sovereignty of the people, in whatever sense it is understood, is limited to a few simple acts. And even as to the establishment of the form of government, the Constitution, the people can do no more than choose persons to frame the constitution; and if the constitution when framed is presented for their acceptance or rejection, they cannot in the nature of things do more than accept or reject it as a whole. Deliberation of the several articles is not implied in the acceptance or rejection of a constitution; and deliberation is impossible. The sovereignty then of a nation is a fiction, which the French Constitution distinctly admits, by declaring "that the nation from which alone emanates all powers can only exercise them by delegation." Bu the French nation, that is the individuals who voted, did not delegate particular powers nor unlimited powers: they merely named members to the States-General, and expressed their wishes. It is an unsound political principle to describe powers as being essentially in something which, it is admitted, cannot exercise them. And it is a gross inconsistency to declare that there should be an hereditary functionary, a king, whose consent should be "necessary to the enactment of a law," and yet to maintain that the sovereignty resides essentially in the people; for while the nation is declared to possess the sovereignty, it is at the same

* See p. 57; and Droz, 'Histoire du règne de Louis XVI.,' &c., Liv. x.

† Compare Droz, 'Histoire de Louis XVI.' &c., Liv. 7, 10; and 'Mirabeau et l'Assemblée Constituante,' chap. 7; Dahlmann, 'Geschichte der Franzosischen Revolution,' B. iii., 1; Mignet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' c. 4; Thiers, 'Hist.,' &c., c. 7.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to mention Burke's 'Reflections on the Revolution in France.' His great talents and his great name have given an authority to his work, which it does not deserve. To say that it contains many valuable and just remarks is no more than may be said of all that Burke has written. An unprejudiced reader may study the 'Reflections' with advantage; for he who can lay aside prejudice, will always learn something from looking at both sides of a question. But those who cannot exercise an impartial judgment on the greatest political event in the history of the world, will not have their discrimination improved by Burke's impassioned declamation. Burke's work in fact did great mischief. The judgment of Dahlmann ('Geschichte,' &c., p. 424) upon the 'Reflections' is just, and unanswerable. Mackintosh wrote his 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ,' in reply to Burke, when he was a young man; and as the work of a young man, it has its merits.

As to the reforms demanded by the cahiers, there is a short résume in Young's 'Travels in France,' i., 618, 2nd edition; in Droz, 'Histoire de Louis XVI.,' liv. 10; and a pretty full one in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' i., 322.

The Constitution of 1791 is printed in the 'Histoire Parlementaire,' xi., p. 404, &c. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen stands at the head of it.

time declared that a single man can nullify, not the will of the nation, (for the will of the nation is another fiction), but the will of the legislative body. It might easily have been predicted that the sovereign people would never allow a king to resist their so-called will, even when expressed by their representatives. And this is what such men as Robespierre really meant by the sovereignty of the people: they could not conceive one man's real will opposing the so-called will of all. In what manner the will of all might be expressed, they did not much concern themselves: it might be by an insurrection of a few, provided they rose in the name of the invisible all.

Sovereignty in act must have its living agents. A nation is a mere fictitious person, an artificial person, like a corporation. It does not consist of all the individuals who at any time come under the denomination of the nation, any more than a corporation consists of a given number of individuals known by particular names. The nation and the corporation exist, when all the individuals are changed. There is no practical principle of sovereignty but this: by whatever living person or persons the supreme power is exercised, the purpose of government implies, that powers are exercised not for the benefit of those who exercise them, but for the benefit of all.

Law, and Government, the highest organization of law, are a necessity,—a necessary consequence of man's constitution. Man can only live in society; society is therefore a necessity. The organization of political power is also a necessity: for as society must exist, it follows that it must have an organization. The purpose of society is assumed to be a benefit to all derived from association. This benefit of all implies the utmost possible freedom for every individual, freedom to exercise his corporeal and his intellectual powers to the highest degree, to satisfy his moral wants. This utmost freedom of every individual implies the existence of law to restrain; but restraint is not imposed merely in order to restrain: it is imposed that freedom may be secured. Then comes the question, how shall the power be constituted which imposes restraint, or, what is equivalent, in some cases imposes the necessity of action? that is the practical question. Few Frenchmen in 1791 were wise enough to consider how liberty is best secured. The question of a monarchy, that is of the embodiment of sovereignty in one living person, is not to be considered with reference to the monarch: it is to be considered whether it is for the interest of all for the supreme power to be exercised by one. In a constitutional monarchy the value of the power which a king has, is to be estimated by its adaptation to secure the interest of all; and not with reference to himself and his family, as a party in the Assembly absurdly supposed. In a constitutional monarchy, the king must be a power, or he will cease to be king: he must be a power, in order that he may be able to act in the interest of all. He exists as a power, either simply because he exists; or if he is constitutionally declared to be a power, he is simply declared to be such; and that is all. He cannot derive his power from any number of individuals, still less from a nation; for a nation, as an artificial person, can do no act; and viewed as a number of individuals, the whole body of individuals cannot act, because age or other incapacity prevents some from acting; and the women are excluded altogether from joining in political acts. The delegation of power, then, from a nation to an individual is a false theory, equally false with the theory of an original contract.

But though a constitutional king must be acknowledged to be a power, it is quite consistent to view this power as existing for the general interest, and to test its acts by that standard. The French of the Revolution were led to look with dislike on all embodiments of power, in which they only shared the common feeling of mankind, which is envious of those who exercise authority; but this common feeling is corrected by reflection, which teaches us that to hate political power, simply as power, in no respect differs from hating all individual superiority of strength, understanding, or acquirements. A declaration of the sovereignty of the people, in the actual circumstances of France, was a theoretical absurdity, which made the constitution incongruous: but it was really dangerous, because the proclamation of this doctrine cherished a common feeling of mankind, envy and dislike of those who exercise power, among a people who were not trained by experience to the working of a free constitution, and who from temper and education were more likely to be governed by a phrase than determined by a positive principle.

The birth-place of this Declaration of Rights was the United States of North America, and the importer was Lafayette (p. 25). Mr. Jefferson objected to the new constitution of the United States that it was not accompanied with a Declaration of Rights. Mr. Madison, perhaps the man of the soundest judgment of all who contributed to form the Federal Constitution, did not go further even in a democratic system than to say, "My own opinion has always been in favour of a bill of rights, provided it be so framed as not to imply powers not meant to be included in the enumeration.

Experience proves the inefficacy of a bill of rights on those occasions when its control is most needed. Repeated violations of these parchment barriers have been committed by overbearing majorities in every state. In Virginia I have seen the bill of rights violated in every instance where it has been opposed to a popular current." But in the States of the North American Union, no Declaration of Rights, however extravagant, could be so dangerous as it was in France. If we could for a moment suppose in any of these states a total dissolution of order, the practical good sense of the people and their political experience would soon enable them to put the abstraction of their sovereignty in such a palpable form as would check anarchy and secure men's persons and property. The abstraction of the nation's sovereignty, the phantoms of natural and imprescriptible rights, would be replaced by positive realities.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

While the Constituent Assembly was revising the Constitution, the elections were going on, and the new members assembled, on the 1st of October, in the hall of the former Assembly. Thus there was no interruption in the sittings: the constitution had declared the legislative body to be permanent. But instead of twelve hundred members, the number was only seven hundred and forty-five; and so far the new Assembly had an advantage over the former.* According to the constitution, the elections commenced in the cantons with the election of electors by those who were qualified to vote. The qualifications for an active citizen, that is, for voting in the primary assemblies, were, to be a French citizen, to be twenty-five years of age, to have been domiciliated in the town or canton a certain time, to have paid direct taxes at least equal to three days' labour, and to produce the receipt; not to be a domestic servant; to be enrolled in the municipality of the place of domicile in the National Guard; to have taken the civic oath: certain persons were deprived of the franchise, those for instance who had been declared insolvent, and had not paid their debts in full. The deputies to the States-General had also not been chosen directly, but by electors who were elected for that purpose. The primary electors in each canton composed a body of 600 to 900 electors; but if the canton was very populous, there was more than one primary electoral body, each of which on an average chose four or five electors. In order to be eligible as an elector, a man was required to have, in addition to the qualifications of a primary elector, a certain income as proprietor, or as the possessor of a life estate, or to rent a house of a certain value; but there were various modifications in the case of towns of 6,000 inhabitants, and under that number, and also for country places.† The electors of each department met at one place to elect the deputies. The constitution made the number of deputies 745; but the number that each department was to send depended on the three proportions of territory, population, and amount of direct taxation. Two hundred and forty-seven deputies were considered as representing territory, and each department sent three deputies in respect of territory, with the exception of the department of Paris, which being very small, sent only one. This deduction of two deputies from the territory of the department of Paris reduced to 745 the number which otherwise would have been 747; for 249 deputies were allowed in respect of population, and 249 more in respect of direct taxation. The whole mass of the active population was divided into 249 equal parts, and each department named as many deputies as it contained parts of the population. Also the sum-total of direct taxation of the kingdom was divided into 249 equal parts; and each department named as many deputies as it paid parts of direct taxation. The department of Paris gained under these two heads more than it lost in respect of the smallness of its territory, and it sent in all twenty-four deputies. The department of Rhône-et-Loire, which contained Lyon, sent fifteen deputies. Haute Garonne, which contained Toulouse, sent twelve deputies; and Gironde, which contained Bordeaux, also sent twelve. Hautes-Alpes sent five deputies, and Hautes-Pyrénées sent six. As every department, except Paris, sent three deputies in respect of territory, the relative population and wealth of the departments are shown by the number of deputies above three. Every departmental electoral college chose, in addition to the deputies, a number of supplementary deputies (*suppléans*) equal to one-third of the deputies. Every man was eligible as a deputy who had the qualification of an active citizen, and no other was required.

The Constitution declared that the legislature should be renewed every two years; and each period of two years formed a Legislature. But the first Legislative Assembly was only to sit to the end of April, 1793. The members of the legislative body were eligible to a following legislature, but could not be elected again till after the interval of one legislature.

The revision of the Constitution had introduced some amendments into the electoral system. But all the members of the Legislative Assembly were new, for the Constituent had declared that none of its members should be eligible: it had deprived them all even of the chance of re-election. The number of lawyers was larger than in the Constituent Assembly, in all about three hundred; and many of the deputies were very young: it is said that there were sixty under six-and-twenty years of age. The Legislative Assembly consisted chiefly of obscure men, without

* A list of the members of the Legislative Assembly is printed at the end of the twelfth volume of the 'Histoire Parlementaire;' and in the same place is also printed a list of the members of the first Assembly, that is, of the deputies to the States-General. A comparison of the two lists is curious. In consequence of a decree of the Constituent, already referred to, the two lists are entirely different.

The list of the deputies to the States-General, as here given, consists of 308 deputies of the clergy, 288 of the nobility, and 621 of the Tiers Etat. At the end of the list of the nobility is this note: "The nobility of Bretagne not having come to the States-General, does not appear in this list." See p. 4.

† The property qualification for the electors was introduced in the revision of the Constitution, and did not apply to the primary elections for the Legislative, which were already over. It was one of the few alterations that were made in the revision. The 'Hist. Parlem.,' has not clearly explained the modification of this article of the Constitution. See Droz, 'Mirabeau,' &c., p. 486.

experience; and this was the body which had to co-operate with a king deprived of power, irresolute, and surrounded by increasing difficulties. The deputies to the States-General were elected before the Revolution: the deputies to the Legislative Assembly were elected when the revolutionary principles were in full force. Neither the court, the nobility, nor the clergy, exercised much influence in these elections.

The Legislative Assembly contained a *côté droit*, *gauche*, and a centre, like the Constituent, but of a different character. The *côté droit* consisted of the Constitutional party, of the Feuillans; and its external support was the club of the Feuillans and the middle classes. In general all the constituted authorities were favourable to it. The chief deputies of this side were Dumas, Ramond, Vaublanc, and Pastoret, who was elected the first president: they kept up a kind of connection with the court through Barnave, Duport, and the Lameth, the leaders of the constitutional party in the latter months of the Constituent; but the court paid little attention to the advice of Barnave and those of the same opinions. The *côté gauche* contained the party called the Girondin, many of the leading members of which were the deputies from the department of Gironde—Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonné, and Grangeneuve. Isnard a Provençal, and Condorcet and Brissot, both deputies from Paris, joined this party. Condorcet was a marquis before titles were abolished; but he earned a greater name than a title by his mathematical and philosophical writings. He was a friend of D'Alembert, and a disciple of Voltaire, whose life he wrote.* He was an ardent enthusiast, a believer in human perfectibility, a man of lofty and generous thoughts; but he had no political talent. Brissot, who signed himself Brissot de Warville, was born at Warville, near Chartres, where his father was a pastrycook, though Brissot claimed a more dignified pedigree. He was designed to be a lawyer, but his predilection for literature was stronger than for law. Brissot had considerable literary acquirements, and was well acquainted with the English language and with English authors. When a very young man, he was the editor of the 'Courier de l'Europe,' a paper published at Boulogne. After the suppression of this paper by the government, he had nothing to depend upon except his pen, and he wrote largely on metaphysical and political subjects. During a residence in London, about 1783, he undertook a periodical entitled 'Universal Correspondence on all that concerns the Happiness of Men and Society.' The object of this work was to diffuse political information in France, which the French government did not want. On his return to France he was rewarded with lodgings in the Bastille, though only for a short time. His pen again brought him into difficulties, and a lettre-de-cachet was ready to consign him a second time to prison, when he escaped to England, and thence went to the newly-established States of North America, where he had the opportunity of seeing a republican government in actual existence. The Revolution of '89 brought him back, and he returned to France a republican in theory. Brissot had more political knowledge than most members of the Legislative Assembly; and he had the advantage of being well acquainted with the institutions of England and America, and with the condition of the states of Europe. There was some scandal attached to the early part of his life: he had known the want of money, and probably had not escaped quite pure through that trying ordeal. His journal was the 'Patriote;' but that did not occupy all his time: he was active in the Legislative Assembly, and active at the Jacobins. His superior information gave him weight, and he exercised great influence.* Pétion also came from Chartres, and he was probably assisted by his old comrade while he was a member of the Constituent.

The Girondins looked on kingly power as a worn-out institution, yet they had not any direct intention to subvert the present order of things: if the Republic came, they would welcome it, and by their superior talents prevent power from falling into the hands of the mass, of the rabble.

The *côté gauche* contained men whose opinions went beyond those of the rest; who stood towards the *gauche* in the Legislative Assembly in nearly the same relation in which Robespierre, Pétion, and Buzot stood to the *gauche* in the Constituent. Among these extreme men were Couthon, Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin of Thionville, who at first served the Girondins by their connection with the clubs and the people, with the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, with the restless faubourgs. At the Jacobins they had their true and faithful Robespierre, who, excluded from the Legislative by his own measure, now shone with all the radiance of a self-denying patriot. But his self-denial was not pure: he foresaw that the Legislative Assembly would not be the great political theatre, and he knew that he should rule in the Society of the Friends of the Constitution sitting at the Jacobins. Here Robespierre was now supreme: the populace had already chosen him for their idol. On the day when the Constituent Assembly was dissolved, Pétion and Robespierre were covered with popular applause as they left the hall, and civic crowns were placed on their heads. At the Cordeliers, the extreme party in the Assembly had to support them, Danton, Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine, the leaders of a body of members more exalted than the Jacobins. In the distance, waiting his time and his summons, was the brewer Santerre, the hero of the Bastille, who wielded the fierce democracy of the faubourgs. The centre contained a large number of men who were attached to the Constitution, and were in favour of moderation; but there was nothing outside

* It is printed in some editions of Voltaire's works.

* Some particulars of his life are collected in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' xii., 5, &c., where it is said that "he had no fixed principles—the only dogma that he professed was the immortality of the soul." See also 'Hist. Parlem.,' xiii., 431.

Madame Roland's character of him appears to be discriminating. ('Mémoires,' i., 272.)

of the Assembly to support this party; and when the state of public affairs became more critical, and opinions more extreme, it was absorbed in the *côté gauche*.

The first meetings of the Legislative Assembly were spent in trivial matters, which showed the unfitness of the members for serious business. After the verification of their powers, they assumed the title of the National Legislative Assembly. An idle debate followed about the form of taking the oath, which the Constitution prescribed. It was determined that the president should name twelve of the oldest deputies to go and fetch the Constitutional Act; and after a few minutes, an usher proclaimed, "Gentlemen, I announce to the National Assembly the Constitutional Act." It made its appearance, in the midst of great applause, in the hands of Camus, the archivist, escorted by the ushers, a detachment of National Guards and gendarmerie, and the twelve deputies. Each member separately laid his hand upon the "New Gospel," as the 'Ami du Roi' wittily named it, and took the constitutional oath "to live free or to die;" Camus all the while holding the Constitution fast, as if he were afraid it might be stolen. "But among the orators of this pious opera," says 'L'Ami du Roi,' "he who has created the greatest sensation is the sieur Brissot, who was treated with applause extravagant and even ironical: it was supposed that it would cost this famous republican a good deal to swear fidelity to the king; however one must allow that the sieur Brissot got out of it with a pretty good grace; the pleasure of seeing himself, in spite of envy, seated on one of the national thrones, made him swallow without grimace the pill of the oath."

The Assembly sent a deputation to the king, to inform him that they were sitting. The Minister of Justice told the deputation that the king would see them the next day; but the deputation thought that the public safety required an immediate interview, and it was granted. When the president of the deputation had approached the king within four paces, he said, "Sire, the National Legislative Assembly is definitively constituted: it sends us to inform your majesty of it;" and that was all. The king asked the speaker the names of his colleagues: the speaker replied that he did not know them. As they were going away, the king said, "I shall not be able to see you before Friday." The president in his report to the Assembly said, "I did not think it my business to make any reply to the king; we saluted him again, and went away." The Assembly approved of the laconic speech of the speaker of the deputation; and to make the king some return for his want of politeness, they decreed that he should not be addressed by the titles "Sire" and "Majesty," and that he should have a chair in the Assembly exactly like that of the president. But this decree was repealed on the following day. A good understanding was restored by the king's visit to the Assembly; and he was received with applause by the spectators, notwithstanding his gilded chair was there, a monument of the weakness and self-contradiction of the Legislative Assembly. The king's address touched on matters of finance, commerce, and the consolidation of the new government; he promised to do his best to restore discipline in the army, to put the kingdom in a state of defence, and to diffuse such a just notion of the French Revolution as would re-establish a good understanding with all the states of Europe. He said, that in order that their important labours might produce all the good that was expected from them, there must be harmony between the king and the legislative body; that thus the property and the creed of every man would be protected, and no one would any longer have an excuse for staying away from a country in which the laws should be rigorously executed, and in which all rights would be respected. The king here touched on the two great questions of the day, the emigration and the religious troubles, which in fact occupied the Assembly for some time. Montmorin was still minister for foreign affairs, and Duportail for war. Bertrand de Moleville, whose 'Annals' have often been quoted, became minister of marine on the 1st of October.*

The Constituent Assembly left difficulties for the Legislative to solve. In September, Louis had announced to the kings of Europe his free acceptance of the Constitution. Copies of the Constitution, on fine blue paper, were sent to all the French ambassadors at foreign courts; and copies on China paper, ornamented with trophies and tricolor flags, were sent to the kings. Charles IV., king of Spain, sent no answer: Gustavus III., king of Sweden, sent his circular back unopened. The king of Prussia, England, and the emperor gave pacific replies; and the emperor endeavoured to prevail on the French princes and the nobles to return to France.† Louis wrote a letter to his brothers, in which he declared his free acceptance of the Constitution, and rejected the idea of all interference of foreign powers: he complained that his brothers had protested against his oath to maintain the Constitution, that the Comte d'Artois had gone to Pilnitz without his consent, and he expressed his sorrow at such proceedings, which had the effect of making him appear to act inconsistently.‡

Avignon and the Comtat were first attached to the department of the Bouches du Rhone, but a decree of the 2nd of October constituted them the department of Vaucluse. This unfortunate country had never been quiet since the first outbreak against the Papal authority. Mediators were sent from Paris, and among them the Abbé Mulot, who had the usual fate of a mediator in being accused of partiality. On the 16th of October the fanatical populace were excited by placards to rise against the constituted authorities: it was

* He gives an account of his appointment, 'Annals,' v., c. 1. The queen said to him, "Come, M. Bertrand, let us take courage; let us be patient, firm, and consistent, and I hope all is not lost yet."

† See the answers of the various courts in Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., vol. ix., App. 2.

‡ Poujoulat, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' i., 274.

reported that the statue of the Virgin, in the church of the Cordeliers, had shed tears, and the ignorant people of Avignon were ready to avenge the venerated image. A crowd collected in the church; another party seized the gates of the city, and turned the cannons against the town. Lescuyer, a notary, secretaire-greffier of the commune and an elector, was seized by a body of armed men and dragged into the church of the Cordeliers, where he was murdered at the foot of the statue of the Virgin. His body was treated with savage indignity; and his watch and the money that he had about him were stolen. On the 17th the prisons were fired, and some of the prisoners set free. The National Guard re-established tranquillity for a time; but murder, pillage, and every imaginable atrocity still distracted this unhappy country. A sanguinary monster, named Jourdan Coupe-tête, said to be the man who cut off the heads of the two guards at Versailles, on the 6th of October, directed a band of assassins, and committed the most horrid butcheries.*

The Legislative Assembly soon showed that they would not repress violence. In November they repealed the decree of the Constituent with respect to clubs and associations, and received petitions from them. They also allowed those who were not active citizens, and consequently not entitled to be enrolled in the National Guard, to be armed with pikes, on the condition that every pikeman should be enrolled, and the whole body should be at the order of the commander of the National Guard. The red cap also made its appearance in this winter, as the sign of liberty; and though worn by the lower class only at first, others soon adopted it.

The civil constitution of the clergy was not made a part of the Constitution, but the Assembly determined to enforce it. The report of Gallois and Gensonné (October 9), who were sent as commissioners into the departments of La Vendée and Deux Sèvres, to ascertain the causes of the recent troubles there, contains this remarkable admission: "The epoch of the taking the ecclesiastical oath has been for the department of La Vendée the beginning of its troubles; up to that time the people had enjoyed the greatest tranquillity"—and "the constancy of the people of this department in adhering to their religious rites, and the unlimited confidence which the priests enjoy to whom they are accustomed, are one of the principal elements of the troubles which have agitated and may still agitate these people." † This report gives a striking picture of an ignorant, simple-minded, peaceable people who were strongly attached to their religious ceremonial and their priests. "Their religion, that is to say, religion as they conceive it, is become for them the strongest, and, as one may say, the only moral habitude of their life; the most important object which it presents to htem is the worship of images; and the minister of this worship, he whom the inhabitants of the country regard as the dispenser of the favours of heaven, who, by the fervor of his prayers, can temper the seasons, and who disposes of the happiness of a future life, centres in his person the dearest and most lively affections of their souls."

The schism occasioned by the civil constitution of the clergy divided this happy community into two hostile bodies; one body, and they were the great majority, who stuck to their former priests, and another who attached themselves to the constitutional priests, or the intruders as they were called. The religious division produced a political separation: the small number who went to the churches of the constitutional priests (*prêtres assermentés*) called themselves and were called patriots. Those who went to the churches of the priests who had not taken the oath, were called and called themselves aristocrats. "This division into prêtres assermentés and nonassermentés," says the report, "has established a real scission among the people of their parishes; families are divided; women separate themselves from their husbands; children leave their fathers." The mode in which the Assembly proposed to heal this breach was by a decree of the 29th of November, which, after a long preamble, declared that within eight days from the date of the publication of the present decree, all the ecclesiastics, except those who had conformed to the decree of the 27th of November last, should be bound to present themselves before the municipality of their place of domicile, and there to take the civic oath in the terms of the fifth article of the second title of the Constitution; after the expiration of the eight days, lists were to be made out of the priests who had taken and those who had not taken the civic oath; and those who had not taken it were to forfeit their pensions and allowances, and were to be considered *suspects* of revolt against the law and of bad intentions against the country, and placed under particular surveillance; they might be removed from their place of domicile, if troubles should arise there in consequence of religious opinions; and if any ecclesiastic encouraged disobedience to the law and to the constituted authorities, he was punishable with two years' imprisonment.* The debates on this affair were opened by Couthon with some coarse sarcasms against the refractory priests and their holy-water; and he was followed by Fauchet, now constitutional bishop of Calvados.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xii., 419; Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. x., 684.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' xii., 77; also printed in the 'Histoire de la Rév. Franç.' of Thiers. This report is exceedingly curious and instructive, and very moderate in its language. It is not material interests only which will agitate a people. To interfere with their faith, or, it may be with their superstition, will raise a tempest that no power can assuage. The philosophy of the Assembly was a spurious philosophy; for real philosophy looks with toleration on all sincere belief: their political wisdom was folly; for a true politician knows that he must treat with respect the superstition which as a man he may despise. Compare Dumouriez, 'Mém.,' ii., 126.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xii., 150.

The speech of Fauchet was against persecution: "Fanaticism," he said, "was greedy of persecution; philosophy abhorred it, true religion censured it, and the National Assembly of France would not establish it by law." He said that, in comparison with these refractory priests, "atheists were angels;" he recommended, however, to tolerate these worse than atheists, but not to pay them.

A petition to the king, signed by ten members of the directory of the department of Paris, prayed him to refuse his sanction to the decree of the 29th of November, but at the same time it urged him to support with all his power the wish which the Assembly had expressed "with respect to the rebels who were conspiring on the frontiers of the kingdom." This petition, signed by Talleyrand and Beaumetz, and eight others, is a well-written document, in which the question is handled with fairness and ability, and the injustice and impolicy of the decree are unanswerably shown.* The king exercised his veto now for the second time, for he had already, a few weeks before, exercised it upon a decree relating to the emigrants.

The emigration began after the surrender of the Bastille, and it went on by fits. Most of the emigrants went to Germany, into the neighbouring archbishopric of Treves. Coblenz was the head-quarters of the king's brothers, whence they wrote to the king before he had accepted the constitution, and protested against the new order of things. The prince of Condé was at Worms, the bishop of which place was elector of Mainz. The viscount Mirabeau was in the Breisgau. Altogether there were, it is said, twenty thousand emigrants and their adherents hanging on the French frontier, a number utterly impotent to effect a counter-revolution, but sufficient to cause serious uneasiness, and to alarm France in its present state of excitement and unsteady government. The influence of the emigrations on the future condition of France may be difficult to estimate. "Without the emigration," says Mignet, "there would have been no republic:" he who will venture to contradict him, may allege many good reasons against this opinion; but after all he will leave the question doubtful.

On the 13th of October the king addressed a letter countersigned by Bertrand de Moleville to the commanders of the ports, in which he said that he was informed that the emigration was daily increasing in the navy, and he urged the officers to keep to their duties, to stay at their posts and to co-operate with him frankly and loyally. A similar letter, countersigned by Duportail, was sent to the general officers and the commandants of the forces, in which they were told to inform all those who were under their orders, officers and soldiers, that the happiness of their country depended on their union, their mutual confidence, their entire submission to the laws, and their active zeal in causing them to be executed. On the 14th of October appeared the king's proclamation concerning the emigrations. The king, says Bertrand de Moleville, privately recommended "each of us to use every possible means in our respective departments to prevent emigration: we did what we could, but unfortunately with more zeal than success."

The matter was taken up by the Assembly on the 20th, and the debate was opened by a speech of Brissot in favour of measures against the emigrants. Some of the ministers thought that this debate might be avoided if the king would write to his brothers. He wrote on the 16th of October, to invite them to return, or at least to abandon the designs in which they seemed to be engaged. The letter was no secret: several copies of it were distributed, and it was inserted in some public papers; but it produced no effect on the princes or on the Assembly. On the 9th of November a decree consisting of sixteen articles was passed concerning the emigrants; the first article was to the effect that the Frenchmen who were collected beyond the frontiers were from the date of the decree declared to be suspected of conspiracy against France: the second article was, if on the 1st of January, 1792, they were still collected, they should be declared guilty of conspiracy, prosecuted as such and punished with death. As to the French princes, and the civil and military officers, who were such at the time of quitting the kingdom, their absence on the 1st of January, 1792, "shall render them guilty of the same crime of conspiracy against the country and they shall be punished with death." The income of the property of those who should be condemned (*par contumace*) should be forfeited to the nation during their life, without prejudice to the rights of wives, children, or creditors. From the date of the decree all the revenues of the absent French princes were declared to be sequestered; and no payment or allowance of any kind could be made to them. By a letter dated the 11th of November, Louis urgently entreated Monsieur to return: "Prove," he said, "that you are my brother and a Frenchman by yielding to my entreaties: your true place is near me." But Monsieur did not think that Paris was the place for him, and he coolly declined to come: he said, "The order which the letter contains for me to return to my place near your royal person, is not the free expression of your will; and my honour, my duty, even my affection, alike forbid me to obey: if your majesty wishes to know all these motives more in detail, I entreat your majesty to recall to mind my letter of the 10th of September last." If Monsieur had added to the motives "honour," "duty," and "affection," his "fears," he would have said more truth. The king sent a letter to the Comte d'Artois in stronger terms, and in a different tone: he did not address him by the title of brother; and he got an answer of the same date as Monsieur's letter (the 3rd of December) equally positive and more cold and formal. The Assembly by

* The history of this refusal of the king is given by the minister, Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., v., c. 5, 6. The petition was signed by the members as individuals, in conformity with the decree of the Constituent, which forbade all bodies to petition in a collective name.

a proclamation summoned Monsieur to return in two months: Monsieur answered by a proclamation from Coblenz, which was a parody of that of the Assembly, well enough for a school boy, but, if it is genuine, unworthy of a man of sense, and which showed his total disregard of the difficulties in which his brother was placed.*

The king however did exercise his veto: and before his brother could answer his letter he refused his consent to the entire decree (November 12th); but he was willing to sanction certain articles of it, and in a proclamation of the same date (November 12th) he explained his reasons for refusing his sanction to the whole decree. The king's two vetos did not cause either riots nor very violent movements in the clubs, a fact which appears to be explained by the circumstance that the most violent opponents of the kingly authority were now in the Legislative Assembly, which was the great theatre of all political activity and passion. But the emigration and the precipitate decrees of the Assembly, and the king's veto had changed the aspect of public affairs; and the interest which has hitherto been confined to France is now transferred also to the frontiers and to foreign states.

On the 8th of October, Lafayette gave in his resignation as commandant-general of the army of Paris, pursuant to an article of a decree made on the 12th of September; and, the same day he addressed a letter to the National Guard of Paris. The Parisian army resolved that an answer should be returned expressive of their affection and regret; that he should receive a present of a gold hilted sword, with the inscription, "To Lafayette, the Parisian army grateful, the fourth year of Liberty;" and that a petition should be presented to the Assembly to request them to make the general some compensation for all his sacrifices. The council-general of the commune decreed that a gold medal should be struck in honour of Lafayette, and that the statue of Washington, by Houdon, should be given to Lafayette, to be placed by him in one of his domains, "that he may always have before his eyes his friend and the man who has taught him to serve so gloriously the liberty of his country." Marat did not let the general off so well: he denounced him as a traitor.

Bailly's administration was also at an end, and Lafayette and Pétion were candidates for the important place of Maire. On the 17th of November Pétion was elected by a great majority. Lafayette was opposed by the Royalists on account of his conduct with respect to the royal family, and by the Jacobins and the lower class of active citizens on account of the firing in the Champ-de-Mars. The queen, who hated Lafayette, and had received personal evidence of the rudeness of Pétion, preferred a Jacobin and republican, whom she called a fool, to Lafayette of whom she said that he only desired to be Mayor of Paris with the view of making himself Mayor of the Palace (*mairé du palais*). She had also the delusive hope that if Pétion knew that the court interested itself in his election, it might bring him over to the king. But she knew little of this man's character: popular applause was what he sought, not the favour of a tottering throne.* Manuel was appointed procureur of the commune, with Danton, the leader of the Cordeliers, for his substitute. The way was now prepared for the domination of the commune of Paris.

The convulsive agonies of the Old World were felt in the new. The island of St. Domingo, the largest and most fertile of the Antilles, was partly French and partly Spanish. The French part was now agitated by troubles which the planters attributed to the decree of the 15th of May, 1791, to the influence of the Friends of the Blacks, and to pretended emissaries of this society. The allegations of the planters were supported and denied in pamphlets, journals, and the speeches in the clubs and the Assembly; but the origin of the troubles was much more remote. The condition of the slaves, hard and intolerable, had produced revolts among the negroes in 1703, which were only suppressed by vigorous measures, and with great cruelty. The disorders, once commenced, had never ceased; and the planters had often to defend themselves against formidable bands of negroes. The whites had never been able to contend against the negroes without the assistance of the mulattoes;† and yet, when the Revolution of '89 wafted across the wide Atlantic the doctrine of equality and the rights of man, the colonists, instead of accepting the declaration in a sense favourable to the mulattoes, only treated them with more contempt and showed them less confidence. Ogé, a mulatto, was deputed by the mulattoes of St. Domingo to go to Paris to maintain their claims before the Constituent. At Paris he became acquainted with Brissot and Grégoire, and was made a member of the society of the Friends of the Blacks. From Paris he came to England, where he became acquainted with Clarkson; and his views being enlarged he, who was the representative of the mulattoes, became the defender

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xii., 231, which gives the proclamation of the Assembly, and the parody, from the Moniteur of the 13th of December.

* Brissot, in his journal of the 14th of November, which recommended Pétion for the mayoralty, says: "M. Pétion has received at London a most favourable reception from the English patriots. He was present at a civic festival which the Revolutionary Society celebrated in honour of the anniversary of the English Revolution. That of France was not forgotten. There was a great number of toasts, of which the following were the principal:—The Rights of Man; the Revolution of 1688; the Revolution of France; may revolutions have no other limit than that of tyranny; may Edmund Burke long continue to serve the cause of Liberty—by writing against it. A toast proposed by M. Pétion was enthusiastically received:—'the eternal union of the English and French people founded on the unchangeable principles of justice and liberty.' The feast ended with the celebrated air "ça ira;" that air which makes tyrants grow pale, and gives to the world the signal of liberty."

† By the mulattoes the authorities mean the free people of colour.

of the cause of all the blacks. On his return to Paris he urged the committee of the Constituent to give full effect to the declaration of rights, to rescue the slaves from the dominion of their masters. Finding that he could not by his prayers obtain from the Assembly what he wished, he returned to St. Domingo, resolved to obtain it by force. He raised the standard of insurrection and was joined by many of the mulattoes, and it was with some difficulty that the whites suppressed the outbreak. Ogé escaped into the Spanish part of the island: a price was set upon his head by Blanchelande, the French governor, and he was delivered up by the Spaniards. He was tortured in prison in order to wring from him the names of his accomplices, but torture could extract no secret from this heroic man. "Liberty," "equality," the words that the Declaration of Rights had taught him, was all that he uttered. He perished by the ignominious and cruel death of the wheel, and his mutilated body was thrown on the road side. "Ogé," said Malouet in the Constituent Assembly, "deserved his death; he was a criminal, and an assassin." "If Ogé is culpable," said Grégoire, "we all are."

The blood of Ogé cried out for vengeance, and the cry was heard. In August 1791, on a signal given by the mulattoes, the black man rose in all his terrors. Fifty thousand negroes and mulattoes, inflamed by the remembrance of years of cruel bondage and insult, armed with torches and the instruments of their toil, set fire to all the houses for six leagues round Cap Français. They massacred every white who fell into their hands, they spared none, not even children. The slave who was faithful to his master perished with him. In a few hours hundreds of houses were levelled with the ground; sugar and coffee works were destroyed; the country was covered with smoking ruins and the mangled limbs of those who the evening before were living in security and in luxury. The whites who escaped from the carnage fled for refuge to Cap Français, or hid themselves in caves or forests. The insurgents formed a camp near Cap Français, and they received guns and cannons from unknown auxiliaries, whom some designated as English, Dutch, or Spaniards.* On this news reaching Paris, Bertrand de Moleville, by the order of the king, sent off a reinforcement of troops to the island. In September the whites and the mulattoes at Port-au-Prince made a concordat, for the whites saw the necessity of uniting themselves to the people of colour in order to check the insurrection of the negroes. The terms which the mulattoes offered were accepted—"that there should be between them no difference except that of merit."

Brissot, one of the Friends of the Blacks, attacked the Minister of Marine for his prompt measures in sending off troops. He declared that the news from St. Domingo was false, an aristocratical manœuvre: he asked by what fatality it happened that this news arrived just at the time when the emigrations were increasing, when the rebels were collecting on the frontiers, when the colonists threatened the Assembly that they would throw off the dominion of the mother country? was it not a ramification of one great treasonable plot? This speech gives a just measure of the capacity and common sense of that Assembly in which such a man had influence. There were men in the Assembly who were not sorry that the news was true, or who were at least altogether indifferent about the colonists; the scene was remote, the state of France was daily becoming more critical, and St. Domingo was soon forgotten till a new servile war brought the blacks their independence.†

* Bertrand de Moleville says, "they had muskets and cannon, with which, it is said, they were supplied by the Dutch and Spaniards." The negroes could no doubt obtain arms from Dutchmen, Spaniards, or Englishmen by paying for them; but it is absurd to suppose, as some Frenchmen did, that the authorities of any slave-holding countries supplied arms.

† As to the affairs of St. Domingo, see Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. x., 8., &c.; 'Hist. Parlem.' xii., 295.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE WAR.

Early in November, Montmorin resigned the ministry of foreign affairs, which Delessart took till a successor should be named; but at the end of November he was finally appointed to this important place. On the 2nd of December, Duportail, the minister of war, resigned; and on the 7th, Louis de Narbonne, a personal friend of Madame de Staël and of Condorcet's beautiful wife, was appointed to succeed him. Delessart was succeeded in the interior by Cahier de Gerville. Bertrand de Moleville remained at the marine, a man justly suspected of the most determined hostility to the constitution, and more adapted for intrigues than great measures.*

The question of the emigrants on the Rhine now occupied the Assembly, and the discussion was opened by Isnard on the 29th of November. He called for prompt and vigorous measures. "Do not fear," he said, "to provoke the great powers of Europe to war—tell Europe that you respect the constitutions of all

* As to his hiring persons to applaud from the galleries of the Assembly, when the ministers were at the bar, and on other occasions, see the note in 'Hist. Parlem.,' xiii., 41.

countries, but if she will excite a war of kings against France, you will stir up a war of peoples against kings." A draft of a decree was framed to this effect: the Assembly declared that it was necessary for the interests and the dignity of the nation that the king should require the electors of Trèves and Mainz, and other princes of the empire who received French emigrants, to put a stop to the assemblages of persons and the enrolment of soldiers within their territories, which they were then permitting; the king was also requested to bring to a speedy conclusion the negociations for indemnity to be made to the German princes who had possessions in France, pursuant to the decrees of the Constituent Assembly. On the evening of the 14th of December, the king came to the Assembly, where he was received in silence: he took his seat on the left of the president, and read his answer. He said that after the agitation and storms of a revolution, no means ought to be neglected to preserve France from the incalculable evils of war; that he had done everything in his power to recall the emigrants to their country; that the emperor, like a faithful ally, had forbidden and dispersed all assemblages of emigrants in his states, but the king had not been equally successful in his negociations with some other princes: he had accordingly anticipated the Assembly, and had declared to the elector of Trèves, that if he did not, before the 15th of January next, put a stop to assemblages of French emigrants in his territory, and to hostile demonstrations on their part, he would consider him an enemy of France; and he declared that he would give the same notice to all those who should encourage similar demonstrations against the tranquillity of the kingdom. The king said that he had also written to the emperor to urge him to use his influence and his authority with certain members of the Germanic body to conquer their obstinacy; and that if his declarations were not listened to, nothing would remain for him except to propose war. The king's speech was received with applause, and it was ordered to be printed and sent to all the departments. After the king had retired, the minister of war explained the measures that had been taken to give effect to the king's notice to the elector of Trèves. One hundred and fifty thousand men were to be collected on the north and east frontiers within a month. This force was to be in three divisions, and commanded by Rochambeau, Luckner, and Lafayette. These preparations would of course augment the national expenditure, but France would not grudge the money in defence of her liberty. The sum which the Assembly finally voted for these extraordinary expenses was twenty millions of francs.

Leopold wrote to Louis a letter on the 21st of December, in which he stated, that as the elector of Trèves might by possibility feel some hostile demonstration from France in consequence of the French king's declaration, he had directed Marshal Bender to give him effectual assistance. The king communicated the emperor's letter to the Assembly on the 31st, by the minister Delessart. The king's message expressed to the Assembly his surprise at the emperor's answer, and informed them of his reply to Leopold, in which, after assuring the emperor of his desire to maintain peace, he repeated his resolution to propose to the Assembly the employment of an armed force against the elector of Trèves, if he did not, before the 15th of January, comply with the demand that had been made upon him.

The minister, Narbonne, made a rapid visit of inspection to the frontiers; and three armies were formed. Luckner and Rochambeau, with the consent of the Assembly, were promoted to the rank of marshal, though the number of marshals fixed by a decree of the 4th of March, 1791, which was six, was already full. Rochambeau commanded the army in the north; Lafayette had the army of the centre, and his camp near Metz; Luckner, an old general of great courage and little talent, was posted in Alsace.*

Narbonne returned to Paris, and on the 11th of January made his report to the Assembly. He informed them that the necessary repairs of all the strong places were making rapid progress; and that the army from Dunkerque to Besançon, which covered all this intermediate extensive frontier, was well furnished with artillery and provisions. He also gave a very favourable account of the disposition of the volunteer National Guards, who in a short time would be in full readiness for active service. The minister's report was ordered to be printed and sent to all the departments, the usual mode in which the Assembly expressed its satisfaction.

The war was now the great question which was debated in the Assembly and at the Jacobins; and it grew out of the emigrations. The Girondins, or the moderate Jacobins, were in favour of war; and Brissot and Louvet were their leaders. On the 16th of December, Brissot at the Jacobins stated the question in these terms: "The question is, whether we should attack the German princes who support the emigrants, or wait to be attacked by them." Brissot accordingly assumed that the German princes would invade France. "Do you wish," he said, "to destroy by a single blow the aristocracy, the refractory, the discontented; destroy Coblenz; and the chief of the nation will be compelled to reign by the constitution, to see his safety only in his attachment to the constitution, to direct his steps by no other rule." Robespierre and his party at the Jacobins were opposed to the war, and there has been much conjecture as to their motives; but they are not difficult to ascertain, partly from what they said, and partly from other circumstances. Danton, on the 16th, spoke against Brissot's motion at the Jacobins: it was not to war in itself that he was opposed, for he considered war to be inevitable; but before the Assembly engaged in war, it ought to inform the king of his duty to employ all the powers which the nation had given him against those individuals

* Rapport du Ministre de la Guerré, Jan. 11, 'Hist. 'arlem.,' xiii., 17.

whose projects he condemned, and who, as he said, had hurried out of the kingdom in consequence of the division of opinions.

The king had refused to sanction the decree against the emigrants, and yet he was ready to declare war against the elector of Trèves, in whose territory the emigrants were said to be making hostile preparations. But this was a manifest inconsistency. If there was ground for making war on the elector, it could only be because he was abetting rebels; and if the emigrants were rebels, the king should have treated them as such by sanctioning the decree against them. This is what Robespierre showed; and he concluded that the proposal of the king to declare war should therefore be suspected; there was some concealed design of making the war result in an anti-revolutionary movement. Robespierre was suspicious: timidity and suspicion were part of his character. Lafayette in command of the army which Bouillé had held, the man who had directed "the massacre" in the Champ-de-Mars, was to Robespierre an object of suspicion and fear. Robespierre first spoke at the Jacobins on the 12th;* and again on the 18th, in reply to a speech of Brissot.† In this second speech his dislike of Brissot is already apparent: he was probably jealous of Brissot's influence in the Legislative Assembly. Robespierre ridiculed very effectively the notions of conquests in Germany, conquests to be made easy, as the war party supposed, by the enthusiasm with which the Germans would receive French ideas and French constitutional forms: "The most extravagant idea that can spring up in the head of a politician," said Robespierre, "is to believe that it is sufficient for a people to enter with arms in their hands the territory of another nation, in order to compel them to adopt their laws and constitution: no man loves armed missionaries; and the first counsel which nature and prudence give, is to repel them as enemies." His conclusion was this: "I have proved that war was only a means in the hands of the executive of overthrowing the constitution, only the catastrophe of a profound plot framed for the destruction of liberty." The struggle which Robespierre maintained at the Jacobins kept opinion in suspense. Louvet, who was in favour of a declaration of war, admitted this; it was an acknowledgment of the influence of Robespierre's name. Brissot on the 20th of January prayed Robespierre to terminate "a struggle so scandalous, which only gave an advantage to the enemies of the public weal." Dussault made the two rivals embrace, and the revolutionary journals inferred that the struggle was at an end; but Robespierre declared that his personal affection for Brissot would not prevent him from combating his opinions. Robespierre did not like Brissot nor anybody else: he liked his own opinion, and he maintained with an invincible obstinacy the cause of peace against war, which he could not have done without risk of his popularity, if he had not justified his opposition by arguments well adapted to popular suspicion and mistrust.

It was supposed by the Girondins that the Duke of Orleans was leagued with the peace party, in order to deprive Lafayette of the honour that he might win in the war. The ground for the supposition might be the fact that the duke was highly incensed against the court. After the meeting of the Legislative Assembly, he had obtained an interview with the king, and they were reconciled. On the following Sunday he came to the palace, but he experienced a most insulting reception from the courtiers, who did not know what had passed between the king and him, and from the royalists who were in the habit of going to the Tuileries on that day to pay their respects to the royal family. They thronged round the duke, they made a show of treading on his feet and of pushing him towards the door. He went down to the queen's apartment, where the covers were already laid on the table, but as soon as he appeared, there was a general cry, "Gentlemen, look to the plates," as if the duke had his pockets full of poison. These insults compelled him to retire without seeing the royal family. He was pursued even to the staircase, and as he was going down, he received a discharge of spittle on his head and dress. Rage was depicted on his countenance; he left the Tuileries convinced that the instigators of these outrages were the king and queen, who, however, had no knowledge of them, and who were even much annoyed at what took place. The duke swore against them implacable hatred, and he only showed himself too faithful to this horrible oath (Bertrand de Moleville.) "I was," says Bertrand de Moleville, "at the palace this day, and I was witness of all the facts which I have related." The duke never received any satisfaction for this insult, a circumstance disgraceful both to the king and his ministers. Louis could not keep even his own house in decent order. He had both enemies and friends to deal with; and friends, as is often the case, were the more dangerous. Such friends as he had about him were enough to ruin any man.

The Assembly began the new year (1792) with decreeing that there were sufficient grounds for proceeding criminally against the king's two brothers, the Prince of Condé, Calonne, and the Comte Mirabeau. This was a measure which did not require the king's sanction.

The Assembly resumed the discussion on the war,

* According to the 'Hist. Parlem.,' xii., 406.

† There are at least three printed discourses of Robespierre against the war: one delivered the 18th December, 1791, a second delivered on the 2nd January, 1792, and a third delivered on the 26th January, 1792, all printed by order of the society. These discourses prove that Robespierre had great talent in handling a party question. His method is clear, his language perspicuous, his conclusions from his assumed premises just and undeniable. But he is tedious; he spins his thread too fine. Those who have denied the abilities of Robespierre would find it somewhat difficult to write a better discourse on the same side of the question. The discourse of the 2nd of January is printed entire in the 'Histoire Parlementaire,' xiii., 122—141, 146—164.

and on the 25th of January passed a decree, proposed by Hérault-Séchelles, with the following preamble: The National Assembly considered that the emperor by his circular of the 25th of November, 1791, by the conclusion of a new treaty made between him and the King of Prussia the 25th July, 1791, and notified to the diet of Ratisbon on the 6th of December, by his answer to the king of the French upon the notification made to him of the acceptation of the constitutional act, and by the office of his chancellor, dated the 21st of December, 1791, had infringed the treaty of the 1st of May, 1756, and sought to effect among different powers a union hostile to the sovereignty and the security of the nation; whereupon the Assembly decreed by the third article that if the emperor did not, through the king, give the nation before the 1st of March following, full and entire satisfaction on all the points above mentioned, his silence, as well as any answer evasive or dilatory should be considered as a declaration of war.*

On the 28th the king by letter briefly and modestly reminded the Assembly that they could not by the constitution deliberate upon war, "except upon the king's formal and necessary proposition;" but he waived this matter for the present, and informed them that he had written to the emperor fifteen days ago for a positive explanation on the chief matters contained in the decree of the Assembly.

As early as the 6th of January the Assembly had been informed of the answer of the Elector of Trèves, which declared that he engaged himself to compel, within eight days, all military bodies to quit his states, and to take other measures to prevent hostile demonstrations by the emigrants. Brissot, in the 'Patriote Français,' said, in commenting on the elector's answer, that the court had called for war or rather seemed to call for it; but never really desired it: according to him the elector's answer was a mere trick to soften or alarm the Assembly, to divert it from a vigorous resolution. Brissot and his party were resolved to have a war.

The ministry was divided. Bertrand de Moleville was jealous of Narbonne's popularity, as his own memoirs clearly show; and Narbonne complained of Moleville's hostility to the constitution. Brissot and the Gironde defended Narbonne; and the three generals who had been summoned to Paris by Narbonne to explain the condition of their armies, wrote a letter to him, each to the same effect, in which they declared that if he retired from office they must resign. Narbonne published the letters.† His design was to maintain himself in the ministry if he could, and to drive his colleagues away.

Bertrand de Moleville resigned; and on the 9th of March Narbonne was dismissed by the king. Delessart was accused by Brissot of having neglected his duties, of having compromised the independence, the dignity, the security, and the constitution of France, in his negociations with Vienna, and generally in his capacity of minister for foreign affairs. Vergniaud supported Brissot: he also charged Delessart with keeping in his portfolio for two months the decree which united Avignon and the Comtat to France, and of thus having caused the massacres at Avignon. A decree for prosecuting him was carried on the 10th of March, and Delessart was handed over to the high court of Orleans, which had been created by the constitution for the trial of political offences.* The king, who was much attached to Delessart, was grieved to part with him. Duport-Dutertre resigned; De Gerville, the only member of the ministry who had any influence with the Assembly, left the king also.

Early in March Louis received intelligence of the death of the emperor. Leopold died suddenly, on the 1st of March, and was succeeded as king of Hungary and Bohemia by his eldest son, Francis II.† On the 16th of March Gustavus III., the chivalrous king of Sweden, himself a royal revolutionist, who had crushed the power of the nobility to increase his own, was shot by Ankarstroem, one of the nobles, at a masked ball. He who had humbled his own nobles was meditating an anti-revolutionary expedition to the coast of France, to which the Empress Catherine and the King of Spain were to contribute their aid. Gustavus, who was in correspondence with Bouillé, relied on having Bouillé with him, who, he said, would be as good as ten thousand men. But this projected invasion would probably never have taken place;‡ and the death of Gustavus had not the slightest influence on the affairs of Europe. Leopold's death was an event of importance: he did not wish for war, as Bouillé says, who had seen him privately, and knew his opinions.

In the midst of the confusion caused by the prospect of war and the internal disorganization of France, the king had to choose a new ministry.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xiii., 61. 'The points above mentioned,' that is, the second and third articles contain nothing specific.

† Bertrand de Moleville is not consistent in his account of these letters. He says, "these letters had been written at the request of M. de Narbonne himself; they were all three to the same effect, and very nearly in the same words."—Shortly after he says, "the publication of these letters opened the eyes of the three generals, who had probably written them unknown to each other."

* The Acte d'Accusation was presented to the Assembly by Brissot on the 14th of March. It is printed in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' xiii., 399. Bertrand de Moleville 'Annals,' &c., v., c. 11, has remarked on the various heads of the charges. Delessart was never tried: he was kept in prison till he perished in the massacres of September.

† Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. xii., 3, &c., has collected the scandals of Leopold's private life.

‡ See the 'Memoirs of Bouillé,' chap. 13. In the fourteenth chapter he speaks of the death of Gustavus, whose service he had entered, and to whom he was strongly attached: "His projects," says Bouillé, "perished with him: we lost a useful friend rather than a powerful ally." The last years of Bouillé's life were spent in England, where he wrote the small volume of his Memoirs, which are worth reading. He died at London, in November, 1800, and was buried in the cemetery of St. Pancras.

On the 5th of February the criminal tribunal of the department of Paris was established, and Robespierre received an appointment in it, with the title of public accuser, whose functions were to "prosecute before this court in the name of the nation those who were guilty of crimes which disturbed society." Robespierre was fond of writing addresses, and on the occasion of his appointment he delivered (5th of February) a discourse at the club of the Jacobins which was ordered to be printed.* Ever since the close of the year 1791 disorder made rapid progress in the kingdom: it would be tedious to enumerate the particulars. Dusaillant, the commander of a regiment at Perpignan, and many officers of another regiment, with some citizens of Perpignan, were charged with a plot to deliver up Perpignan to the enemies of France. At Caen violent disturbances arose in consequence of the disputes between the priests who had taken the oath and those who had not. In La Vendée, and in the mountainous districts of the south, which were far removed from Paris and had little communication with other parts of France, the people were roused to anti-revolutionary movements by their priests and their gentry. The little town of Mende, buried in the deep valley of the Cévennes, was the centre of this anti-revolutionary movement.

Théroigne de Méricourt, who had left Paris in consequence of a decree of the Châtelet against her on account of her participation in the affairs of the 5th and 6th of October, and who had been imprisoned in Belgium, made her appearance at the Jacobins in the month of February, where she had a place by the side of the president, and received the honours of the sitting. On the 10th of February Robespierre read a long address at the Jacobins on the means of saving the state and liberty;† he was now making progress in the doctrine of physical force, because he saw that this was the doctrine which, in the end, would prevail. He recapitulated some of the proposals which he had made in the Constituent a year before; one proposal was "for the fabrication of pikes, and that the National Assembly should recommend to the citizens this arm, which is in a sense sacred, and exhort them never to forget the interesting part (*le rôle interessant*) which it had played in our revolution." These appeals to force, to violence and bloodshed—it seems at first sight somewhat singular—do not come from men who have been trained to arms, but from those who wield the pen; they are not the evidence of courage and of resolution, but of a morbid, distempered brain. Robespierre was undoubtedly a coward, timorous to excess; yet he had the courage of strong convictions, a moral resolution with an infirm hand; a furious fanaticism, restrained by a lively apprehension of personal danger. Though he preached violence, he kept out of harm's way: when he saw no danger near, his language was bold and threatening. He says that he further proposed the honourable recall of all soldiers who had been dismissed with infamy (*avec des cartouches infamantes*), because of their civism and their intelligence. "To these legions of soldiers, martyrs of liberty," he said in his discourse of the 10th, "we must join the brave French Guards; we must at once avenge and restore to their honours these heroes of liberty, who have been persecuted since the first days of the revolution by the criminal policy of their enemies." He recommended that the sections of Paris should be ever vigilant, that the Assembly should request them to meet without any restraint, "as in the glorious days of the revolution." He recommended a confederation, civic and fraternal, of all the National Guards of France, accompanied by the sacred emblems of liberty; and that the high national court should be removed from Orleans to Paris: it was not enough, he said, to pass decrees of accusation; they must watch with strictness the new court, and order their procurators to give an exact account, at least once a week, of the progress and the state of the proceedings: "why cannot you recall to the bosom of the capital this court which ought to act before the eyes of the whole nation, and which has been removed from your presence and the centre of public opinion? Make our enemies tremble, if you do not wish to fear them." Thus it appears that the 'whole nation" was Paris, and the inspectors of the conduct of the court would be the pikemen. Another passage of the address developed an important principle of government according to the system of Robespierre—"There is a matter much more interesting which has not yet attracted public attention; I mean the publicity of the proceedings of the National Assembly. I speak of a publicity such as the interest of the nation requires; and I am far from thinking that the small space reserved for the citizens in the inconvenient and mean Salle du Manège (the riding-school) is sufficient to secure this essential object, at least in the opinion of all those who have well considered the causes of

* "Discours prononcé par Max. Robespierre, à la société des amis de la Constitution le jour de l'installation du tribunal criminel du départment de Paris." He did not hold his office long. Those who are curious to trace this man's progress, will find all that he has written worth reading. His character, after all, remains somewhat of a mystery, for he was extremely cautious and reserved. But extreme caution and reserve are an element of character from which a good deal may be inferred.

† Discours de Max. Robespierre, sur les moyens de sauver l'État et la Liberté, prononcé à la société, le 10 Février, 1792, l'an 4e de la liberté.

This discourse is worth a careful perusal; full of maudling sentimentality, inapt classical allusions, and dangerous notions, yet it developes clearly the revolutionary progress. Robespierre saw how the Revolution had been accomplished, and how it would be continued. This speech seems to mark a decided epoch in his career; nobody who reads it can doubt that Robespierre was then ready to shed blood, if he had the power.

But Robespierre believed in the existence of the Deity and his providence in human affairs. He maintained this opinion resolutely and obstinately at the Jacobins, in answer to the objections made by Guadet to an address of Robespierre, because it contained the words "God and Providence." A notice of this extraordinary scene is given in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' xiii., 442, from the journal of the club.

the revolution: the animated and imposing spectacle of six thousand spectators* who surrounded us at Versailles, contributed in no small degree to inspire us with the courage and the energy which we required for action. If we attribute to the Constituent Assembly the glory of having laid despotism prostrate, we must admit that the Assembly shared this glory with the galleries (*les tribunes*).—" In the presence of the numerous assemblage of citizens, by which we were happily surrounded at Versailles, who would have dared to vote for the martial law which the commandant of the National Guard and his staff wrested from us by repeated instances—under the eyes of the people shame at least does not permit a man audaciously to betray the cause of justice and of humanity; patriotism feels its strength and its courage increase, and intrigue loses its audacity and its activity."—" Legislators, hasten then to surround yourselves with this imposing protection; let there rise on the ruins of the Bastille or elsewhere, for you and by your orders, a majestic edifice large enough to hold at least ten thousand spectators, where the people can come conveniently and freely hear their interests discussed, and keep their eyes on their agents (*mandataires*). The court has a number of palaces; let the people at least have theirs. Let this useful work be executed at least with the speed which we have seen exhibited in the construction of an opera, or of a villa designed to gratify the caprice of a woman or of a citizen."

Robespierre said in his address, " Legislators come; you have also to make amends for some weaknesses of your predecessors: in the place which you occupy, deceived by intrigue they honoured with their presence a funeral ceremonial intended to cover the crimes of Nancy, and which was only an insult to the manes of the soldiers who were sacrificed by a perfidious general; come and avenge innocence and patriotism by the most imposing of all homages; let the irons fall from the hands of the soldiers of Château-vieux at Brest;* let them receive from the hands of their country and of beauty the reward of their long sufferings; let the cries of joy excited by this happy event re-echo to Metz and to Nancy; let public honours be paid to the memory of their unfortunate companions; let innocent blood cease to cry out; from one extremity of the empire to the other let the voice of humanity and patriotism resound; let the genius of liberty rouse itself, and terrified despots learn that the French of the 14th of July still exist."

On the 14th of February, Collot d'Herbois announced to the Jacobins that the executive power had sanctioned the decree which restored liberty to the wretched victims of Nancy, the soldiers of Château-vieux. A member of the club announced that the National Assembly had just decreed that the French Guards, who had been arbitrarily disbanded, should enjoy their pay until their destination was determined upon. The Jacobins were evidently directing the Assembly.

In the month of March, some of the women of Paris petitioned the Assembly to allow them to arm themselves with pikes to defend the constitution; the form of decapitation was settled in the manner recommended by a minute of the Academy of Surgery; the abbé Chappe made the Assembly a present of his invention of the Telegraph; and the Girondins in the Assembly made the king a present of a new ministry.

The last ministry had been given to Louis by the Feuillans, and he had now no strong party to look to except the Gironde. There was a man ready, whom Narbonne and Delessart had already employed in Normandy and La Vendée, General Dumouriez.† He was fifty-two years of age, still healthy and vigorous, a man of tried courage, of undoubted military talent; and he possessed political talent too. With no particular attachment to any party, with restless ambition hitherto unsatisfied, he was offered by Louis XVI. the ministry of foreign affairs, which he gladly accepted. He had gained the good opinion of Gensonné, who had been sent by the Constituent into La Vendée to inquire into the cause of the troubles; and Gensonné was one of the most powerful among the Girondins. Dumouriez saw that the Jacobins also were a power in the state, and he paid his homage to the club by reading several papers there, which were well received. He was on good terms with Laporte, the intendant of the civil list, and a personal friend of the king. With such powerful assistance his elevation to the ministry (15th of March) was not a difficult matter. On the 19th of March, after his appointment, Dumouriez appeared at the Jacobins, the minister of foreign affairs, with the red cap (*bonnet rouge*) on his head, which several speakers of the

* This number is a great exaggeration. In an article in the 'Quarterly Review,' (vol. 54, *Robespierre*, p. 531,) by a gentleman well acquainted with the history of the Revolution, the influence of the galleries on the French Assemblies is rated very high; and undoubtedly this influence was considerable. Madame Roland (Mémoires, ii., p. 10) says of David Williams, an Englishman, who had become a French citizen: " I saw him, from the time when he first began to attend the sittings of the Assembly, much concerned about the little order that was observed in the discussions, and troubled at the influence which the galleries affected to exercise; he doubted if it was possible for such men in such a situation ever to make a reasonable constitution. I think that the knowledge which he then acquired of what we already were, attached him still more to his own country, whither he has been glad to return. 'How,' said he to me, 'can men discuss who do not know how to listen? You Frenchmen do not take even the trouble to preserve that decent exterior which commands such authority in Assemblies.'" But things grew much worse afterwards, as Madame Roland goes on to observe.

* Some of the soldiers of this regiment had been sent to Brest after the affair of Nancy.

† See 'La Vie et les Mémoires de Dumouriez,' in the Collection of Berville et Barrière, written by himself in the third person. He wrote well. His style has something of the vigorous and rapid movement of his character.

society had already adopted.* "Brothers and friends," he said, "I have need of your advice; you will give it by your journals." Robespierre said, "I am not one of those who think that it is absolutely impossible for a minister to be a patriot, and I even accept with pleasure the happy presages which M. Dumouriez offers to us." But Robespierre reserved his eulogiums until the minister should have merited them; he promised to give the ministers advice that should be useful. He did not fear the presence of a minister in the club, but he declared that the moment when any such functionary should have more influence than a good citizen, who had constantly distinguished himself by his patriotism, he would be injurious to the society; and "I swear," he said, "in the name of liberty, that it never shall be so: this society shall always be the terror of tyranny, and the support of liberty." Dumouriez rushed into the arms of Robespierre; the club and the galleries applauded: the general played his part well.†

The associates of Dumouriez in the ministry were five. Roland de la Platière was minister for the interior; Duranton, an advocate of Bordeaux, minister of justice; Degrave, minister of war; Lacoste, minister of marine; and Clavière, formerly a friend of Mirabeau, and now closely allied with Brissot, was minister of finance (*aux contributions*).‡ The ministry was considered Jacobin, but Lacoste, Degrave, and Duranton, were never members of the Jacobin Club. Dumouriez, Roland, and Clavière, occasionally attended the meetings of the Jacobins before they became ministers, but never afterwards, as Dumouriez says. The only two members of the ministry who really belonged to the party of the Girondins, were Clavière and Roland; and Servan, who soon took the place of Degrave. The appointment of Roland was a subject of merriment for the court and the aristocratic journals. He was an elderly, austere-looking man, with smooth white hair, very little powdered; he dressed in black, wore a round hat, and his shoes were fastened with strings instead of buckles. The first time that Roland appeared at the Tuileries in this costume, the master of the ceremonies, who was greatly disconcerted by his neglect of etiquette, drew near to Dumouriez, and with a frown on his forehead, and in a low tone, said, looking askant at Roland, "Eh, sir! no buckles to his shoes!" "Oh, sir," replied Dumouriez, "all is lost." Roland had travelled in Germany, Italy, and Sicily: he had been long employed as inspector of manufactures, and he had written on various branches of industry and of the mechanical arts. When Arthur Young was at Lyon at the close of 1789, he was introduced to "Mons. Roland de la Platerie (Platière), inspector of the Lyons fabrics: this gentleman had notes upon many subjects, which afforded an interesting conversation; and, as he communicated freely, I had the pleasure to find that I should not quit Lyons without a good portion of the knowledge I sought. This gentleman, somewhat advanced in life, has a young and beautiful wife, the lady to whom he addressed his letters, written in Italy, and which have been published in five or six volumes."* It was on the 14th of February, 1780, that Manon Phlipon became the wife of Roland, who was twenty years older than herself. Her father, Gratien Phlipon, was an engraver at Paris, where Manon, the only child out of seven who lived, was born in 1751. Madame Roland has described her early years, her education, her feelings, and even minutely portrayed her person in her Mémoires, which were written while she was confined in the prison of Sainte Pelagie before her execution.† With a form of admirable proportions, a graceful carriage, and features whose chief beauty consisted in expression, she possessed a masculine vigour of mind, and freedom from all ordinary prejudices. From her childhood she devoured with avidity books on all subjects;

* Brissot, in the 'Patriote Française,' (6th Feb.,) appears to have brought the cap into vogue, by giving certain reasons of an English philosopher, named Pigott, in favour of the cap and against the hat. A month after this article was published, the cap was all the fashion: the red colour was chosen, it is said, for its brilliancy. Pétion published a letter against the 'bonnet rouge,' which was sensible enough; and Robespierre spoke against it.

† He gives his own account of it (Mémoires, ii., 146), and how he came to put on the red cap. He does not mention, and we could not expect that he would, the fraternal hug with Robespierre. In the first edition of his Mémoires he had omitted all mention of this affair of the red cap. Dumouriez was called the minister of the red cap by the anti-constitutionals. He says that he thinks it was about this time that the name "sans-culotte" (breeches-less) was invented by the courtiers. The new ministry received the appellation of sans-culotte.

‡ Dumont, 'Souvenirs sur Mirabeau,' c. 20, has some remarks on these ministers, with whom he was personally acquainted. Clavière, a Genevese, had long aspired to be minister of finance; and Brissot, by his influence with the Gironde, made him minister. Clavière was an extraordinary man: after his elevation "he became more modest, though he had never been haughty or presumptuous; his new dignity only showed itself by increased simplicity and affability." The thing is so rare that it almost passes belief.

* Young's 'Travels in France,' vol. i., p. 274, 2nd edit. He alludes to the 'Lettres Écrites de Suisse, d'Italie, &c., par M. . . à Mademoiselle . . . à Paris en 1776, 1777, et 1778. Amsterdam et Paris, 1782, 6 vols. 12mo.'

† Her Mémoires, in two volumes 8vo, Paris, 1810, commence thus: "In the prison of Sainte-Pélagie, the 9th of August, 1793. Daughter of an artist, wife of a savant, who became a minister, and remained an honest man, now a prisoner, and destined perhaps to a violent and unexpected death, I have known happiness and adversity, I have seen glory, and I have suffered injustice." These Mémoires are a singular composition: they contain remarks which one would not expect from a woman of delicacy, lodged in a prison, and in expectation of death; they are sometimes deficient in precision, which, under the circumstances, is not surprising. Yet they may be read with pleasure, for they bear the character of the woman's mind, affectionate, enthusiastic, bold and decisive, clear and penetrating. Experience and misfortune had improved her judgment, but had not cooled her enthusiasm nor quenched her unconquerable spirit.

but the 'Lives of Plutarch' was the book that most fixed her attention, and when she was nine years of age, she secretly carried Plutarch to church to read instead of her prayer-book. "From this time," she says, "I date the impressions and the ideas which made me a republican without thinking that I was to become one." As she grew towards womanhood, her reading was of the most diversified kind, natural history, politics, religion, philosophy; Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Buffon, Locke, Spinosa: nor did she neglect the accomplishments that become her sex, or the little household cares that belong to a woman's duties. In 1773, the death of her mother, to whom she was tenderly attached, threw Manon into violent convulsions, which for some days endangered her life. Her father was not a prudent man, and his affairs, which were in a bad condition during his wife's lifetime, grew worse after her death. When Roland wrote to him to ask his daughter to wife, whom he had already known for some years, her father, who did not like this austere suitor, returned a rude answer of refusal. The daughter took lodgings in a convent, resolved to live with the utmost economy on her little fortune: she only went out twice a week; and one visit was to her father's house, to look after his linen, and to take back with her what required mending. After a few months Roland persuaded her to leave the convent, and to marry him. Without strong attachment to her husband, she esteemed his virtues, and was an exemplary wife. She copied out his manuscripts, corrected his proofs, and, as Roland's health was delicate, she prepared such dishes as were most suitable to him: she was his secretary, nurse, and cook.' At Amiens, where they lived four years, Madame Roland became a mother, but she still continued to assist her husband, who had undertaken a large part of the new Encyclopædia. They never quitted their lodgings except to take a walk; and Madame Roland, who had studied botany, amused herself with collecting the plants of Picardie. In 1784 she visited England with her husband, and Switzerland in 1787. They were settled at Lyon when the Revolution commenced. "It came," she says, "and warmed us with its flame; friends of humanity, worshippers of liberty, we thought it would regenerate the human race, destroy the withering misery of that unfortunate class over which we had so often lamented; we hailed it with delight." Being deputed by the city of Lyon to watch over its interests while the Constituent was sitting, Roland came to Paris in February, 1791, with his wife, and they became acquainted with several members of the Assembly. They stayed seven months in Paris, and left it to pass the autumn of 1791 near Lyon. One of the last acts of the Constituent was to suppress the places of inspectors, and Roland returned to Paris in December, 1791, to claim some recompense for the loss of his place after many years of service. On the 21st of March, Brissot, who had been in correspondence with Roland and his wife, before they came to settle in Paris, visited Madame Roland, and asked if her husband would take a place in the new ministry. The answer was not one of refusal, and late in the evening of the 23rd, Dumouriez called on Roland to inform him that he was appointed. When Dumouriez was gone, Madame Roland, who had then seen him for the first time, told her husband that Dumouriez was not sincere, and that he must not trust him: "He has expressed great satisfaction at the patriotic selection which he had to announce to you, but I should not be surprised if he should turn you off one day." Madame Roland never could overcome her dislike to Dumouriez, and her judgment of him is not altogether wrong. Dumouriez complained of Madame Roland's disposition to meddle with public business. The six ministers at first lived with a mutual good understanding, and dined together the three days of every week in which a council was held; each minister entertained the rest in turns. All went on well for a month, when Roland proposed that his wife and friends should be of the party at his house; and Lacoste and Dumouriez resolved no longer to take their portfolios with them to these dinners after having in vain protested against "this ridiculous innovation." *

It was during their seven months' residence at Paris, in 1791, that a little circle was formed at Roland's house of the most ardent apostles of liberty. Brissot was one of the first who visited them; and Brissot brought Pétion. Buzot and Robespierre were also admitted into this little society. For Buzot, Madame Roland conceived admiration and attachment, which were felt in return. She thought Robespierre was an honest man, and passionately devoted to the cause of freedom. She had observed his reserved habits, that he was a careful listener, and seldom spoke in company, and that he made use of what he heard in their society in his speeches. "But Robespierre," she said, "defends his principles with warmth and obstinacy; it requires courage to be the only one to defend them at a time when the number of the defenders of the people is prodigiously reduced. The court hates him, and we must therefore love him." Robespierre did not attend the little parties very regularly, but he came occasionally to ask Madame Roland for a dinner. During her short absence from Paris, Madame Roland corresponded with Buzot and Robespierre; and on her return, after the sittings of the Legislative Assembly had commenced, her intimacy

* Dumouriez, 'Mémoires,' ii., 174; Madame Roland, 'Mém.,' i., 291, describes the dinners at her own house; and we may infer that she was present both during dinner and after. Dumont ('Souvenirs,' &c., c. 20), who saw Madame Roland several times at these meetings of the ministers and of the Girondins, gives a favourable picture of her. She listened, but did not mix in the conversation. Her charms were heightened by her simple and tasteful dress, never an indifferent thing in a woman, and the modesty of her behaviour. Dumouriez was a libertine, and his manners showed it. He was not the man to Madame Roland's taste.

with Brissot and the leaders of the Gironde prepared the way for her husband's accession to power. Roland had a reputation for probity, and he had that respectable mediocrity which disarms envy and jealousy, and points a man out for promotion amidst rival and discordant interests. But mediocrity, in itself impotent, requires aid and support. Roland had a wife, a woman of beauty, talent, courage, and decision; one who might hope to inspire a somewhat sluggish husband with a portion of her own energy.* She was courted and admired by a powerful party, and her husband's appointment was the homage paid to her superior activity, her talents, and her charms.

Dumouriez worked with unceasing activity; he was fertile in plans, a ready writer, and a lover of order; he had talents for administration as well as for war. He set about regulating the foreign relations, and revising the pension list. He asked from the Assembly, and he got six millions of francs for the secret expenses of his department, without being under the obligation of rendering any account of it. Pétion came to ask him for thirty thousand francs a month for the police of Paris, and, contrary to the king's advice, Dumouriez made him a month's payment. The king had told Dumouriez that Pétion would employ the money in hiring people to write against him (the king). Dumouriez says that he found out that the king was right, and he paid the money only once; but he gives no further explanation. Dumouriez conquered the repugnance which the king had conceived for him, pleased him by economical reforms, and amused him by his frank and lively behaviour, and by his anecdotes. The queen wished to see him, and they had an interview, which, commenced with violent irritation on the part of the queen, terminated in a better understanding; but she told him a truth, which everybody suspected, and which was one of the main causes of all the troubles: "Neither the king nor I," she said, "can endure all these novelties of the Constitution." † On another occasion the queen said to Dumouriez, in the presence of the king, "You see that I am miserable; I cannot even go to the window on the side of the garden. Yesterday evening, in order to get a little air, I showed myself at the window of the court, when a cannonier of the guard addressed me in an insulting manner, and added, 'What pleasure I should have in seeing thy head on the top of my bayonet.' In this dreadful garden, on one side you may see a man mounted on a chair reading with a loud voice horrible things against us; on another, there is a soldier or an abbé whom they are dragging to one of the basins, while they load him with insults and blows; others are playing at ball, or quietly walking about. What a place! what a people!"

* Madame Roland gives an amusing description of the cabinet councils, and of the idle gossip between the king and his ministers. She had certainly a better notion of doing business. She never would believe in the king's sincerity.

† Dumouriez, 'Mém.,' ii., Liv. 3., c. 6. Compare Madame Campan, 'Mém.,' ii., 200.

Delessart's feebleness in his negociations with the court of Vienna had brought him into prison; and Dumouriez did not require this warning to conduct affairs with more vigour. Of all the foreign states, Germany was most interested in the speedy settlement of the affairs of France and the restoration of tranquillity. There were three distinct parties in the Germanic body, the Empire, Prussia, and Austria; but all three had the same interest in preserving neutrality and a conciliatory policy. As to the rights of the princes who had possessions in Alsace, which had been affected by the abolition of feudalism within the French territory, all that was necessary was to give them indemnity, and it does not appear that the Assembly would have refused it; several of the petty princes were ready to accept it, and this matter might have been settled, if the great princes of the empire had not made it an affair of general concern, and opposed the negociation for indemnity. But the real difficulty was the question of the emigrants. A body of them armed and disciplined were at Ath, in the Low Countries, from which place they had made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise the citadel of Valenciennes. A battalion of infantry had left Dunkerque with the military chest and the colours, and had crossed the frontiers into the Low Countries, where they were well received. On the 19th of March, Dumouriez wrote to De Noailles, the French ambassador at Vienna, who was ill-disposed to the Constitution, and instructed him, in the name of the French king, to require of the court of Vienna that the number of troops in Belgium should be diminished, and the French emigrants dispersed. The answer of De Noailles was a request to be recalled, as he had no hopes of being of any further use at Vienna.

On the 27th of March, Dumouriez again wrote to De Noailles, and instructed him to inform the court of Vienna that if a positive answer was not immediately returned, the French king would consider himself in a state of war. On the 14th of April, Dumouriez communicated to the Assembly his letter of the 19th of March, two answers of De Noailles to that letter, and his own letter of the 27th. He also communicated a letter which Louis had written with his own hand to the king of Hungary and Bohemia—(Francis was not yet elected emperor),—in which the French king declared that the tranquillity of Europe would depend on the answer; that he had freely accepted the Constitution, and would abide by it. The Assembly immediately declared that there was ground for impeaching De Noailles, and an ambassador was appointed to replace him. But a second despatch arrived from De Noailles, on the 5th of April, two days after the first: he had changed his mind, resumed negociations, and had got an answer. The answer was a note from the vice-chancellor Cobentzel, who was more accessible than his master the chancellor prince Kaunitz.

De Noailles, in his letter to Dumouriez of the 5th of April, 1792, which was in answer to the letter of the

27th of March, said: "The reply of the Count de Cobentzel has confirmed me in the opinion which I have always held, that there was no wish to attack us, but that there was an intention to make demands upon us, as to which it would perhaps be difficult to agree before having tried the force of arms. The Austrian minister has told me that the concert between Austria and the other powers was no longer a personal affair of the king of Hungary and Bohemia; that he could not withdraw from it without the other courts, and that this concert would continue to have the same object so long as anything should not be terminated, which remained to settle with France. He has specified to me these three points: 1. Satisfaction to the princes who had possessions in the French territory. 2. Satisfaction to the pope for the Comtat of Avignon. 3. The measures which we (the French) should think proper to take, but which should be such that our government should have sufficient power to check every thing which could disquiet other states."* On the 19th of April, this letter of De Noailles was communicated to the Assembly, which repealed the decree of impeachment passed against him.

On the 20th of April the king came to the Assembly with his ministers, and Dumouriez read a long report which he had made to the council on the 18th, about the state of foreign affairs. The report recapitulated the negociations between France and Austria since the promulgation of the Constitution, "that work of reason," as the report calls it. The conclusion of the report was, that, as there was no satisfactory answer to the despatches of the 19th and 27th of March, the nation was in a state of war; but as there was no article in the Constitution which authorized the king to declare the nation in a state of war, the king was recommended to make to the Assembly a formal proposition for war against Austria, in the terms provided by the Constitution. After the report was read, the king said that the resolution contained in the report was unanimously adopted by the council, and adopted by himself; and accordingly he "formally proposed to the National Assembly war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia." The president replied to the king, that the Assembly would take the question of war into their serious consideration, and inform him of the result. The discussion commenced immediately, and continued to a late hour at night, when war was resolved on almost unanimously, and it was sanctioned by the king.

Though Louis told the truth in saying that he had adopted the determination of the council, he was really opposed to the war, and he had drawn up a paper in which he gave his reasons against the war, and he had made all the ministers sign it.*

The grounds on which the Assembly determined to declare war were drawn up by Condorcet.† The most distinct, the most justifiable ground, if we admit the truth of the allegation, was, that the court of Vienna, in violation of treaties, had given open protection to French rebels. The party which had given the king his ministry, wished for war; and the court of Vienna, though it had committed no open act of hostility, had given cause for just suspicion of its hostile intentions, and had conducted the negociations in such a way as to hasten the rupture.

The declaration of war caused general joy in France. It seemed to settle the difficult question which the emigrations had raised, and the dubious behaviour of the king. Even some of the moderate party thought the war would put an end to internal dissension by uniting all to oppose the common danger, and that it would give employment to many turbulent men whom the Revolution had called into existence. In a single evening the Assembly decided this important question, a war with the house of Austria, the chief of the confederate powers; a war which lasted near a quarter of a century, and changed the face of Europe.‡

* If the answer is not very precise on the third point, the fault is that of the vice-chancellor. Some of the French historians seem to give rather an interpretation of the answer than the terms themselves.

* 'Mém. de Madame Campan,' ii., 220.

† This paper is printed in the 'Mémoires de Dumouriez,' and in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' xiv., 53, and elsewhere.

‡ Dumouriez, in his 'Mémoires,' (ii., Liv. iv., c. 1,) has treated of the negociations, which preceded the war; and he defends himself against the charge of being the author of it. He says (c. 2) that, as minister, he did all that he could to prevent the war; he admits that, as a Frenchman, he wished the nation to declare for war, "the only noble, the only proper resolution;" and "that he would have considered the nation as cowardly, and as unworthy of liberty, if it had longer submitted to the insolence and the hostilities of the court of Vienna." Dumont says, "Dumouriez wished for war, and he found in the conduct of Austria sufficient reasons to justify it." The colleagues of Dumouriez did not wish for war. Brissot was resolved to have war: and this self-sufficient man, who prided himself on the virtues of his private life, was ready to adopt the most dishonest and shameful means to induce the Assembly to vote for war. (Dumont, 'Souvenirs sur Mirabeau,' p. 411.)

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TWENTIETH OF JUNE.

The Gironde urged Dumouriez, as soon as he was minister for foreign affairs, to appoint an ambassador to England, a man who could be trusted, for it was important to ascertain that England would not enter into a continental war, which was imminent. Talleyrand was the most proper person, but he was excluded by one of the self-denying decrees of the Constituent. Chauvelin, a young man, was accordingly named as ambassador, and Talleyrand went with him to direct him. The embassy was not well received either by the British court or the public in general; there was a suspicion founded on the character of Talleyrand and those who accompanied him, that their object was to propagate revolutionary opinions. The real object was to secure peace with England.*

In the present state of its finances, with an army disorganized, and all the best officers among the emigrants, France did not seem to be in a condition to proclaim war. But men were not wanting, adventurers of all kinds, and persons who were out of employment owing to the disorder occasioned by the disturbed state of France. The National Guard, who had hitherto only contributed to effect the revolution, were now employed to defend it, and were put on the same footing as the troops of the line. The minister, Degrave, was uneasy at the desertion of the officers: Duchâtelet, who had signed his name to the first announcement of a republican journal and was eager for war, said that the subalterns would make much better officers than those who had deserted: "There is," said he, "the same difference as between amateurs and artists; even if all the old officers had left us, we should not be worse off; we shall have more emulation in the army, and generals will be found among the soldiers." The French found both officers and generals. For generals they had at present Rochambeau, Lafayette, Luckner, and Dumouriez, who were succeeded by others "to whom nature gave great talents, which were developed by circumstances," Pichegru, Hoche, Masséna, Moreau, and lastly Bonaparte.†

The plan of the campaign was formed by Dumouriez, for Degrave, the minister of war, conscious of his incapacity, took the opinion of his colleague. Rochambeau, who commanded the army of the north, had about thirty-five thousand disposable men. Lafayette commanded the army of the centre, with not more than twenty to twenty-five thousand men at his disposal; for as he had to leave his strong places at some distance in his rear, it was necessary to garrison them sufficiently. The plan of the campaign was this: Lafayette was to march from Metz to Givet, which was on the Maas, close upon the Belgian frontier, and from Givet to advance into Belgium and seize the strong post of Namur. From Namur he was to advance at his discretion either upon Liège or Brussels, and in possession of either of those places, he was in the centre of the Low Countries. The Low Countries had attempted a revolution before the French Revolution commenced, and though Austria had reduced them to submission, there were still many disaffected persons, who it was supposed would welcome the French arms. The barrier fortresses on the frontiers of Belgium had been demolished by the orders of the emperor Joseph; the country was open to invasion, and everything promised success.

Simultaneously with the movement of Lafayette, Biron was ordered to march with ten thousand men upon Mons, where the Austrian general Beaulieu was stationed with a small force. Théobald Dillon was to advance from Lille, seize Tournay if he could, and then to join Biron, or to receive his further instructions. Biron and Dillon were officers of Rochambeau, who feeble in health, and ill-disposed to obey the orders of the ministers, remained within the French frontiers. The advance of Biron and Dillon was only a feint: the real attack was conducted by Lafayette.

Biron left Valenciennes and encamped at Quiévrain, within the Belgian frontier, on the 28th of April, 1792. From Quiévrain he advanced to Boussu, where Beaulieu had posted some light troops. All at once two regiments of dragoons took to flight, calling out, "We are betrayed," and the whole French army followed them. The officers in vain attempted to rally their men, who threatened to shoot them. The camp at Quiévrain was pillaged, the military chest taken, and the French reached Valenciennes in the greatest disorder. On the same day, and at the same hour, Théobald Dillon advanced from Lille to Bessieux, on the road to Tournay, with three thousand men, of whom one-third were cavalry; but on the appearance of a few hundred Austrians marching out of Tournay, the cavalry took to flight, the infantry followed, and the whole body hurried back to Lille, leaving their artillery and baggage behind. Dillon followed the fugitives to Lille, where he was massacred by his own soldiers, together with a colonel of engineers, named Berthois. The real cause of this disgraceful retreat was never known: it could hardly be fear; it might be that the army was totally disorganized, and possibly there was treachery. Yet nothing of the kind happened with the troops of Lafayette, nor with a small body of troops

* Dumont, who accompanied the embassy, gives an account of it, 'Souvenirs sur Mirabeau,' c. 22; and see the 'Morning Chronicle' of the time for an account of the literary phalanx which was with Talleyrand; there were Duroverai, Garat, Gallois, and Reinhart. Talleyrand's designs were not so deep as some supposed. He loved his ease, and liked pleasant company, and this was the only reason why he had Garat and Gallois about him.

† Bouillé, 'Mémoires,' p. 322.

which advanced, under general Carle, from Dunkerque to Furnes, to try the disposition of the people in that part of Belgium. Lafayette with great trouble had moved his artillery and part of his troops, under the orders of Narbonne, over a country ill provided with roads, a distance of about a hundred and fifty miles in five days; but the chief part of his army was still in cantonments at Dun, which was thirty leagues from Givet. His advanced guard of three thousand men was at Bouvines on the 1st of May, half way to Namur from Givet. Lafayette was in his camp at Rancennes. On hearing of the misfortunes of Biron and Dillon, he did not advance, and he wanted supplies. Dumouriez maintains that the attack on Namur was quite independent of the operations of Biron and Dillon; and as they had failed, that was an additional reason why Lafayette should endeavour to execute his part of the plan, especially as he had a stronger force than the Austrians could oppose to him. Dumouriez blamed Lafayette; and Rochambeau and Lafayette blamed the minister of war, and particularly Dumouriez, who had planned the campaign.* The Gironde supported the ministry, and the Assembly drove from their bar a deputation of the Cordeliers, who came to denounce the generals: "Three hundred of our brothers have perished; they have had the fate of the Spartans at Thermopylæ," said these classical orators: "the public voice, always more sure than the ministerial, tells us that they have been the victims of treason." "Drive the knaves out," cried a hundred voices; and the knaves retired.

Rochambeau resigned his command; and Degrave retired from the ministry, and was succeeded by Servan, then a colonel of one of the regiments of Paris, who was on close terms of intimacy with Roland and his wife.† The Gironde had now Roland, Servan, and Claviere, to represent them in the ministry, and their object was to govern through them. But it was not so easy to govern Dumouriez. At one of the ministerial dinners, Guadet, who was present, read a long letter addressed to the king, which he wished the ministers to sign; the purport of the letter was to induce the king to dismiss his confessor, who had not taken the oath, and to choose one who had. Lacoste and Dumouriez would not sign it: Dumouriez said that he would not allow a letter to be written to the king on matters that touched his conscience; that it concerned nobody whether the king had "an iman, a rabbi, a Papist, or a Calvinist, to direct his conscience." Vergniaud and Gensonné admitted, that to address such a letter was an improper proceeding. The matter dropped, but it helped to make a breach between Dumouriez and the Gironde. When the decree was passed, which allowed Dumouriez the six millions for secret expenses, he took the money, but, he says, never read the decree, which as he supposed relieved him from all accountability for the money except to the king. But Guadet, on looking at the decree, found that it did not release Dumouriez from accountability, and he resolved to call Dumouriez to account. The general maintained that the decree had been falsified; he declared that he would not account, and he told the king that he would resign. His firmness carried him through: the decree was repealed, and a new one was passed with the clause which had been omitted by accident or design; and the king sanctioned the new decree.

Much was said at this time about an "Austrian Committee," an invisible body, which was supposed to be hostile to the constitution and liberty. There may have been something of the kind during the sittings of the Constituent, but there was nothing now. Yet Bertrand de Moleville and Montmorin visited the Tuileries after their resignation, and this excited suspicion, for Moleville was an intriguer. Carra, in his 'Annales Patriotiques' of the 15th of May, entitled 'On the Plot of a St. Barthelemy of the Patriots,' denounced Moleville and Montmorin as members of the committee which designed to make a massacre in Paris. The two ex-ministers proceeded against Carra for defamation before the Juge de paix, Larivière. Carra, when questioned by the judge, said that he had his information from the three deputies, Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot, members of the committee of surveillance. The judge sent to the Assembly for the documents in the possession of the committee of surveillance, which would serve as evidence in the affair before him; but he got no answer. He then sent some gendarmes to bring Merlin, Chabot, and Bazire before him; and this irregular proceeding brought the matter before the Assembly. A decree of impeachment was passed against Larivière, who was sent before the court of Orleans. Gensonné and Brissot undertook to prove the existence of an Austrian Committee. Brissot defined an Austrian Committee to be a faction of enemies of liberty, which at one time governing in the name of the king, whom they deceived, at another directing his ministry, have always betrayed the people and sacrificed the interests of the nation to those of a family; the subjection of this committee to the house of Austria was its principal sign.*

This affair contributed to increase the popular hatred against the court, and the Gironde being unable to govern by the ministers, resumed their hostile attitude towards the king.

According to the terms of the Constitution, the king's guard was to be composed of those who were on active service in the line, or of citizens who had served

* Dumouriez defends himself in his 'Mémoires' against the charges of Rochambeau and Lafayette. As to this affair, see Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., vi., c. 15; and the letters of Rochambeau and Lafayette, 'Hist. Parlem.,' xiv., 210, &c.

† Dumouriez says that he does not know if Servan was a lover or not of Madame Roland. The insinuation is ungenerous, especially from him.

* Brissot's discourse on this Austrian Committee is printed in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' xiv., 283. See Bertrand de Moleville's remarks on this affair, 'Annals,' &c., vi., c. 16.

in the National Guard for a year, provided they were resident in the kingdom and had taken the civic oath. The officers of the guard had no difficulty in gaining the troops of the line, but they had not so much influence over the men who had been sent from the departments; and they endeavoured to disgust them with the service in order to induce them to resign, that they might have the opportunity of replacing them by others more devoted, as they supposed, to the king. These men from the departments, most of whom were attached to the Constitution, perceived the anti-revolutionary designs of the officers, complained to the Gironde of the treatment which they experienced, and some of them resigned. The officers recruited the guard out of the scum of Paris, and raised the body from eighteen hundred men, the proper number, to near six thousand; but there were some among the new recruits, who betrayed the designs of the officers, or imputed designs to them, and reported to the committee of surveillance. Dumouriez spoke to the king of the suspicions excited by the new guard, but the king replied that the duke de Brissac, the commander of them, could not possibly be at the head of a body of conspirators. However the officers still strengthened suspicion by their threatening aspect towards the ministers when they passed into the Tuileries, and towards the commissioners of the Assembly when they carried decrees there to be signed. They treated with insolence the National Guard, which did duty at the palace, and would only allow their men to fraternize with the battalions of the Filles de St. Thomas and of the Place Vendôme, which were supposed to be more attached to the king.*

On the 28th of May the Assembly was thrown into consternation by a report from the municipality of St. Cloud, that Laporte had been burning at the porcelain manufacture of Sèvres fifty-two bales of paper. Merlin said if this matter was not well explained, he should be justified in supposing that they were the archives of the Austrian Committee.† Laporte and others were examined. The papers were the memoirs of the notorious Madame Lamotte, printed in London, and sent to Paris, not to be sold, but to extort money from the king, who gave fourteen thousand francs for them.‡

Though the archives of the Austrian Committee were thus disposed of, suspicion was not entirely removed. Pétion, the mayor, came to the Assembly at the head of the municipality, and assured them that the people were surrounded by conspiracies, that the sections of Paris had declared their sittings permanent, as the Assembly had done. Every thing was now ready; and Bazire rose, and after an hypocritical preamble on the pain which it gave him to be an accuser, denounced the king's guard as not being organized according to law, and as being dangerous to the constitution. A decree was passed for the disbanding of the guard, and for impeaching the duke de Brissac, who was sent before the high court of Orleans.* The king had great repugnance to sanctioning this decree, though Dumouriez had expressed his surprise that he should take more interest in such a body of men, of whom he knew nothing, than he had done in his old gardes-du-corps, who were a much better constituted body. The king gave way, but he could not be persuaded to create a new one, and he remained without a guard.

On the 27th of May, two days before the decree for disbanding the guard, the Assembly passed a decree for the deportation of priests who had not taken the oath: one article provided that if twenty active citizens of the same canton should agree in demanding the deportation of a priest who had not taken the oath, the directory of the department should be bound to pronounce for deportation, if their opinion agreed with the statements of the petition in which the demand was made; and if it did not, they were to appoint commissioners to inquire if the presence of the priest was injurious to the public peace, and if the report of the commissioners was conformable to the statements in the petition, they were bound to pronounce for deportation.† The condemned priest was required to leave the canton in twenty-four hours, the department in three days, and the kingdom in a month: if he was poor, he had three livres a day allowed him till he reached the frontier, when he must provide for himself.

One step more, and the rupture between Dumouriez and the Gironde was completed. Servan, without consulting his colleagues, proposed to the president of the Assembly that a decree should be passed for the formation of a permanent camp of twenty thousand men near Paris, under the pretext of maintaining the tranquillity of the capital, and protecting the Assembly. This was the cause of a quarrel between Dumouriez and Servan at the council, in the king's presence. The Assembly took the hint of Servan, and on the 8th of June passed a decree for the formation of a camp of twenty thousand federates near Paris, to be ready for the celebration of the 14th of July.‡ Louis de-

* Ferrières, 'Mém.,' iii., 66. Bertrand de Moleville gives a different account.

† Fifty-two bales of the papers of the Austrian Committee! What will not a fanatic believe?

‡ This ridiculous affair is told at length in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' xiv., 297. Compare Madame Campan, 'Mémoires,' ii., 196. This Madame Lamotte was the woman who was implicated with Cardinal Rohan in the affair of the necklace (*collier*). The queen complained of the publicity with which the copies of the work were burnt; but it was no easy matter to get rid of thirty (that was the number) large bales of paper. Laporte kept one copy, which was found among his papers when they were seized by the National Convention, and from this copy the work was reprinted. ('Mémoires de Ferrières,' iii., 70, &c.)

* The duke perished in the massacres of September.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' xiv., 248.

‡ 'Hist. Parlem.,' xv., 13, where the decree is printed.—The same page contains the following minute of the proceedings of the 8th of June: "William Priestley, son of Doctor Joseph Priestley, an Englishman, testifies his gratitude for the national adoption which admits him among the

clared to Dumouriez, that he would never sanction this decree. At the council Dumouriez showed the danger of this decree, the consequences that would follow, and yet he advised the king to sanction it, for if he did not, "there would come from the provinces forty thousand men, without any decree, who might overthrow the constitution, the Assembly, and the throne." The king said that he would take time to consider. In the same week was presented to him the decree of deportation against the priests, who did not take the oath: the king brought it to the council, and declared that nothing could induce him to sign it. Dumouriez told him that he ought to have refused his sanction to the decree which required the oath from the clergy, for that decree had produced all the dangers and evils of France: it was a law on religion, and attacked the freedom of religious opinion; the present was a law political, to secure tranquillity, and was the only security to the priests against persecution; the king's veto would only expose them to be massacred. The reasons were specious, but the king was not convinced: he would take time to consider this matter also.

It was at this council, says Dumouriez, that Roland read his famous letter to the king. Roland and his wife had wished the ministers to join in addressing a letter of advice to the king, and Madame Roland drew up a letter (dated 19th of May, 1792). The ministers for various reasons declined signing it, and Roland at the instigation of his wife determined to address one to the king in his own name; and his wife wrote this letter too (dated 10th June, 1792, the fourth year of liberty). This was the letter which Roland is said to have read to the king: to send such a letter was hardly justifiable, to read it to the king was an insult; but the fact of his having read it before the king, improbable in itself, is not sufficiently proved by the sole assertion of Dumouriez. The general says that Louis listened with admirable patience, and when it was finished said, "Monsieur Roland, you sent me that letter three days ago, and consequently there was no use in reading it at the council: you had agreed that it should remain a secret between us." *

Roland's letter, or rather his wife's letter, contained much of the vague declamation which was in vogue at the time; and it was in terms hardly respectful; in substance it was menacing. It called on the king to sanction the two decrees about which he was deliberating, and its general tenor was to the effect that the king's conduct was the cause of all the present uneasiness. On one point the letter was clearly right: it urged the king to comply with the law which required the appointment of a secretary to the council: "responsible ministers have need of some means of preserving the evidence of their opinions."

The next day after this meeting of the council, Dumouriez was summoned to the Tuileries to see the king and queen. "Do you think, sir," said the queen, "that the king ought to endure any longer the threats and insolence of Roland, and the knavery of Servan and Clavière?" "No, madame," replied the general, "I am indignant at it: let the king dismiss us all, and choose men who are not supposed to belong to any party;" but Dumouriez does not say where such men could be found. The king would not do this, but he asked Dumouriez, if he would rid him of those three insolent and factious ministers. The general was bold enough to do anything: and he undertook to do this, if the king would sanction the two decrees, and the king, after much resistance, said that he would, but Dumouriez must be minister of war, and Dumouriez made no difficulty about that.

Dumouriez had for some time broken with Roland and his party. He accused Roland of paying several journals, which were under his direction, one of which called 'Le Thermomètre,' gave an account of the business that was brought before the council; and the resistance of the king to the appointment of a secretary, as he told Dumouriez and Lacoste, was solely grounded on his opinion that the factious ministers had no other design in urging this compliance with the law than to lay all the deliberations of the council before their party, and thus place the king in a state of humiliating dependence.

On the 13th of June, Roland, Servan, and Clavière received their dismissal. The new ministers were, Mourgues for the interior, a Protestant and a man of moderate opinions; and Naillac for foreign affairs, but as he was ambassador at Deux Ponts, Dumouriez was to have the portfolio of the interior till his arrival. The department of finances was managed by Mourgues till an appointment could be made; and finally, Beaulieu was appointed. Roland's wife told him that he must communicate to the Assembly his letter to the king, which was a breach of faith, if he had promised that it should be secret; but that is not certain. Roland

number of French citizens, and declares that he comes to enjoy it. Français de Nantes announces that Priestley has entrusted his son to him." Priestley, the ardent defender of liberty, who had so vigorously attacked Blackstone, in a pamphlet dated July, 1769, for those passages in his Commentaries which treated of Dissenters (Book iv., c. 4, "Of Offences against God and Religion"), had, if this minute is true, unwittingly entrusted his son to the man on whose report the decree of deportation was founded. This report of Français is printed in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' xv., 238.

* This letter of the 10th of June, and the other letter of the 19th of May, are printed in Madame Roland's 'Mémoires,' and elsewhere. She does not say that the letter was read at the council, and she would not have concealed that fact, if it were true, for she would have seen nothing wrong in it. The letter as published does not contain a certain expression which Dumouriez quotes from it; and as the king had a copy of the letter, Roland would hardly have published it with the omission of any part. Though Dumouriez had taken a great dislike to Roland, it seems hard to believe that his story is a pure invention. Something may have been said somewhere about reading the letter, and the failure of memory in Dumouriez and his dislike of Roland may have prompted his lively imagination to embellish his Mémoires with a little

went to the Assembly, and read his letter, which was received with applause: it was ordered to be printed and sent to the departments. The Assembly also declared that the three ministers carried with them the confidence of the nation. "I am convinced," says Madame Roland, "and I think that the event has proved that this letter did much to enlighten France; it presented to the king with so much strength and prudence that which his own interest ought to have determined him to do, that people were enabled to judge whether he did not refuse to follow it merely through an obstinate opposition to the maintenance of the constitution." Predictions are sometimes only anticipated facts; they make that a reality which they represent as a possibility. She had said in her letter to the king: "The delay in sanctioning the two decrees causes distrust; if it is prolonged, it will cause discontent, and, I am bound to say it, in the present excitement of men's minds, discontents may lead to every thing. It is no longer time to draw back; there is not even opportunity for temporizing: the revolution is accomplished in the minds of the people; it will be accomplished at the cost of blood, and will be cemented by it, if prudence does not prevent the evils which it is still possible to avoid."

Dumouriez was minister of war for four days. On the evening of the 13th he drew up a Mémoire on the department of war, in which he exposed the absurd practice of the Assembly in voting the levying of troops without first providing for the necessary expense, and in increasing the number of battalions without first making up the complement of those which already existed; he denounced numerous abuses in the department of war, and proved that the fortifications were in a deplorable condition, which the Assembly had been told were in an admirable state of defence. His Mémoire was considered an attack on the administration of his predecessors; and it contained remarks on the conduct of the factious part of the Assembly, to which this body was not accustomed. On the 14th he came to the Assembly, where the Jacobins had filled the galleries with their adherents. When he announced himself as minister of war, the Gironde and the Jacobins received him with howls. His address began with an attack on the factious, and with some remarks on the respect due to the ministers. "Do you hear him?" roared out Guadet: "he thinks himself already so sure of power, that he undertakes to give us his advice." "And why not?" said the general, turning towards the Mountain; for so the extreme party in the Assembly was now called, because it occupied the highest seats. When he had finished reading, he put his Mémoire in his pocket. A deputy cried out that he wanted to escape, and was taking his Mémoire away, for fear that it should furnish matter of accusation against him. Dumouriez coolly drew it out of his pocket and gave it to the usher, who gave it to the secretary, who said, "It is not signed." "Let him sign it, let him sign it," was the general cry. Dumouriez signed it, placed it on the bureau, and slowly walked out of the hall by the door which was below the seats occupied by the Mountain, with his eyes steadily fixed on his enemies. They did not send him before the court of Orleans, as they threatened. The minister had intimidated both the Jacobins and the Gironde.*

The king approved of the firmness of Dumouriez. At the meeting of the ministers he told them that he would sanction the decree for the camp of twenty thousand men, but not that against the priests. He said that he had taken his resolution, and he read to them a sketch of a letter to the president of the Assembly. "I shall," he said, "entrust this letter to you to-morrow: consider about it: one of you must countersign it, and you must all together take it to the Assembly." The king spoke in a commanding tone, contrary to his usual manner. The ministers resolved not to sign the letter. On the 15th they told the king that they would not countersign his letter, and they offered their resignation. The king accepted their resignation, and Chambonas was made minister of foreign affairs, Mont-ciel of the interior, Lajard minister of war, and Dejoly of finance; all of them belonged to the Feuillans. Lacoste and Duranton were constrained by the king to stay, much against their will.

On the 17th, Dumouriez visited the king to settle with him the accounts for the secret expenses of the department of foreign affairs: there was no person present. Dumouriez, with all the defects of his character, had both generous feelings and sensibility; and he expressed in warm terms his attachment to Louis, which was now at least disinterested; and he showed him his dangerous position. "I expect death," said the king in a sorrowful tone, "and I already pardon my enemies for it. I thank you for your marks of affection: you have served me well, I esteem you, and if a happier time comes, I will give you proofs of it." The king rose hastily from a chair and withdrew to a window, while Dumouriez slowly gathered up his papers in order to have time to recover his self-possession before he left the room. As he opened the door the king advanced several steps, and said to him in an affectionate tone, "Farewell, be happy." It was the last time that Dumouriez saw him.

Louis was now again thrown into the party of his false friends, a party more dangerous than his declared enemies. "Thus this unfortunate king, influenced by the purest and most disinterested motives, could not, though certain of his fate, make up his mind to sanction a decree which he considered unjust: surrounded by immoral men, men without religion, he sacrificed himself for them, thinking that he only served the same religion that they did; a religion of which he alone, in the midst of a corrupted court, accepted the doctrines with faith, and observed with

* Dumouriez, 'Mémoires,' ii., 292. He published the first edition of his Mémoires in 1794, at a time when, he says, the scythe of the Revolution had not mowed down all the witnesses to this indecent scene.

strictness its sublime morality." * Though he had a responsible ministry, the king was guided by others; and early in May, after the unfortunate affair of Mons and Tournay, by the advice of Bertrand de Moleville, he sent Mallet-du-Pan on a secret mission to Germany. His instructions consisted of seven articles, the terms of which were moderate and judicious, but they implied or even expressed the king's wish that the emperor and the king of Prussia should enter France with their armies; and it was the king's wish "that in entering the kingdom the powers should declare that they are ready to agree to a peace, but that they neither can nor will treat but with the king; that in consequence they require that he should be restored to full liberty, and then that a congress be assembled in which the different interests shall be discussed on the grounds already settled, the emigrants admitted as parties complaining, and the general plan of reform be negociated under the auspices and guaranty of the powers." †

The new ministry did not contain a single man of superior ability. The king probably looked upon it as only a temporary arrangement. The Feuillans seized the opportunity of attempting to gain the favour of the court: they did not rely upon the foreign powers and the invasion of France; the only hope they could have was in crushing the Gironde, but they were without means for so vigorous a measure. They had made overtures to Dumouriez, who did not like them, and had too much sagacity to join so feeble a party, whatever his dispositions might have been towards them. Dumouriez and the Feuillans were both desirous to save the king, but Dumouriez saw that it was impossible, and he had prudence enough to leave Paris and resume his military rank. The only hope that the Feuillans now had was in Lafayette; and his letter to the Assembly, dated the 16th June, from his camp at Maubeuge on the Sambre, was concerted with this party, and Malouet and Lally-Tolendal, who were now in Paris. This letter was read in the Assembly on the 18th. It was ill-adapted to do any good. Lafayette began by blaming the ministry of Dumouriez, Roland, Clavière, and Servan: he spoke of the three last as insignificant persons, who had been sacrificed by Dumouriez: France, he said, was threatened with danger from within and without, by the foreign powers, and a body of fanatics; and to remove all doubt about his meaning, he said that by the fanatics he meant the Jacobite faction, which "organized like a distinct empire in the metropolis and its affiliated societies, blindly directed by some ambitious chiefs, formed a separate corporation in the midst of the French people, whose powers it usurped by subjugating its representatives and its mandataries." Lafayette spoke in terms of unmeasured contempt of the instructions that he had received from the ministry: "After urging me to advance without precautions, to attack without means, they began to tell me that resistance would be impossible, when my indignation repulsed this cowardly assertion." He complained of the want of provisions for his troops, of equipment, of regular payment. The main point of his letter was this: "Let the reign of the clubs be destroyed, and give place to the reign of the law; their usurpation to the firm and independent action of the constituted authorities; their disorganizing maxims to the true principles of liberty; their delirious fury to the calm and steady courage of a nation which knows and defends its rights." *

The letter was received with applause by a large part of the Assembly, and it was ordered to be printed. On the motion that it be sent to the departments, Vergniaud opposed it on the just ground that the Assembly would receive the petition or the advice of a simple citizen; but the letter or the advice of a general at the head of an army, could only be received through a minister. Guadet protested that the letter could not be Lafayette's because it spoke of the resignation of Dumouriez; but the letter did not speak of the resignation of Dumouriez.† The Assembly decided that there was no ground for deliberating on the motion to send the letter to the departments. This letter completed the unpopularity of Lafayette, and an implacable enemy seized the opportunity of destroying the little credit that he had left. Robespierre addressed a letter to him, written with great force, and well adapted to inspire popular suspicion against "the dictator of France," "the arbiter of the state." He reminded his fellow-citizens that he had warned them of the absurdity of entrusting the defence of the state to the most dangerous enemy of liberty; he now avenged himself for the fright that he had felt on the occasion of "the massacre" in the Champ-de-Mars. He concluded: "The Assembly has only two alternatives; it must either display towards Lafayette an energy such as his crime merits, or sink to the lowest degree of weakness and debasement." ‡

* Ferrières, 'Mém.,' iii., 103.

† The evidence for this mission is Bertrand de Moleville himself, 'Annals,' &c., vi., c. 17; and his 'Mémoires.'

* Dumouriez says that Lafayette was at Paris on the 17th and 18th; but Lafayette left his camp at Maubeuge on the 18th for Bavay. Dumouriez adds, that on the 17th he rejected with contempt a proposal to assassinate Lafayette, which we may readily admit that he would have done. But Lafayette did not set out for Paris till the 27th. Dumouriez adds, that Lafayette left Paris before the 21st; but it is certain that he was at Bavay from the 18th to the 23rd. Dumouriez left Paris on the 26th, according to his own account. This story of Dumouriez is past all explanation.

† Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., vi., c. 19, explains this ambiguous passage in Lafayette's letter. At the same time Lafayette wrote a letter to the king.

‡ This letter must not be overlooked in forming an estimate of Robespierre. He is generally supposed to have been honest, because his fanaticism was sincere, and he did not care for money. But he would propagate any lie to serve his purpose. In this letter he speaks of fifteen hundred persons being massacred on the altar of the country, which he knew to be false. He had the atrocious villainy to add, that to excite the zeal of the National Guards, to palliate the pro-

The king had not given his sanction to the two decrees: he was exercising his power according to the Constitution. But this power was inconsistent with the sovereignty of the people; and this theory of popular sovereignty was nothing if it was not practical. A violent convulsion was imminent: it was expected by all parties; it had been predicted, and the prediction was accomplished. In the evening of the 19th of May a deputation from Marseille appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and the spokesman said: "The liberty of the French is in peril: the free men of the south are ready to march to defend it: the day of the people's anger is at last arrived: this people who have hitherto been butchered or chained are weary of parrying blows: they will deal blows themselves and annihilate conspiracies. The force of the people is your force: employ it: no quarter, for you have none to expect." The galleries and a large part of the Assembly applauded; the address was ordered to be printed and sent to the departments. A letter from the minister of the interior to the Assembly informed them of a resolution of the directory of the department of Paris, which had been sent to the municipality: this resolution required the mayor, municipality, and commander-in-chief of the National Guard to take without delay all proper measures to prevent assemblages of people contrary to law. A petition had been presented on the 16th to the council of the commune, in the name of the faubourgs of St. Antoine and Marcel, praying that the petitioners be allowed to assemble on the 20th, in the dress that they wore in 1789, and with their arms, to present a petition to the Assembly and the king. The council of the commune had refused to listen to the petition; and yet there was well-founded apprehension that the people would assemble in arms under the pretext of presenting petitions. These were the facts which the letter had to communicate. Vergniaud, who was expert in availing himself of forms when he had a purpose to serve, was against the letter of the minister being read: he said that the Assembly had nothing to do with measures of police; and he moved that they should pass on to the order of the day. He was however met by an answer to which he could not reply. A short time ago the Assembly had required the mayor to give them a daily report on the state of Paris, and yet it was now proposed to refuse to hear what the Directory of the department had done. The letter was read, but the Assembly passed to the order of the day. It was however no longer any secret that a great movement was intended.

On the morning of the 20th, Roederer, the procureur-général-syndic appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and informed them, that at that very moment there was an extraordinary assemblage of armed citizens, contrary to the law, and contrary to the resolutions of the council-general of the Commune and of the Directory of the department. He said there was reason to fear that this assemblage might attempt to support an address to the king by a demonstration of force. Vergniaud as usual was ready with an artful answer: he availed himself of the admission of Roederer that a large part of the assembled people intended to plant a tree of liberty, to celebrate the anniversary of the oath in the Tennis-court, or to give the Assembly a new tribute of their zeal for liberty. Roederer had admitted this; but he judiciously added, that the meeting of so many people, even without any design, might lead to the result that was feared, an armed demonstration against the king. Vergniaud said that it would have been better if the Constituent had not set the example of receiving armed men in their chamber: but there was nothing strange in a body of armed men asking for permission to defile before the Assembly; it had been done before, even the very day before; it would be insulting to suppose that the citizens had any bad intentions, imprudent to refuse them this favour; the first law was that of equality, and the Assembly ought to conduct themselves to these citizens as they had done to others; he did not suppose that the citizens would demand to be introduced to the king with arms in their hands; but if there was any danger, he said sixty commissioners should be sent to stay with the king. The discussion was interrupted by a letter from Santerre, commandant of one of the battalions of the faubourg St. Antoine: he said that the inhabitants of the faubourg were calumniated; they asked to be admitted at the bar; they would confound their cowardly detractors; they would prove that they were the men of the 14th of July.

The president announced that the petitioners were already at the door, eight thousand of them, too many to be refused. The door was opened, and the petitioners came in; Huguenin read the petition: the text was taken from the Declaration of Rights. He reminded the Assembly that it was the anniversary of the memorable oath of the Tennis-court: "In the name of the nation which has its eyes fixed on this city, we come to assure you that the people are alert, they are equal to the emergency, and ready to employ great means to avenge the majesty of the insulted people: these means of rigor are justified by article 2 of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, Resistance to Oppression. But how unfortunate for free men who have transmitted to you all their powers, to see themselves reduced to the cruel necessity of dipping their hands in the blood of conspirators. We can no longer conceal the fact from ourselves: the plot is discovered, the hour is come. Blood shall flow, or the tree of liberty which we are going to plant shall flourish.—Could the enemies of the country suppose that the men of the 14th of July are asleep? If they have appeared to them to be asleep, their awake is terrible. They have lost nothing of their energy. The immortal Decla-

jected massacre, "they took the horrible precaution to hang, at six in the morning, two unknown men near the place where the petitioners assembled a long time after." See p. 138.

ration of the Rights of Man is too profoundly engraved in their hearts. It is time, gentlemen, to put in execution this second article of the Rights of Man. Imitate Cicero and Demosthenes, and unveil in full senate the perfidious machinations of Catiline.—The executive power is not in harmony with you. We want no other proof than the dismissal of the patriotic ministers. Is it thus that the happiness of a free people should depend on the caprice of a king? But, this king, must he have any other will than that of the law? The people say no, and their head is as good as the head of crowned despots. This head is the genealogical tree of the nation, and before this robust oak the feeble shrub must bow.—This petition is not that of the inhabitants of the faubourg of St. Antoine only, but of all the sections of the capital and of the neighbourhood of Paris. The petitioners of this address request the honour of defiling before you." *

The address was interrupted by frequent applause of the galleries and of the *côté gauche:* nothing was said of the address to the king. The president returned a respectful answer, and the petitioners defiled before the Legislative Assembly of France, the sovereign people before their delegates.

Citizens, male and female, from all the sections of Paris, advanced with seven or eight musicians at their head: Santerre and Saint-Hurugue were the masters of the ceremonies. Confounded with the crowd were several detachments of the National Guards. The male petitioners were armed with pikes, knives, bludgeons, and every kind of deadly weapon: some of the women had swords. They danced and shouted as they crossed the hall: the air was the "ça ira;" the cries were "Long live the patriots, the men without breeches," "Down with the veto." One man carried on a pike a pair of old breeches, with the popular version of the Declaration of Rights on a label (*vivent les sans-culottes*): another the heart of a calf, with the inscription "The heart of an aristocrat." This last petitioner was respectfully requested to retire; and he did retire. An officer of the National Guard cried out, "I request the president to inform me if I may be allowed to make a declaration?" Master Santerre replied for the president: "When the petitioners have defiled.—Forward, march." The marching continued: it was half-past three when it was over. Santerre appeared at the bar: he had only a few words to say, for he had to direct the ceremonies in another place: "The citizens of the faubourg St. Antoine have been here to offer to you their lives for the defence of your decrees: they pray you to accept this colour in return for the marks of kindness which you have shown them." The President: "The National Assembly receive your offering; and request you to continue to march under the ægis of the law, the safeguard of the country." (Applause.) The business of the day was finished: the Assembly rose.

As the petitioners left the hall, an immense body of people was ready to receive them, and the gardens of the Tuileries and the place of the Carrousel were filled with the crowd. They thundered at the iron gates, which were locked by the king's orders. A municipal officer expostulated with them: he said that the guard could not allow more than twenty petitioners to come in to present a petition to the king. While they were parleying, another officer came from the palace and ordered the gates to be opened which lead from the terrace. The crowd rushed in, and the palace re-echoed with cries of "Live the Nation and the sans-culottes!" The multitude in the Place du Carrousel responded to the cries, forced the gate of the royal court, and dragged a cannon to the hall of the guards. The doors of the palace were closed; but the blows of the axes and the crow-bars soon reached the king's ears, who was with his family. The king went to the council chamber, where he found Maréchal Mouchy, D'Hervilly, Acloque, the commander of the battalion of the Faubourg St. Marceau, a brewer of the faubourg, but a very different man from Santerre, and three grenadiers of the National Guard. The ministers Beaulieu, Lajard, and Mont-ciel were with him, or soon joined him. The axes were thundering at the doors of the adjoining chamber, and two of the panels were broken, when the king ordered it to be opened. A forest of pikes and bayonets appeared, and one witness deposed that a man who carried a long stick with the blade of a rusty sword at the end, "would have struck the king, if the guards had not warded the blows off with their bayonets." It is doubtful whether it was before the door was opened or after, that one of the grenadiers said to the king, "Sire, be not afraid." The king replied, "I am not afraid; put your hand upon my heart; it is tranquil;" and he took the hand of the grenadier and pressed it strongly to his breast.* Most of the crowd seemed surprised to find themselves in the palace: they had no definite object. There was a cry about a petition, and that the king should hear it. He went into a large room, followed by his petitioners, and his guards and friends placed him behind some benches within the embrasure of a window, and arranged themselves around and in front of him. The butcher

* Historians may accumulate to satiety, both of themselves and their readers, the acts of violence which accompanied the Revolution, but if we leave out of consideration the Declaration of Rights, we shall be looking at consequences only, without regarding premises. The French tried to make the Declaration of Rights practical, and so far they showed political aptitude. A people can never suppose that a constitutional principle is to remain without a practical application. It was truly said by Thiers (September, 1848), in the National Assembly: "If the right to labour were inscribed in the Constitution, its full execution would be insisted upon by the unemployed labourer." Lamartine ('Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. seizième, xiv.), in reporting the petition read by Huguenin, omits all mention of the Declaration of Rights: he gives the conclusions without the premises.

* This is not an embellishment of a royalist. It was said, ıd believed by the king's enemies. ('Révolutions de Paris,' ım. xii. No. 154.)

Legendre approached the king, and addressed him in coarse and insulting language; and read him something called a petition. The sanction of the decrees was called for; the reappointment of the patriotic ministers. "It is not the time nor the place to make such a demand," said the king. A fellow presented to Louis a red cap at the end of a stick or pike, and the king put it on his head, which gave general satisfaction. The heat was oppressive, owing to the season and the crowd, when a half-drunken man who had a bottle in his hand offered the king something to drink. The king drank to the nation, and the petitioners again applauded. His sister, Madame Elizabeth, was the only member of his family who had been able to follow the king; and she kept close by him. The people took her for the queen—"the Austrian"—and uttered fearful yells. The National grenadiers undeceived the people; but the princess said, "Let them be mistaken, and save the queen."

It was near six when Santerre made his appearance, which was the signal for cries of "Down with the veto!" "The sanction of the two decrees!" Santerre called out, "I answer for the safety of the royal family;" but the greatest danger was over, and Santerre was out of the way when the mob first broke in. Cries of "Long live Pétion!" announced the approach of the mayor of Paris, "Sire," said the mayor, "I have just heard of your situation." "That is very surprising," said the king; "it has lasted two hours." The mayor was not very active, even after his arrival; but at last he mounted a chair, and exhorted the crowd to disperse: the king, he said, had given orders for the apartments to be opened, that the people might defile through them. While the crowd was moving off in one direction, the grenadiers prevented them entering by the other. The chamber was beginning to be cleared, when a deputation from the National Assembly came, followed by another crowd; and the chamber was filled again. At last Acloque proposed that the king should withdraw, and he answered for his safety. Surrounded by the deputies and the guards, he made his way through the crowd into the state bed-room, whence he escaped by a private door. It was about eight o'clock: the king had been near four hours in this painful situation.

After the king was gone, the people defiled through the apartments, crying out, "Down with the veto!" "Is that fat Veto's bed?" "M. Veto has a better bed than we." "Where is fat Veto?" Many of them were drunk.

The queen, with her children, had not been able to join the king; she had made every effort, but at last was persuaded to stay in the council-chamber. She was placed behind a table, protected by some grenadiers; and here she had to stand, uncertain of the king's fate, and see this horrible rabble defile before her. A red cap was given to her by one of the people, and she put it on the dauphin's head. Santerre made his way through the crowd up to the queen, and addressed her in the usual style:—"You are deceived; you have bad friends: I know somebody who could serve you better." Seeing the child nearly stifled with the heat and the red cap, he took it off. It was near ten in the evening before the palace, the courts, and the garden, were entirely cleared.

The king owed his life to his own firmness and the courage of a few devoted men. In such a rabble there were murderers, who would willingly have taken his life. But the whole crowd had no such bloody design; for if they had, nothing would have been easier than to execute it. They were left to have their own way for two hours. The prime movers of the assault on the palace are unknown. There probably was no plan further than this, to turn the people upon the palace and let things take their course. In his remarks on the events of the 20th of June, published in the 'Moniteur,' Pétion said, "One might write many volumes, have fine legal proceedings, and copious commentaries on the event of the 20th of June; but never will they make any reasonable man believe that the entrance into the palace was either planned or prepared." *

* There is a great mass of evidence about this affair, and many of the particulars are very uncertain; but the main facts of the invasion of the Tuileries are well established. The prime mover of the invasion was probably Santerre; and on this point there is a very precise deposition by J. B. Lareynie, printed in the Appendix to the Mémoires of Ferrières, and also by M. Thiers. The whole proceeding was to the taste of Santerre, and in his best manner. If Lareynie's deposition is true, Pétion, Robespierre, and Chabot, were accomplices. Independent of this evidence, there is a strong suspicion against Pétion, founded on his conduct all through this affair. The design of the movers was apparently to destroy the king simply by letting loose a rabble upon him; and they were disappointed. The blackguards were better than their instigators.

The editors of the 'Hist. Parlem.,' xv. 115—180, have collected a good deal of the evidence about this memorable day. It would be an idle task to attempt to reconcile the contradictions in the evidence; a narrative of such a confused scene cannot effect exactness in minute particulars. The two chief historical documents upon the 20th of June, are Roederer's account, which is founded on an examination of all the evidence which the department had collected, and Pétion's 'Mémoire Justificatif.' See also Madame Campan, 'Mém.,' ii., 210, where some of the events are stated differently from what they are in the text. She is good authority for what she saw, and very bad for what she heard.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE COUNTRY IN DANGER.

PARIS was still restless on the 21st of June, and there were apprehensions of a fresh movement. Pétion went to the palace to assure the king that the city was tranquil; but he was ill received, and the interview was short, irritating, and terminated abruptly. On the 22nd the king issued a proclamation, in which he said, if those who designed to overthrow the monarchy, wished to commit one crime more, they might do it: he would to the last moment set the constituted authorities an example of courage, and he commanded them to watch over the safety of persons and property. The mayor also made a proclamation on the 23rd, in which he told the citizens to be calm and dignified, to respect the king and the Assembly, and not to meet in arms, as it was contrary to an existing law, which had been re-enacted. In fact the Assembly, on the 21st, had decreed that there should be no assemblages of armed men under the pretext of petitioning, and that no assemblage of armed citizens should present themselves at the bar of the Assembly. This decree was a condemnation of themselves.

On the 28th, Lafayette appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and was received with applause by part of the Assembly and the galleries. Lecointre was on this day very sensitive on the matter of order: he said that the galleries ought not to express approbation or disapprobation. Lafayette avowed himself to be the author of the letter of the 16th: the chief reason of his visiting Paris was the attack on the Tuileries on the 20th, which had excited the indignation and alarm of all good citizens, and particularly of the army: he urged an inquiry after the instigators of these excesses; "the destruction of a sect which was seizing on the sovereignty, tyrannizing over the citizens, and whose public debates left no doubt about their atrocious projects;" and active measures for securing respect to the constituted authorities. Notwithstanding the opposition of Guadet, the petition of Lafayette was referred to the new commission of twelve. The general had triumphed over his opponents, and he left the Assembly accompanied by many deputies and soldiers of the National Guard.

Lafayette came to Paris to strike a decisive blow. He had the support of the army, and the opinion of a large part of the country in favour of vigorous measures against the agitators. Many petitions from the departments, especially one from Rouen, protested strongly against the disorders of the 20th; but there were some petitions which appeared almost to approve of them. Lafayette proposed that there should be a review of the first division of the National Guard, commanded by Acloque, early on the 29th; the king was to be present, and Lafayette was to harangue the men. The mayor was informed of it by the queen, who feared Lafayette more than the Jacobins, and Pétion countermanded the review.* Lafayette then concerted a plan with his friends to drive the Jacobins from their meeting-place; but not more than thirty men remained true to their appointment, and the scheme failed. The king, it is said, thanked him for his pains, but did not want his services. Bertrand de Moleville was in constant communication with the king, who could not possibly give his confidence to Lafayette, while he gave it to a man who hated Lafayette. The general left Paris for his army, after addressing a letter to the Assembly, in which he repeated all that he had said against the agitators. "I am surprised," said Isnard, when the letter was read, "that the Assembly has not sent this factious soldier to Orleans." † On the day that Lafayette left Paris he was burnt in effigy at the Palais Royal: on the day of his arrival he had been attacked at the Jacobins, where Robespierre said that the Assembly could not avoid impeaching him. He left Paris just in time.

On the 1st of July several of the sections of Paris presented addresses against Lafayette; and one petition required the disbanding of the état-major (staff) of the Parisian National Guard, which they called an aristocratic corporation, and the cause of the troubles. It was known, though the executive had not communicated the information to the Assembly, that the Prussians had broken the neutrality, and were advancing towards Coblenz under the duke of Brunswick. Luckner, who had taken the command of the army of the north, had occupied the Belgian towns of Menin, Ypres, and Courtray on the Lys, but he was not supported by the people, as the Belgian refugees had promised. The Austrians made an attempt to recover Courtray, and in order to dislodge them, the French burnt the suburbs. On the 30th of June, the day that Lafayette left Paris, Courtray was evacuated by the French, and all Luckner's army re-crossed the frontiers and encamped under the fortifications of Lille. The government showed no activity in strengthening the army on the different frontiers: its inaction is sufficiently explained by the wish of the court for the Germans to enter France, and by the hopes that the queen had not yet abandoned of being saved by foreign aid.‡

* The authority is Toulongeon, a friend of Lafayette, ('Histoire, &c., i., p. 280.)

† 'Lettre du général Lafayette à l'Assemblée Nationale, du 30 Juine, 1792:' (printed in 'Hist. Parlem.,' xv., 217.) On the occasion of this visit to Paris, Thiers (' Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' c. 10,) tells the story of the proposal made by the Jacobins to Dumouriez to assassinate Lafayette; but, as already observed, it is impossible in any way to reconcile this story with the dates.

‡ Madame Campan, ' Mémoires,' ii., c. 20.



PROCLAMATION OF THE COUNTRY IN DANGER.

The king had refused his sanction to the formation of the camp of twenty thousand men near Paris; but the federates were expected for the anniversary of the 14th of July. On the 30th of June the minister of the interior addressed a letter to the Directories of the departments, in which it was said that agitators were in the departments, whose mission was to induce the people to neglect their ordinary labour and to repair to Paris on the 14th; it was to be apprehended that a number of brigands would avail themselves of the opportunity to flock to the capital and disturb its tranquillity, and the authorities were commanded to disperse by all the means which the law had put at their disposal, every illegal assemblage.* This letter was useless: the men were already on the road.

On the 2nd of July the Assembly passed a decree, the preamble of which declared that a great number of the National Guards of the departments were already on their way to Paris, "eager to unite in the defence of the Constitution and the defence of their country;" and upon the report of the extraordinary committee of twelve, it was enacted that these men on their arrival at Paris should enter their names and that of their departments and municipalities at the municipality at Paris; and that those whose names should be entered before the 14th should be provided with quarters at Paris until the 18th, and should be present at the anniversary; that they should afterwards move to Soissons to form a camp of reserve there, a measure which had been proposed by the king, when he refused his assent to the camp near Paris. The king immediately gave his sanction to this decree, and the Assembly was informed of it on the evening of the 2nd. The Assembly was now in full vigor.

On the same evening a deputation of the citizens of Paris at the bar denounced the king's proclamation: the galleries and a part of the Assembly loudly applauded, but Lecointre was silent. "Our magistrates," they said, "are calumniated; let us give to them, and chief of all to the virtuous Pétion, the tribute of homage which is their due: extend their authority (applause); give to the sections the permanence which they have asked for: we denounce the incivism of the état-major; why do you delay to disband it?" (fresh applause). The address was probably a concerted matter. Thuriot, he of the Bastille, arose,† and heaving with volcanic energy declared that the petitioners had opened the eyes of the Assembly to a great plot against France: "In 1789 I said in the capital, and I say it again now, 'Citizens, arise! the country is in danger: I call for the disbanding of the état-major and the permanence of the sections: I demand further that we be ready and declare to all France that the country is in danger.'" The galleries re-echoed with applause. A member said, "Nothing was so deceptive as the history of conspiracies: they had not forgotten the story of the Austrian Committee." This remark was received with disapprobation. Another member replied that Thuriot had affirmed that the état-major was composed of the former privileged class, nearly exclusively, whereas the 'Royal Almanack' showed that, with the exception of four or five officers, whom he did not know, they were all citizens of Paris, sons of tradesmen and the like.

But the measure was resolved on, and the Assembly disbanded the staff of officers in every town of France which contained above 50,000 inhabitants: all the officers were to be elected anew. "The legislative Assembly had never yet adopted any measure so clearly revolutionary; from this day it was manifestly tending to quit the system followed by the constituent. Consequently no person could any longer be deceived as to the subsequent more energetic proceedings to which it was led."* This measure was mainly directed against the officers of the National Guard of Paris, who were suspected of incivism.

On the 3rd, Vergniaud opened the debate on the question of proclaiming the country in danger. This member of the faction of the Gironde had the talents of an orator, and could practise the tactics of a skilful partizan. Naturally indolent, he required to be roused, and this was an occasion to call forth all his power. His address was well adapted to bring matters to a crisis: he put facts hypothetically, which, if true, would make the king a traitor to the constitution; but he would not assume them to be true: the king would do everything that was necessary to preserve the country from invasion. The speech was ordered to be printed and sent to the departments. Cambon even proposed that everything that Vergniaud had put hypothetically should be declared to be true. Vergniaud moved, among other things, that it be declared that the country is in danger. Dumas spoke in opposition to Vergniaud, but to an unwilling audience, and the motion to print his speech was lost.

The decree proposed by the committee of twelve for regulating the form of declaring the country in danger was carried on the 4th, amidst loud applause.† It was also decreed that such a declaration should be considered simply an act of the legislative body, and consequently would not require the king's sanction. Yet the decree contained legislative provisions; and the Assembly were therefore violating the constitution in assuming this power. But the time was past for stopping at such trifles. An aged priest, Torné, bishop of Cher, could not restrain his ardour: he would save the constitution by means unconstitutional, but temporary; he appealed to antiquity as his authority, to Lacedæmon, Corinth, Syracuse, and Rome,—even to England, which once had its Protector. The time was not come, but it would come, he said, when the legislative body must seize the whole power, and exercise it in the departments by commissioners.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xv., 250 (1), where the letter is printed.
† See p. 33.

* Remark of the editors of the 'Hist. Parlem.,' xv. 262.
† Printed in 'Hist. Parlem.,' xv. 299.

On the 6th of July, late in the evening, the members of the administrative council of the department suspended the mayor Pétion and the procureur Manuel, for their conduct on the 20th of June. Before this was known to the Assembly in their morning sitting of the following day, Lamourette bishop of Lyon, said that the measures which they were discussing did not ascend to the real source of the evils, which was in the divisions of the Assembly, their mutual distrusts and suspicions: he moved that those who abjured and execrated both the republic and the two chambers should rise. The whole body rose, abjured and execrated; there was a general cry for reunion: the members of the extreme right and left simultaneously advanced towards one another, mingled and embraced; there were no longer opposite sides, there was only the Assembly. The spectators applauded: "serenity and joy were on every face, and emotion in every heart." There wanted nothing to complete the reconciliation except sincerity.*

The news of Pétion's suspension rather cooled the new enthusiasm, and it was decreed that the executive should report on the following morning what it had done with respect to the suspension of the mayor and the procureur. A deputation carried the decree to the palace, and the king and his ministers returned with them. The king said that he had long desired this happy moment of reconciliation; his wish was accomplished; the nation and their king were one. The president returned an appropriate answer: the king appeared affected: "I must confess," he said to the president, "that I was impatient for the deputation to come that I might run to the Assembly." He left, amidst the acclamations of the Assembly and the galleries.

The affair of Pétion deranged everything. On the 8th Billaud-Varennes said at the Jacobins: "A reunion of all parties has taken place in the midst of the legislative body; but the first question which this strange hugging gives rise to is this—is it sincere? I speak as I think: to see such a deputy throw himself into the arms of another, is to see Nero embrace Britannicus, Charles IX. offer his hand to Coligny." The people were generally of the same opinion. On the 10th the ministers came, in pursuance to an order of the Assembly, to make their report on the state of the kingdom; at the end of which they declared that in such a condition of total anarchy it was impossible for them to do anything, and they had all given in their resignation that morning. On the 11th the Assembly declared, "Citizens! the country is in danger."

From this moment, according to the decree of the 7th of July, the councils of the departments and the districts, and the councils of the municipalities and of the communes, were to assemble, and to continue their surveillance without interruption: every man able to bear arms, who had served in the National Guard, was ready for action; every man gave in an account of the arms that he had; every man wore the national cockade; and he who purposely adopted any sign or mark of rebellion, on being convicted before the ordinary tribunals, was to be put to death. Pikes were given to those for whom there were no guns; volunteers were enrolled in the public places, where floated the banner, with the inscription—"Citizens, the country is in danger!" The alarm bell rung; cannon were fired at intervals; all France was summoned to rise, and all France obeyed the summons; the country was a camp, every man was a soldier.*

On the 12th the Assembly fixed the form of the ceremonial for the 14th; and on this day received the first deputation of the federates who had come to Paris: the deputation said that it was time to strike a perfidious court with the thunder of the Assembly. They were admitted to the honours of the sitting. An address from the commune of Marseille was received: it was insulting to the Assembly, and it was a direct demand to dethrone the king. It was referred to the committee of twelve to report upon it, for the address came within the penalties of the law against any proposal to alter the constitution.

The king had confirmed Pétion's suspension, and the mayor appeared at the bar of the Assembly, where he read a long address in justification of his conduct, drawn up with great art. He was admitted to the honours of the sitting,—not certainly a very unusual honour,—but it was an intimation that the Assembly was with him. The galleries roared out—"Long live Pétion! our friend Pétion!" On the 13th the Assembly cancelled the suspension of Pétion, and restored him to his honours just in time to show himself at the great anniversary of the 14th.

The 14th of July came, but things were much changed the 14th of July, 1790. Eighty-three tents in the Champ-de-Mars represented eighty-three departments, and by each was planted a poplar on which the tricolor streamers floated. There was a large tent for the Assembly and for the king. The altar of the country still remained there. This day was chosen for laying the first stone of the column of Liberty which was to be erected on the ruins of the Bastille; and after the ceremony was over, the king and queen, who were waiting in the military-school, were conducted to the Champ-de-Mars, where Louis ascended the steps of the altar, and once more took the constitutional oath. An immense tree, called the tree of feudality, had been planted near the altar; it rose up from the midst of a huge pile of wood, and from the branches were suspended crowns,

* It is amusing to see some French writers (Toulongeon, Thiers,) combat this opinion. "Shall we affirm," says Toulongeon, "that every one played a part which he had got ready?" Certainly not: it was an impulsive movement, of which some nations are more susceptible than others. The impulse was sincere, but the reconciliation was not. Envy and hatred and even strong opposing convictions, are not reconciled by shouting and hugging. Lamourette, the proposer of the reconciliation, died on the scaffold.

* The proclamation of the danger of the country was made on Sunday, the 22nd of July and the following Monday. The 'Hist. Parlem.,' xvi., 107, contains a description of the ceremonies from the 'Révolutions de Paris,' No. 159.

cardinals' hats, keys of St. Peter, titles of nobility, escutcheons, and all the paraphernalia of ancient use and ancient institutions, now abolished, destroyed, despised. It was arranged by a proclamation of the municipality, that after taking the oath, the president of the Assembly and the king should set fire to the tree; but the king very dexterously excused himself by saying that feudality no longer existed, and he went away with the Assembly, leaving about a dozen patriotic deputies to finish the day's work by destroying what no longer existed.

There was no universal sympathy such as characterized the great anniversary of 1790. The king surrounded himself with soldiers; he showed his suspicions and his fears. Pétion was the idol of the day: "Pétion or death!" was the cry of women, children, and drunken men.

It was probably about this time, though whether it was before the 14th of July or after is uncertain, that Guadet, Gensonné, and Vergniaud, addressed a letter to the king, from which it appears that he had asked their opinion on the actual condition of France. They told him that his own conduct was the cause of the general agitation and of the violence of the clubs; that everybody thought that he could remove the foreign troops from the frontiers; that he should choose ministers among the men most strongly in favour of the revolution; that he should deprive Lafayette of his command, subject the civil list to control, and declare that he would never accept any increase of his power except with the free consent of the nation; by acting thus the constitution might be saved. They said, "It is evident that the present state of affairs must bring on a crisis in which almost all the chances will be against royalty." The letter was given to Boze, the painter, who gave it to Thierry, the king's valet-de-chambre. The answer sent through Thierry to Boze was short. Thierry said he had "been scolded a second time for having received the letter which my zeal determined me to deliver." The king allowed him to say that he would not neglect the choice of ministers; that the declaration of war was the work of the so-called patriot ministers; that he had done all that he could to prevent the coalition of the powers, and that he had no special means for keeping them from the frontiers; that he had scrupulously observed the Constitution, but that a great many persons at present were labouring in a very different spirit.*

* This letter is printed in the 'Memoirs of Dumouriez,' ii., note (E), and elsewhere. There is no date to it; and Dumouriez clearly assigns it to the wrong time. It was written after the decree for the disbanding of the état-major. Thiers has placed it after the 14th of July.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE TENTH OF AUGUST.

On Sunday, the 15th of July, the Directory of Sarre-Louis informed the Assembly that the Prussians were in force in the electorate of Trèves. Fauchet moved that the troops of the line be immediately ordered from Paris: they were wanted for the frontiers. Girardin observed, he was surprised that those who wished to form a camp of twenty thousand men near Paris, in order to triumph over conspirators, should be the very persons to propose the removal of the regiments which were stationed in Paris to preserve tranquillity. It was decreed that the executive should be bound to remove the troops in garrison at Paris within three days, and to place them thirty thousand toises from the seat of the legislative body, pursuant to the Constitution.

The ministers had resigned, and they only signed the necessary papers till their successors were appointed. On the 20th the Directory of the department of Paris resigned in a body. Luckner had come to Paris, Lafayette was suspected. The State was without ministers, Paris without an administration, the army without generals. The conduct of Lafayette had been referred to the committee of twelve, who reported that they could not discover anything in it which was contrary to any positive law. The matter was discussed in the Assembly, adjourned, and not decided till the 8th of August.* The Jacobins were furious against Lafayette; and Robespierre attacked him in the journal called the 'Défenseur' with the bitterest acrimony and the most implacable hatred.

The number of federates who had appeared at the feast of July was not more than a few thousands, but they came flocking in. On the 23rd the spokesman of a deputation of federates at the bar of the Assembly, said: "The reign of truth must commence; we are bold enough to tell you the truth; do you be bold enough to hear it; deliberate in this present sitting on the only means of remedying our evils; suspend the executive power, the Constitution empowers you to sit in judgment on it." The petitioners, as they were called, were admitted to the honours of the sitting. An angry discussion arose on referring the petition to the extraordinary committee, an example among many others of the irregular way in which the Assembly conducted their debates. It was terminated by Vergniaud reminding them that by one of their own decrees all petitions were to be referred without discussion to the committee of twelve to report on them. In the

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xvi., 28, 32, &c., 106.

same sitting the Assembly passed a decree, which declared that since the country was in danger, every minister was responsible for all the acts discussed at the council, and that the councils of the king, of whomsoever they were composed, were personally responsible for all the present misfortunes and all that might follow. On the 23rd the king announced two appointments, but the ministry was not completed. Choudieu said he would soon show the Assembly how to settle this matter, and he read the following brief petition from Angers: "Legislators, Louis XVI. has betrayed the nation, the law, and his oath: the people are his sovereign; you are the representatives of the people: declare him to be deposed, and France is saved." This was followed by loud applause of the galleries, and by murmurs in the Assembly.

Two parties opposed to the king were now distinguished. One party, the Gironde, hoped that they might effect every thing that they wished by a change of ministers; and this is clearly intimated in the letter of Guadet, Gensonné, and Vergniaud: perhaps they hoped for power. But they had let things go too far: another and a stronger party wished to settle all difficulties by an insurrection; and the Gironde was unable to guide the Jacobins, whom they now detested and feared. A report made by Vergniaud on the 23rd, "On the dangers of the country, and the mode of saving it," only treated of the mode of defending the frontiers; and it requested the Assembly to calm their impatience as to other matters, as to which the extraordinary committee would report in due time: the report evaded altogether the question of the king's deposition. Duhem called for the discussion of this question; but upon the motion of Vergniaud the Assembly, by a large majority, passed to the order of the day. On the 26th, Guadet, a member of the extraordinary committee, read a letter, which it was proposed to address to the king. The letter evidently proceeded from the same party which had sent the private letter to the king, signed by Guadet, Gensonné, and Vergniaud: "Let the name of your ministers, let the men who surround you, be such as to secure the confidence of the public." Brissot said, in the 'Patriote Français,' "It was probable that this address might have induced the king to form a ministry which might save the country, now on the edge of a precipice." Brissot spoke in favour of the address: he was applauded by a majority of the Assembly, hooted by the spectators, and a strong and dexterous hand from the galleries struck him with two plums just as he returned to his seat. It was rather hard, one of the journals remarked, for Brissot to be insulted the first time that he spoke on the right side, and by the very people who a few days before had insulted Brissot's colleagues, to show their affection to him. "The ardent patriots," said Brissot, "rejected the address, because they despaired of the conversion of the king; and the *côté droit*, because they feared that the address might convert him." The reign of the Gironde was over.

In the evening of this day there was a civic banquet on the site of the Bastille, at which the federates of Brest, who had just arrived, were present. The "revolutionary directory," or "insurrectional committee," of which Westermann, a Prussian, Lazousky, a Pole, Santerre, Simon, Fournier, called an American, Carra, and others, were members, had arranged everything for a rising. The insurgents were to march in three columns, with red colours, bearing these words in large black letters: "Resistance to Oppression; Martial Law of the Sovereign People against the Rebellion of the Executive Power." The object of the insurrection was to seize the king and lodge him in the dungeon of Vincennes. The scheme however was generally known before it could be executed, and "the Directory" adjourned the execution till the arrival of the Marseillais. Pétion aided in checking the movement; probably, and it is not a mere suspicion, because it was premature.*

On the 13th the Marseillais came, five hundred men in red caps, well armed with swords and pistols, followed by three pieces of cannon. They were conducted by Santerre, the great master of ceremonies on all such occasions, and by Merlin, the believer in fifty-two bales of Austrian correspondence, to the Champs Élysées to a patriotic banquet. Barbaroux, a young Marseillais, a burning patriot, and a friend of Madame Roland, had gone to meet at Charenton the men whom he had invited to Paris; but these men were not Marseillais—they were not the representatives of this rich and flourishing town. In a busy port, crowded with men from all parts of the Mediterranean, it was easy to find five hundred or more ready for any desperate enterprise; and as they were mustered at Marseille, and commanded by young friends of Barbaroux, they took the name of Marseillais. They were Corsicans, Genoese, Piedmontese, and other adventurers, mingled with Frenchmen of the south; their bronzed complexions, black sparkling eyes, and sinister countenances, gave them the appearance of a band of robbers. This battalion of the south had marched near five hundred miles under a July sun, singing a song which has roused the Frenchman to almost supernatural energy, and also accompanied to the scaffold the victims of the revolution. This song was written at Strasbourg, and set to music by Rouget de l'Isle, a young officer of artillery, in the winter of 1792. "The new hymn, sung a few days after at Strasbourg, flew from town to town. Marseille adopted it to be sung at the beginning and the end of the sittings of the clubs. The Marseillais spread it through France by singing it on their march; and hence its name, La Marseillaise."† Barbaroux and Madame Roland had talked over a project of establishing a republic in the south, if liberty should be driven from the north of France. 'That will be our last resource,' said Barbaroux; 'but the Marseillais who are here will save

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xvi., 188, 'Journée du 26 Juillet.'

† Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. seizième, xxvi.—xxx.



AFFRAY WITH THE MARSEILLAISE IN THE CHAMPS E'LYSE'ES.

us from that extremity:' from these and other like words we judged that an insurrection was preparing; but the confidence did not go beyond this: we made no further inquiries." *

Santerre's banquet was an after-thought. His original design was to rouse the faubourgs, and to encamp with his pikemen and the Marseillais in the Carrousel, until the assembly had pronounced the king's deposition, or the king had abdicated. This plan pleased some, who did not wish to have any bloodshed; and Santerre himself, as a royalist writer says, (Montjoie, Hist. de Marie Antoinette, p. 295,) was not a cruel man. But he could not rouse the faubourgs in time, and he had only a small train when he met the men of the south: as he could not lead them to a fray, the next best thing was a feast. On the same day, and near the place where the Marseillais were to be entertained, some National Guards of the battalion of St. Thomas, and other volunteers, were also banqueting. The populace insulted the National Guards, who defended themselves, and the assailants called out for help. The Marseillais, who were just sitting down to their feast, sprung up, some rushing through the doors, others through the windows; they climbed palisades with wondrous agility, crossed ditches, and were upon the astonished guards in a moment. Some grenadiers were wounded, others took to flight; and one of them who discharged a pistol on the Marseillais, was seized in a café, to which he escaped, and killed. The drawbridge of the Tuileries was lowered to receive the fugitives, and raised again to stop their pursuers.†

The National Guards complained at the bar of the Assembly of the violent attack of the Marseillais, amidst the hootings and shouts of the galleries; a second petition, which called for the removal of the Marseillais, was received in the same way. A bold deputy, Rouyer, said, "If we do not accustom the people to respect the law, we shall soon have to make the law give way to the people; did I say to the people?—this miserable fraction of the people which fill our galleries: how long will your patience endure such disorder? have our departments sent us here to deliberate in the midst of the murmurs and the hootings of the galleries?" He moved, but he moved in vain, that any man who gave any sign of approbation or disapprobation, should be condemned to six months' imprisonment.

On the 25th of July, the Duke of Brunswick, the commander of the troops of the emperor and of the king of Prussia, published at Coblenz a manifesto addressed to the French people. It was known at Paris on the 28th. This response to Mallet du Pan's mission, fell like a thunderbolt on France. It alarmed the king, who saw in its threatening and insulting tone his own danger and ruin: it roused the indignation and resistance of the nation. On the 3rd of August, Louis sent a message, countersigned by Sainte-Croix, minister of foreign affairs since the 1st of August, in which he said that the manifesto bore no signs of authenticity, he disavowed it, and he protested his fidelity to the constitution. But protestations were useless: the Assembly refused to print the letter; and the only question now was, whether the king should be deposed by the Assembly, or be swept away in the tempest of an insurrection. Pétion came to the bar at the head of a deputation of the commune of Paris, and presented a petition, in which, after a rapid view "of the benefits conferred on Louis XVI., and the ingratitude of that prince," the petitioners in plain terms called for the deposition of the king. The discussion on this petition was deferred to the 9th, and in the mean time other petitions came in which called for the king's deposition. The Assembly and the king's secret advisers had brought matters to extremities: either the foreigner must dictate to France, or the king must bow to the sovereignty of the people.

It was known well that the Tuileries would be again attacked. On the evening of the 4th of August, Montmorin, Bertrand de Moleville, Lally-Tolendal, Clermont-Tonnerre, Malouet, and two others, held a conference in Montmorin's garden.* They all agreed that the king must make an attempt to leave Paris at any risk, escorted by his Swiss, and defended by his friends. The Duke de Liancourt had offered to advance from Rouen to meet the king, and Lafayette's aid was relied on. The duke had already offered all his fortune to the king to assist him, and such assistance was necessary, for the civil list had been exhausted in paying royalists, people in the galleries, and even Jacobins, who promised their help. Danton had received largely, and still continued his insurrectionary career. The court even treated with Santerre, who undertook for a large sum of money to prevent the palace from being attacked, and he got part of it.† The king had apparently yielded to the advice of his friends, and consented to leave Paris; but all at once he changed his mind: he would not go, he would run the risk of the attack. The truth is, he expected that

* Mde. Roland, 'Mém.,' ii., 139; and 'Mém. de Barbaroux,' p. 38.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' xvi., 197. The 'Révolutions de Paris,' No. 160, was very merry on this occasion, at the expense of the guards: "In this defeat, where there was no combat, was recognized and spit upon the heavy Moreau de St. Méry, whose fatness impeded his hasty retreat; some blows with the flat side of a sabre imprinted his shame on one of his shoulder-blades." As to this gentleman, see p. 39.

* Letter of Lally-Tolendal, printed in 'Hist. Parlem.,' xvii., 250, and elsewhere.

† Bertrand de Moleville: who is accused of having spent a great deal of money himself in buying services which were never rendered. There seems to be no doubt of the queen's communications with Santerre. Probably they commenced after the 20th of June, on which day he told her that he could be useful to her. The venality of many of the Jacobins is a fact beyond dispute. Bertrand de Moleville accuses Brissot of bargaining with the court just before the 10th of August; but his testimony must not be taken without suspicion.

the Duke of Brunswick would reach Paris in a few days; and the queen obstinately refused to trust herself to the constitutional party. She told Madame Campan that she would rather perish than owe her safety to Lafayette.

On the 8th of August the Assembly debated on the question of Lafayette. He had got Luckner to promise that he would march to Paris to assist the king at the critical time, and the old general had confessed this to the Committee of Twelve. But Bureau de Puzy, who was accused of being Lafayette's agent in this matter, and had been summoned to the bar of the Assembly, boldly denied Luckner's statement. Brissot moved the impeachment of Lafayette, lamenting that it was one of the misfortunes of revolutions that men who devoted themselves to such a cause, had often to condemn their own friends. The motion was rejected by a majority of 406 to 224. The galleries maintained "a gloomy silence." But the people outside made amends for the silence of the galleries by insulting and attacking many of the deputies who had voted against the impeachment. On the day following some of these members wrote to the Assembly to complain. Girardin said, that as he was leaving the Assembly he had been struck. "In what part?" cried a member of the côté gauche. "Behind," was the spirited reply, "assassins never strike anywhere else." He added, "My love of truth compels me however to say, that I do not complain of the citizens of Paris; I declare that I am convinced that the greater part of those who insulted me were strangers." Vaublanc moved that the federates be ordered from Paris to the camp at Soissons; but this question was evaded by a motion of Lacroix, which was carried, that the Minister of War should report whether arrangements were made to receive the federates at Soissons. Roederer, the procureur-général-syndic, appeared at the bar, and informed the Assembly that it was reported, and the report was confirmed by facts, that the tocsin was to ring that very night to rouse the people to an attack on the Tuileries. Pétion also came: he said that for the last eight days the municipality of Paris was constantly engaged in maintaining order: "We have," he said, "in the most stormy times employed with great success the arguments of reason and moderation;" it was easy for the department to tell the municipality to take precautionary measures, when the department itself was embarrassed; it was the practice to throw on the mayor the responsibility of what happened; he could support the weight of that responsibility which the law imposed on him; and he concluded, "I can assure you that no good measure shall be suggested to the municipality which it will not instantly adopt." The sitting terminated at seven in the evening.

The Assembly had not touched the question of the king's deposition. The Gironde were irresolute; they would, and they would not. They hesitated, and they were ruined.

The insurrectional committee was sitting in three different places: Fournier and others in the faubourg St. Marceau; Santerre and Westermann in the faubourg St. Antoine; and Danton, Desmoulins, and Carra, at the Cordeliers with the Marseillais. Barbaroux was on the alert: he had couriers ready for the south, and a dose of poison for himself if the scheme failed. Marat hid himself in a cellar; Robespierre was, nobody knew where: though an admirer of the pike, which played "so interesting a part" in the beginning of the revolution, he had no inclination to wield it. The success of the rising was far from certain, and the mass required to be moved. The incarnation of insurrection appeared in the gigantic, brutal form of Danton, and proclaimed itself by his thundering voice: "The people must rely on themselves; the Assembly has acquitted Lafayette; to-night the people will be menaced; save yourselves: to arms, to arms!" A musket was discharged in the Cour du Commerce, and the cry "to arms" spread through Paris.*

It was between eleven and twelve on the evening of the 9th of August: the night was calm; the heavens, serene and clear, looked down upon the troubled earth, heaving and convulsed with man's furious passions. The Marseillais formed at the door of the Cordeliers, got some cannon, and soon saw their ranks swelled by new comers. Desmoulins, the genius of the revolution, and others, ran off to sound the alarm bells. The sections assembled, and each sent their commissioners to the Hôtel de Ville to assume the municipal authority. The council general was sitting that night, and Pétion, who presided, had been summoned from it to the Tuileries. The commissioners of the sections found the Council in full activity, and the Council gave up their authority to the commissioners: they sanctioned the insurrection.† At midnight the tocsin began its heavy, dismal note in the midst of Paris: the faubourg St. Antoine responded; and the sound, swelling as it was wafted from the remotest quarters of this immense city, startled the dwellers in the Tuileries: it was the knell of royalty, and the advent of the republic.

The king and his family had not gone to bed. After supper, they assembled in the council chamber with the ministers, and a number of superior officers, to consult about their safety. The palace had but uncertain means of defence: the constitutional guard was dissolved, the regiments which were favourable to the king had been removed by a recent decree of the Assembly, and the Swiss, only eight or nine hundred in number, had been deprived of their artillery. The gendarmerie was composed of the former French guards, men of the 14th of July. The National Guard was ill-organised, and divided in opinion: some were attached to the king, but the greater part were republicans. The staff had been changed by a late decree of the Assembly; and the cannoniers, men of the same

* It is difficult to trace Danton's movements, and some authorities doubt if he was at the Cordeliers. The evidence of his activity is found in the stories of his being everywhere on the night of the 9th.

† The old council of the Commune was undoubtedly sitting on this night. 'Hist. Parlem.,' xvi., 409.

class as the insurgents, were with them in their hearts. Since the retirement of Lafayette, the National Guard was under the command of six officers, who took it in turns. At this time Mandat was the commander, a constitutionalist, and therefore not much liked by the court, but an honest, courageous man, who did his duty. He made the best arrangements that he could for the defence of the palace. Though the rappel had been beaten, the battalions of the National Guards were not filled; and Mandat had formed those men who came, and distributed them with the Swiss in the courts, the gardens, and the rooms of the Tuileries. He had also a few cannon at his disposal, but the cannoniers could not be relied on; nor the gendarmerie who were posted at the colonnade of the Louvre, and at the Hôtel de Ville. There was a crowd of persons in the palace, old servants of the crown, and others who had not emigrated, and many of them ready to die in defence of the king. They were armed with what they could get, but they would have been of little use, and they only increased the confusion. The members of the directory of the department were there, for this body had always resisted the violent measures of the anarchists. But the Commune was with the insurgents, and the council-general was at this moment giving up its functions to the deputies of the sections; Pétion had come to the Tuileries on being sent for from the council of the Commune, and he had signed an order for repelling force by force. Pétion, however, wanted to get away, and he contrived to let the Assembly know about half-past two in the morning, what an awkward situation he was in. The members of the Assembly, roused by the tocsin, had been collecting in their hall since one o'clock. They passed a decree, by which the mayor was summoned to their bar, and he gladly obeyed the order without any resistance being made to his leaving the Tuileries. After reporting to the Assembly on the state of affairs, he did not return to the palace, but went to the Hôtel de Ville, where he was put under a kind of arrest, and kept out of the way.

The morning was approaching, and the insurgents had not assembled with such zeal as was expected. Santerre, it is said, hesitated; for though turbulent, he was not courageous. A vigorous assault would have crushed the rising insurrection, but that would have been hardly legal. Mandat's plan was to let the invaders advance along the quay of the Tuileries, and for the gendarmerie in the colonnade to attack them in the rear, while the gendarmerie in the Carrousel would fall on them in front. The gendarmerie at the Hôtel de Ville had also orders to allow the insurgents to debouche on the place of the Hôtel de Ville by the arcade St. Jean, and then to fall upon them. The municipality, which had sprung up in the night, knew what Mandat's orders were, at least the orders given to the gendarmerie at the Hôtel de Ville, and they acted with promptitude. They summoned him from the Tuileries: he hesitated to go, but the members of the directory who were not aware of the formation of a new municipality, advised him not to disobey a legal order, and he went to the Hôtel de Ville. The new council were in possession of the order which Mandat had given to the commandant at the Hôtel de Ville; and when Mandat entered, he was confounded at seeing a set of men who were strangers to him. "The procureur of the commune, Manuiel, who had been kept in office, broke out against Mandat with the indignation which his crime merited; he was obliged to acknowledge the order: he was placed under arrest; after a short time, he wished to retire, under the pretext that his services were wanted, but he expiated his crime, and fell beneath the blows of the people."* His body was thrown into the Seine.

The death of Mandat destroyed all plan of defence at the Tuileries. But the insurrectionists were not yet in full force, and they were still hesitating. At this crisis Westermann, the Prussian, threatened Santerre, and compelled him to advance. The faubourgs were now in motion, advancing by the Rue St. Honoré, the Pont Neuf and the Pont Royal. The Marseillais and the Bretons marched at the head of the columns, with their cannon pointed at the Tuileries. Santerre took this opportunity of running off to the Hôtel de Ville, to get himself made commandant of the National Guard; and Westermann remained to direct the attack. Danton was not there: after stirring up the tempest, he went home to take some rest. When day broke, the Tuileries were in a state of siege, and surrounded by thousands of armed men, uttering fearful cries. The insurgents were ready to offer battle to the king.

Louis had passed an anxious night, sometimes in deliberation with the ministers, and sometimes with his confessor. He had no fears for himself; all his anxiety was for his family. There was now force enough about the palace to repel any attack, if the men would have done their duty; and Maréchal Mouchy and the ministers suggested that the king should review the men who were there to defend him. After showing himself at a balcony, where he was encouraged by some cries of "Vive le Roi!" he went down, followed by the queen, into the courts, and passed along the lines of soldiers. He addressed to them a few words, but neither the words nor the appearance of Louis was adapted to rouse the drooping spirits or fix the wavering resolution of his troops. A man of energy, with his own life and that of his wife and children at stake, might have roused a less devoted band to a generous enthusiasm. But Louis had only passive courage: his inert nature could never be stirred to vigorous action. After reviewing the troops in the courts, the king went without the queen into the

* Récit du 10 par Pétion, extrait de l'ouvrage intitulé, 'Pièces intéressantes pour l'histoire,' &c. The revolutionary language of the period is peculiar, and Pétion was a great master of it. This man could find an apology for any act of violence, could invest it with the appearance of an act of necessity, even of merit. But to palliate crime, to seek to excuse it, is a homage paid to justice.

garden, where he was saluted with the cry of "Down with the veto," from two battalions that were entering to defend the palace. Notwithstanding this hostile reception, he went along the Terrace des Feuillans to review the troops posted at the Pont-Tournant. As he passed along the terrace he was only separated from the furious crowd by a tricolor ribbon which had been drawn across, and he was received with insults and menaces. He saw some of the battalions defile before him and leave the gardens to join the assailants in the Place du Carrousel. The cannoniers in the courts had already deserted, and the gendarmerie under the colonnade of the Louvre were dispersed or had joined the people. The National Guard in the apartments were also dissatisfied at so many gentlemen being there, who had come to devote themselves for the king. The queen, all through this trying scene, maintained an appearance of composure. The review showed that all was lost: the king's want of energy had paralysed even his friends.

What was the Assembly doing all this time? Roused from their beds at night, and knowing that the city was in a state of insurrection, the deputies were listening to something about patents, and something about the slave trade, and other matters, just to pass the time. The minister of the interior came, and said that the king was very uneasy; there was a rising in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and he requested the Assembly to take prompt measures. A member observed, that it was their business to make laws, not to execute them; it was the duty of the executive to maintain order: the Assembly passed to the order of the day. The ministers of justice and of the interior came to the Assembly, and told them that the tumult was increasing; the king wished a deputation to be sent to him. The Assembly replied that there were not two hundred members present, and that consequently they could not adopt the proposed measure, which was "infinitely delicate under the circumstances." A deputation from the council-general of the commune came to tell them that their authority was destroyed, and a new municipality was formed, and to give other information, which showed that Paris was in a state of insurrection: they were rewarded with the honours of the sitting.

The members of the directory of the department, seeing that resistance was now useless, advised the king to take refuge in the Assembly. The queen made opposition, on which Roederer said, "Madame, you are risking the life of your husband and your children." The king at last said, "Well, let us go." "Will you answer for the king's life?" said Madame Elizabeth. "Yes," said Roederer, "as much as for my own." He left the Tuileries with his family, the ministers, and Madame Tourzel, the gouvernante of the children, accompanied by Roederer, and a detachment of Swiss and National Guards. The leaves had fallen from the trees in great quantities, and the gardeners had swept them up in heaps. The dauphin amused himself with kicking them against the legs of those who walked before him. "There is a great quantity of leaves," said the king; "they fall early this year." At the steps of the terrace of the Feuillans, they were stopped for some time by the furious crowd, and assailed with horrible cries and menaces: the queen lost her watch and purse. As they approached the door of the Assembly, a ferocious-looking fellow took up the dauphin in his arms, and holding him over his head, carried him off. The queen gave a shriek, but the man said, "Don't be alarmed, I shall not hurt him;" and he deposited the child safe in the hall of the Assembly. When the king's approach was announced to the Assembly, they sent, "conformably to the constitution," twenty-four members to receive him. He entered, followed by his family, and two of his ministers. Some of the Swiss and National Guards who had escorted him, were resolved to enter too, and were going to force their way with bayonets, when they were energetically resisted by some of the deputies, and told to "respect the temple of liberty."

"I am come here," said the king, "to prevent a great crime; I think that I cannot be safer anywhere than in the midst of you, gentlemen." Vergniaud, who was in the chair, replied, "You may depend, sire, upon the firmness of the National Assembly: the members have sworn to die in defence of the rights of the people, and of the constituted authorities." The king took his seat by the president; but it was remarked by a member, that they could not, according to the constitution, deliberate in the presence of the king. Upon this, he and his family were placed in the logographe, a very small box used by the reporters, and there they staid during the long sitting of the Assembly, half stifled with the heat.

Roederer made a report to the Assembly, briefly and fairly. The commandant who had the duty of guarding the Tuileries, came for orders. A decree was passed: "The National Assembly places life and property under the protection of the people of Paris, and decree that twenty-five deputies shall be named to carry the declaration." This solemn farce was interrupted by the sound of cannon, which shook the hall. The king said to the president, that he had just given orders that the Swiss must not fire. Again the roar of cannon was heard, mingled with rapid discharges of musketry.

A bloody contest was going on at the Tuileries. When Louis left the palace of his ancestors, and a number of faithful men behind him, ready to sacrifice their lives in his cause, no orders were given in the hurry of the moment; and as the insurgents had partly succeeded in their design by driving the king from his palace, it might have been supposed that no attack would be made.* The troops were withdrawn from the courts into the Tuileries, all the apartments of which were crowded with soldiers, gentlemen, domestics, and women. Probably a large part of the insurgents and of the crowd which swelled their ranks were

* See the narrative of Roederer, who states what the king said on leaving the Tuileries.



STORMING THE TUILERIES.

ignorant that the king had gone. At last they assaulted the gate of the Cour Royale, broke it open, and rushed in. They seized some cannon which had been carelessly left there, and turned it against the palace. They cried out to the soldiers who were at the windows, "Deliver up the palace, and we are friends." The Swiss showed pacific intentions, and even threw some cartouches. Some of the bolder insurgents made their way to the vestibule, where they were stopped at the foot of the stairs by a barricade of wood, behind which were Swiss and National Guards mingled together. A sentinel was in front, but he had orders not to fire. The assailants, with long pikes hooked at the end, seized the sentinel and dragged him to them. A fresh sentinel took his place, and was seized in like manner, and a third, fourth, and fifth. The sentinels, it is said, were massacred; a musket was discharged from a window, or by a Marseillais; it is uncertain who fired the first shot, but it was the signal for the combat. The commanders of the Swiss ranged their men behind the barrier, on the steps of the staircase. The vestibule was crammed with the crowd, who being pressed by those behind, could not make their escape. The first discharge covered the floor of the vestibule with the dead and wounded. The assailants fled in confusion to the Carrousel, and were fired upon from the windows. The Swiss descended the great staircase, and formed in two columns: one of them commanded by Turler, cleared the Cour Royale, and seized the cannons which had been left there, and brought them back; but they had no ammunition. The other column, under De Salis, went to seize the cannon at the door of the Manège. Turler penetrated even to the Carrousel, formed his men in a square, and in three directions poured his fire upon the assailants. The Marseillais and the federates gave way, the crowd fled, and carried alarm far beyond the precincts of the palace. A body of gentlemen, with some Swiss and National Guards, at this time made a sally from the Tuileries, but were received by a discharge of grape; and after losing some of their number, they retreated to the Tuileries, where they were joined by the two bodies of Swiss. Salis and his band were fired upon by the National Guard as they returned. But the defenders of the Tuileries were not defeated; and if the gendarmes at the Louvre had done their duty instead of deserting, the assailants would have sustained an ignominious defeat. The gentlemen in the Tuileries entreated Maréchal Mailly to form all his men in a column, advance to the Manège with his cannon, and joined by the Swiss who had escorted the king to the Assembly, to carry the royal family out of Paris.

Just as the column of De Salis was re-entering the Tuileries, d'Hervilly appeared, and in the midst of the firing proclaimed the king's order for all the Swiss to repair to the Assembly. Turler, with about two hundred Swiss, obeyed the order, and marched towards the Manège amidst a shower of balls from the National Guards. They reached the Manège in confusion, and laid down their arms. There yet remained a number of Swiss who knew nothing of the order, crowded in the great staircase and the apartments. The assailants again took courage, seeing the palace deprived of part of its defenders, and that the gendarmes had deserted their post. The Marseillais and the Bretons rallied with redoubled fury, and Westermann directed the attack. Six pieces of cannon vomited forth ball and grape against the palace, and the insurgents rushed into the vestibule. Eighty Swiss were on the great staircase, and the Marseillais were stretched dead in heaps by their murderous fire. Slowly the Swiss retreated, leaving their slaughtered comrades behind them on every step as they ascended: the insurgents followed over the dead bodies: the fire of the Swiss grew fainter and fainter, and at last ceased. Every man was dead. The Marseillais, the federates, and the pikemen, were now masters of the Tuileries, and all that followed was an indiscriminate massacre. In vain the surviving Swiss threw away their arms and cried for mercy: they were pierced with pikes, cut down with sabres, or thrown alive through the windows. Seventeen who took refuge in the chapel and protested they had not fired, as their arms proved, were disarmed and massacred to the cry of "Live the Nation!" A body of about five hundred men, consisting of Swiss, gentlemen, and some National Guards, left the Tuileries under Maréchal Mailly, and attempted to reach the Manège according to the king's order; but all the Swiss perished, for they were picked out by the insurgents. The rest, with some loss, reached the Manège. Another body, who tried to escape by the Pont Tournant, were driven back to the terrace of the Orangery, after losing about seventy of their number, near the great basin, by a discharge of grape. From the terrace of the Orangery one part of the survivors made their way across the Place Louis XV., to join a squadron of gendarmes whom they saw in the Champs Elysées: they fell beneath the sabres of these gendarmerie, who had joined the insurgents. The other part made their way to the Manège, were received there, disarmed, and sent to prison, where they perished in September.

The rabble in the palace massacred all before them, gentlemen, priests, servants of all classes: it was a scene of horrid carnage, pitiless, brutal, and disgusting. The women alone were spared. Madame Campan had a narrow escape: a Marseillais was going to plunge his sword into her, when he was stopped by a voice which called out "We don't kill women." * The interior of the palace was a ruin: the doors were broken, the furniture smashed in pieces or thrown through the windows, and the numerous objects of art, the accumulated collection of ages, mirrors, vases, statues, paintings, books, were scattered about, reduced to fragments, and destroyed. Huge piles were made of broken furniture and set on fire, and it was with some difficulty that the Tuileries and the Louvre were saved

* Mde. Campan, 'Mém.,' ii., 248.

from the flames which raged in the stables and other buildings. Among the victims of the 10th of August was Clermont-Tonnerre. He did not perish at the Tuileries, but by the hand of assassins in another quarter of Paris. Suleau, a royalist writer, perished also, and his head was carried on a pike.

On the 10th of August there were only 284* members at the Assembly, Girondins and Jacobins: the *côté droit* and the Constitutionals were not there. But the hall was crowded with people mingled with the deputies: all was confusion, fear, and suspense. It was about eleven in the morning when the shouts of victory reached the Manège and told the Jacobins that their triumph was now secure. The executive power, driven from his residence, had come to seek the protection of the legislative body, and had abdicated the exercise of his authority. But the Assembly itself was only an instrument: a body of citizens at the bar declared, in the form of a request, the will of the sovereign people, that the king be deposed. All that the Assembly had to do was to invest the command in words of form. Guadet, then in the chair, replied, that "the Assembly would immediately take great measures to secure the safety of the people." Vergniaud retired for a short time, and returning to the hall, he read, in the name of the extraordinary committee, a decree which had been hastily drawn up: a national convention was decreed; the chief of the executive power was suspended until the convention should decide on the measures best adapted to secure the sovereignty of the people, and the reign of liberty and equality; a governor was to be appointed for the prince royal; the payment of the civil list was suspended. Vergniaud was standing close to the king when he read the decree. It was adopted without discussion: the majority of 406 which had voted against the impeachment of Lafayette were not in their place; they left the vanquished minority of the 6th of August to obey the orders of the galleries and of the men stained with blood, begrimed with smoke, who crowded "the temple of liberty," and compelled the Gironde to do what they feared to do and only half wished. The king showed no emotion: when the vote was put, he said to a deputy with whom he talked familiarly during the sitting, "What you are doing there is not very constitutional." "That is true," replied the deputy, "but it is the only way of saving your life." But the people were not satisfied with the provisional suspension, and petitioners at the bar expressed their indignation. Vergniaud apologized; he explained that the National Convention could alone decide on the question of deposition. The petitioners were silent, but not satisfied.

* Some say that only 221 members were present.

A camp close to Paris was decreed; and the sittings were declared permanent. A new ministry was appointed. Roland, Clavière and Servan resumed their functions: Monge, a distinguished mathematician, was made minister of marine; Lebrun for foreign affairs. The minister of justice was Danton; and Danton gave two of the chief appointments at his disposal to Camille Desmoulins and Fabre d'Eglantine.

It was about one in the morning of the 11th of August before the royal family were released from their imprisonment of sixteen hours in the logographe. The king had been very attentive to all the proceedings, and occasionally he made sensible remarks on what was going on. His appetite was always good, and early in the day he had made a hearty meal, with as little apparent concern as if he were merely a spectator. The queen and Madame Elizabeth ate nothing: from time to time they moistened their lips with iced water. The dauphin was asleep on his mother's lap. Fifty men who had entered the Assembly with the royal family, stood round the logographe to guard the king during these tedious hours. At last the weary prisoners were summoned to their new lodging, in the upper part of the old monastery of the Feuillans. Four rooms, which had been unoccupied since the suppression of the monastic orders, were hastily furnished with a few chairs, a table or two, and some mattresses; and here the king and his family, with Madame Tourzel and the princess Lamballe, who had joined them, passed the night.*

* There are many materials for the 10th of August; but not a great deal by eye-witnesses. The best materials are contained in the 'Chronique des Cinquante jours, du 20 Juin au 10 Aout, 1792, redigée sur les pieces authentiques par P. L. Roederer, 1832.' R[illegible]de many of the events of the 10th of August. The 'Hist. Parl. m.,' xvi., 399, &c., contains materials, and among others, the 'Récit de Pétion,' and the 'Récit de Roederer' extracted from the 'Chronique de Cinquante Jours.' The seventeenth volume, p. 2, &c., contains the 'Séance permanente de la nuit du 9 au 10 Août.' The 'Mémoires' are incomplete and often inaccurate: Ferrières, for instance, is very inexact. Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. xx., &c.' has treated this tragic day at great length and in an admirable manner.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

THE evening was calm and tranquil after this day of carnage. The smouldering fires sent up thick columns of smoke from the Place of the Carrousel. Men were going about with carts picking up the dead bodies of Swiss, Marseillais, and federates, which lay in heaps in the garden, in the courts, and in the Place Louis XV. Hundreds of corpses were thrown on burning piles, royalists and republicans, nobles and men in rags; and the Seine received the mingled ashes. The blood-stained pavements were swept and cleaned. Thus in antient Rome, after a day of tumult and slaughter, the Tiber received its tribute of dead, and the Romans returned to their occupations and their pleasures. At Paris, on the evening of the 10th, crowds of well-dressed people were walking about and visiting the scenes of the bloody conflict: the theatres were open, and filled as usual.

Marat came from the hole where he had hid his filth and his fears during the contest. With sabre in hand, and crowned with laurel, the dæmon of anarchy paraded the streets, and aided by a band of ruffians seized four presses at the royal printing-office, "to indemnify himself for those which the hand of justice had taken from him."* Robespierre re-appeared. With a few persons round him at the Jacobins, the rest being employed in looking after the "public safety," he was making his reflections on the events of the day: the people must take measures to render it impossible for their delegates to damage liberty; they must call for a national convention, a decree that shall declare Lafayette a traitor. He showed how imprudent it would be for the people to lay down their arms before their liberty was secured: the Commune of Paris ought to send commissioners to the departments to explain the real state of affairs; and the sections were exhorted to let the Assembly know the true wishes of the people. These were the elements of the future government.

The Assembly sat on the morning of the 11th, and the king and his family were again placed in the logographe. The Assembly were informed that the people were breaking all the statues in the public places, and it was resolved that proper persons should be sent to superintend "these labours:" the object of the mover was apparently to save some of them, but the language of the day, the language of fear, requires an interpreter. Sixty of the Swiss had been placed in the Feuillans, and the people were calling out for their heads. An honest sans-culotte appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and declared that these men had never fired, and he prayed that the "worthy sans-culottes" in the galleries might be requested to go with him and calm the fury of the people. The man returned, and conducted the Swiss safe to the Assembly; and the Swiss raising their hands to heaven, swore to be true to the cause of the people. But Chabot, once a Capucin, now the most furious of revolutionary fanatics, would not let the Swiss off so easily: "The law," he said, "knows no distinction of persons; in the land of equality it must level every guilty head, even those on the throne." He moved that the Swiss be removed to the Abbaye, where the officers had already been taken: they were however removed to the Palais Bourbon. The thirst for blood showed itself on the 10th of August, not only in the massacres at the Tuileries, but in the murders which were committed in other parts of Paris: the days of September only realized the wishes and designs of the 11th of August.

Pétion, released from his simulated imprisonment, appeared at the bar with several municipal officers. "Legislators," said a municipal officer, "the friends of the people come to restore to the friends of the people the friend of the people." The mayor said, "Legislators, you are blessed everywhere: everywhere your decrees are blessed: the citizens now feel the necessity of relying on the laws, and looking to them for their vengeance; they know that their magistrates will do them justice: we have said to the citizens, 'The Assembly has destroyed the line of demarcation which separated the citizens; they will strike without distinction all the guilty.'" But he who now spoke was a broken idol: the 10th of August levelled the king and Pétion together; it raised Robespierre and Danton.

It had been decreed on the 11th that the royal family should occupy the Luxembourg during the king's suspension. But the Commune of Paris was of opinion that the king could not be secured in the Luxembourg; and an officer at the bar of the Assembly said that the Temple would be more convenient and more easy to guard; it was isolated and surrounded by lofty walls; and to this gloomy abode the royal family were consigned on Monday, the 13th of August. The journey lasted two hours: a single carriage, preceded and followed by a detachment of cavalry, conveyed the royal family. As they passed the Place Vendôme, the king saw the ruins of the statue of Louis XIV. Bertrand de Moleville affirms that this removal to the Temple was Robespierre's measure, for Robespierre was a member of the new communal council, and ruled supreme.* By a decree of the 12th the National Assembly entrusted the king to the care of the Commune of Paris.

On this day, Guadet, in the name of the extraordinary committee, read the rules which the Legislative Assembly proposed to be observed in the elections;

* Madame Roland, 'Mem.,' ii., 37. Compare 'Hist. Parl.,' xviii., 23.

* He was named on the 11th and by the Section des Piques (ci-devant Place Vendome), he appropriately represented his favourite weapon. See p. 165.



PULLING DOWN THE ROYAL STATUE.

and they were adopted. The Assembly "considering that it had not the right to subject to imperative rules the exercise of the sovereignty in the formation of a national convention," invited the citizens "in the name of liberty, equality, and the country," to conform to the rules which the Assembly proposed. There was to be no distinction between citizens active and not active; and every Frenchman of the age of one-and-twenty, who was not a domestic servant, was to vote in the primary Assemblies; to be eligible as a deputy or elector, a man was to be twenty-five years of age; each department was to elect the same number of deputies and suppléans as before; "the Assembly were requested to invest their representatives with an unlimited confidence." The Assembly decreed that the electors who should be obliged to quit their domiciles should receive twenty sous for every league, and three livres a day while they were detained from home.* The electors named by the primary assemblies were to meet on Sunday, the 2nd of September, to elect the deputies.

A new power had risen upon the ruins of the old Commune, a power which was greater than the Assembly, for it had strength of will in itself, and strength of arm at its disposal. The council-general was an Assembly almost as numerous as the Legislative: it had its functionaries, and bureaus, and its galleries which thundered applause. The mayor was president, but he did not attend: Manuel was the procureur-syndic; but Robespierre was chief director. The Commune began by seizing on the administration of police: the juges de paix were removed, and the municipal authorities received all the powers of these judges in matters of police. The Assembly, in accordance with the acts of the Commune, decreed that "the directories of departments, of districts, and the municipalities of towns which had more than twenty thousand inhabitants, should for the future have the functions of the police for general security (*sûreté générale*); their functions were the detection of crimes which compromised the external or internal security of the state: every person who had knowledge of any offence of the kind above described was bound to lodge an information at the municipality or directory of the district; a system of information and accusation was engendered. The existing committee of surveillance of the National Assembly was henceforth to be called the Committee of Police of General Security.* The

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xvii., 13.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xvii., 65.

council-general of the Commune of Paris retained the persons who were hitherto employed in the bureaus, because they were acquainted with the practical part of the administration; but they reserved for their own especial care all exceptional measures. On the 14th they formed a *comité de surveillance* of seven members, afterwards increased to fifteen, who sat at the Mairie. "The duty of this committee was to pursue political misdemeanours and crimes, to cause arrests to be made, to interrogate suspected persons, to sign orders for the release of persons, to fulfil, in a word, at Paris, the functions of the *comité de surveillance* of the legislative body, but it discharged them with much more energy." * The committee immediately arrested a great number of persons. The council-general also enacted that there should be a *comité de surveillance* in each of the forty-eight sections of Paris to receive the informations which might be laid against evil-minded persons; and it made strict rules about granting passports. The Commune was also engaged in raising and arming soldiers; cannon were cast out of the bronze of statues and what they could find in churches; even the crucifixes were taken. The Commune coined money, for which purpose the parish plate and even the chandeliers were seized: it decreed that all the church bells should be taken down and broken, except two for every parish. Some resistance was made to this at the church of Notre Dame and elsewhere, but a display of force produced submission.

The Assembly wished to curb the rapid march of the Commune, and it decreed the re-election of a new departmental directory in place of that which had been dissolved. But a deputation of the council-general at the bar told the Assembly that those whom the people had chosen must have all the powers that were "suitable to the sovereign;" if they created a power which controlled the authority of the immediate delegates of the people, "it would be necessary for the people, order to deliver themselves from this power, which was destructive of their sovereignty, to arm themselves once more with vengeance." The Assembly was cowed: it decided that the directory of the department should exercise no superintendence over the municipality, except as to matters of finance.

A military commission had been established on the 11th to try the Swiss; but this was not sufficient. On the 13th the Commune demanded the establishment of a special tribunal to try the criminals of the 10th of August, and generally to punish all who were called traitors; the petition was referred by the Assembly to the extraordinary committee of safety. The petitioners came again on the 14th, and said if the decree was not made, their business was to wait till it was made. Gaston, a member of the Assembly, said that this was an indirect command: they should remember that they were speaking to the representatives of the nation. The Assembly refused to establish this new tribunal; but the next day, the 15th, another deputation from the Commune came, and it delivered by the harsh voice of Robespierre an insolent and menacing address. Robespierre spoke as if he were delivering his own opinion, and undoubtedly the address was his own. He loved to strike a blow without being seen: he was always invisible when the sovereign people were doing justice; and it is only by indications here and there that this man is shown to have been a guilty participator in the great crimes of September. "Since the 10th," he said, "the just vengeance of the people has not been satisfied.—The decree which you have passed seems to us insufficient, and I cannot see in the preamble any explanation of the nature, or determination of the extent, of the crimes which the people ought to punish: it only speaks of the crimes committed on the 10th; and to do that is to limit too much the vengeance of the people, for these crimes belong to a time much further back: the most guilty of the conspirators did not appear on the 10th, and according to the law it would be impossible to punish them.—The people repose, but they are not asleep: they wish the punishment of the guilty, and they are right: you must not give the people laws contrary to their unanimous wish: we pray you to rid us of the constituted authorities in whom we have no confidence, to destroy this double degree of jurisdiction, which by causing delay secures impunity; we ask that the guilty be tried by commissioners taken from each section, without any appeal." The Assembly decreed the formation of a "popular court," and referred to the extraordinary committee he consideration of the mode of executing the decree. On the 17th a representative of the Commune told the Assembly that at midnight the tocsin would sound, that the people were weary of not being avenged, that hey would do justice themselves. Even Choudieu and Thuriot could not endure this. Thuriot said, "It is not to be allowed that certain persons who do not know true principles, who do not know the law, who have not studied the constitution, should aim at putting their particular will in the place of the general will." But this was not the first time that it had been done: it was rather too late to announce such a truth. A criminal tribunal was established on this very day, by the unanimous vote of the Assembly, to try the crimes committed on the 10th of August, and "other crimes relating thereto, circumstances and incidents" (*autres crimes y relatifs, circonstances et dépendances*). This tribunal was divided into two sections; and the sentence was without appeal.*

Robespierre was appointed one of the judges and the president; but he declined to accept the office. He said that he had already denounced most of the criminals, and if they were enemies of his country, they were also his own declared enemies: he could not make himself the judge of those whose opponent he had been: he was also a representative of the Commune, and these functions were incompatible with those of a judge; he must therefore choose between two things,

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xvii., 188.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xvii., 94.

and he had resolved to stay where he was, as he was convinced that was the place where he could best serve his country. Robespierre had other views: he was going to sit in the Convention.

The tribunal immediately began to act: the people were impatient to see the guillotine at work. The first execution was on the 21st. Laporte, the intendant or comptroller of the civil list, was charged with having employed the civil list in paying for libels, which tended to disgrace the nation and to excite civil war, and with numerous other acts. The jury, after mature deliberation, declared that they believed in a conspiracy, and that Laporte was privy to it. He was condemned to death, and executed on the 24th.* The following day, Durosoy, editor of the 'Gazette de Paris,' was executed. He was convicted of corresponding with the emigrants, being acquainted with the plots of the court, and other anti-revolutionary measures. When Durosoy was condemned, he wrote to the Assembly to petition that they would try on him the experiment of the transfusion of blood into the veins of an old man: the Assembly passed on to the order of the day.

It was not known at Paris on the 17th how the army would receive the news of the events of the 10th of August. Luckner still commanded the army of the north, Lafayette that of the centre, and Montesquiou in the south. Dumouriez, as lieutenant-general, was under Luckner, who being governed by Lafayette, had sent him to the camp at Maulde with a small force, where he was employed in skirmishing with the Austrians. Lafayette, aware of the king's danger, and wishing to be nearer to Paris, had concerted with Luckner a change of position: he moved to Sedan with his division, and Luckner to Metz. Dumouriez, who was ordered to follow Luckner, refused to obey, and kept his position, which was threatened by the duke of Saxe-Teschen. He got together the generals who were in the several encampments near him, and summoned a council of war at Valenciennes to justify his conduct by the necessity of the case. The 10th of August saved him from the consequences of his refusal to obey his superior officer. He doubtless foresaw when he left Paris that the king must soon yield to the storm †

The Assembly sent three commissioners to Lafayette's army to carry their decrees, and to administer the new oath to the troops. The mayor of Sedan arrested them by the order of Lafayette, and put them in prison; and Lafayette declared himself responsible for the mayor's conduct. He made his own soldiers repeat the oath of obedience to the nation, the law and the king, and sent orders to that effect to all the troops which were under his command. His design was to attempt a movement against the events of the 10th of August. Dillon, who was under the orders of Lafayette and still at Valenciennes, made his men swear fidelity to the law and the king; and he required Dumouriez, who was at Maulde, to do the same. Dumouriez refused, and was soon rewarded with the command of the armies of the centre and of the north. On the 17th it was known at Paris that the commissioners were arrested by Lafayette. A decree was passed against the department of Ardennes, in which Sédan was, new commissioners were sent with the same powers, and Lafayette was declared a traitor by the Assembly, and an order made for his arrest. Though Lafayette was beloved by his army, he once more found that he had miscalculated his strength: the civil authorities were intimidated by the commissioners, the troops began to waver, and Dumouriez's declaration for the revolution of the 10th of August completed the ruin of Lafayette. He quitted his camp on the 20th of August with a few of his officers, leaving his army in good condition and ready to resist any attack.* On the 21st he crossed the frontiers into the Low Countries, where he and his friends were arrested by the Austrians and treated as prisoners of war. He was finally shut up in the castle of Olmütz in Moravia, and did not obtain his liberty until five years after. Luckner at first was disposed to resist the events of the 10th, but the feeble old man soon yielded, and submitted to the Assembly. On the 22nd, Longwy surrendered to the Prussians after a few hours' cannonade. The Prussians blockaded Thionville on the Mosel, and were advancing on Verdun, which could offer no resistance. The news of the capture of Longwy reached Paris on the 26th, and produced general agitation. It was decreed that Paris and the adjoining departments should raise and equip thirty thousand men in a few days. But the enemy from without was not dreaded so much as the enemy within Paris; and the idea of massacring "the traitors and conspirators," who were in their power, became familiar to the demagogues and ruffians of Paris.

The Commune, or the committee of surveillance, were daily making arrests; but the greatest number were made on the night of the 29th of August, in the domiciliary visits which the Commune ordered to be made under the pretext of enforcing the decree of the Assembly for seizing the arms of persons whose patriotism was suspected. The chiefs of sections received their orders: the barriers were closed; at four in the afternoon the générale was beaten, and the citizens were required to be in their houses at six o'clock. On a fine autumnal evening the streets were all silent: neither carriage nor man was to be seen; the shops were closed; Paris was like a city of the dead, and the trembling inhabitants were waiting their fate in their houses. At one o'clock in the morning the visits commenced, and every street was filled with patrols of pikemen. Few arms were found, but about three

* There is curious matter collected in 'Hist. Parlem.,' xvii., 256—271, under the head 'Note sur les pièces trouvées chez M. Laporte.'

† See his own account, 'Mém.,' Liv. v., c. 3; and note (1) of the editor's.

what Dumouriez says of it, 'Mém.,' &c., Liv. v.,

thousand suspected persons were carried off to the sections. The greater part were released the next day, but a large number were thrown into the prisons of the Abbaye Saint-Germain and elsewhere.* Few of the royalists in Paris escaped the search.

During this season of alarm the elections were going on. Those of the primary assemblies commenced on the 26th; the electors chosen by the primary assemblies met on Sunday, the 2nd of September. Robespierre was the first man elected for Paris.

* Peltier, 'Hist. de la Révolution de 10 Août,' ii., 238. Peltier was a royalist, and escaped the search. The number of persons arrested is stated much higher by some authorities.

CHAPTER XXX.

SEPTEMBER, 1792.

France was invaded by foreign armies better disciplined than her own, and greatly superior in force. There were signs of insurrection in La Vendée, and the Prussians, upon entering the French territory, had been received by deputations, headed by white banners. It was said that some regiments had gone over to the enemy nearly in a body, such as Royal-Allemand and the hussars of Lauzun. The people of Paris saw no hope of safety except in throwing themselves upon their enemies. From the 2nd of September, 1792, to the time when the Prussians received their first check, not less than eighteen hundred men quitted Paris daily, armed and equipped.

The last sittings of the Legislative Assembly were occupied nearly altogether with measures of defence. On the 1st of September the Assembly was informed that Verdun was besieged, and that the camp at Soissons and various frontier places were without the means of defence. In the morning sitting of the 2nd of September, Danton, the minister of justice, said: "The commissioners of the commune are going to invite the citizens, by solemn proclamation, to arm and march forth in defence of the country. The tocsin which is about to sound is not a signal of alarm, it is the signal for attacking the enemies of our country: in order to vanquish them, we require audacity; again I say audacity, audacity." The Assembly decreed, on the motion of Lacroix, that all men who should refuse either to serve personally or to surrender their arms to those who were willing to march against the enemy, should be declared infamous, traitors to their country, and worthy of the penalty of death.

In the evening sitting some municipal officers announced to the Assembly that the people were collecting round the prisons, with the intention of forcing the doors. Fauchet said that two hundred priests had already been massacred at the church Des Carmes. The Assembly appointed five commissioners to speak to the people and restore tranquillity. The commissioners returned, and one of them, Dussaulx, reported that they reached the doors of the prison of the Abbaye with great difficulty, and addressed the people, but with no success: "the darkness prevented them from seeing what was going on." The Assembly proceeded with the business of the evening, and at eleven suspended their sitting. At one in the morning there was a report in the hall that the massacres of the prisoners were still going on. At half-past two in the morning three commissioners of the commune, Truchet, Tallien, and Guiraud, circumstantially confirmed the report: the prisons had been forced, and the prisoners massacred.

On the 1st of September the council-general of the commune opened the barriers which had been closed for forty-eight hours during the domiciliary visits. On the 2nd of September appeared an order of the council-general for closing the barriers, headed with the announcement, "To arms, citizens! to arms! the enemy is at our gates. We are menaced by treason. Verdun is besieged by the enemy; before eight days perhaps it will be in their hands." After midday the cannon sounded, the tocsin pealed, the générale was beaten. Alarm spread through Paris; the people ran to arms. "Let us fly," they said, "to the enemy." Several voices said, "Our worst enemies are not at Verdun; they are at Paris, in the prisons."—"We cannot leave our wives and children at the mercy of these villains: we must strike before we set out; let us run to the prisons." The events of the 10th of August were not forgotten, nor had the thirst for vengeance been satisfied. Hatred of enemies real and imaginary, long-suppressed vindictive feelings, and fear, the mother of cruelty, all combined to rouse a suspicious people to frenzy. It was Sunday too, an idle day: the people had been called to arms, to march against the enemy; but the enemy was no nearer on Sunday than the day before. The alarm was raised for some other purpose.

Four vehicles, each containing four persons who had been arrested, were conveying them from the Hôtel de Ville, after having been examined by Billaud-Varennes, the substitute of the procureur of the commune, to the Abbaye. They were escorted by Breton and Marseillais federates, and followed by a crowd of people. A prisoner who was in the last carriage put his arm out of the door, and struck one of the federates with a cane. The man drew his sabre, mounted the steps, and plunged it thrice into the body of the pri-

soner. "Kill them all," was the cry; "they are villains, they are aristocrats;" and the three remaining prisoners were massacred, while the vehicle was still moving. The carriages proceeded on their way, three filled with the living, and the fourth and last with the dead, the crowd increasing, the howlings growing more frightful. On reaching the Abbaye, the four dead bodies were thrown into the court, and as the twelve prisoners stepped out of the carriages, two were murdered. The rest made their way to the committee of the section which was sitting at the Abbaye, but before any examination could be commenced, seven of them were pierced with pikes, bayonets, and sabres, by the furious crowd who followed them. One of the three, the Abbé Sicard, the instructor of the deaf and dumb, was saved by the generous devotion of a watchmaker named Monnot, who threw himself between Sicard and the assassins, saying, "Kill me rather than sacrifice a man who is useful to his country." In the confusion the committee withdrew the prisoners to the end of the room, and all three sat down at the table as if they belonged to the committee and were deliberating with them. Their presence of mind saved Sicard and his companions, for a moment after some furious men entered, calling loud for the head of the Abbé Sicard; but fortunately they did not know the Abbé: they passed close by him while he was writing at the table, and went out believing that he was among the dead.*

It was five in the evening when Billaud-Varennes appeared in his official scarf, his small puce coat, and his black wig. He stepped over the dead bodies, and made a short address to the people, concluding with these words: "People, thou killest thy enemies, thou doest thy duty." "There is nothing more to do here," said a man, "let us go to the Carmes." This man was Maillard, who led the women to Versailles on the 5th of October.

The prison Des Carmes, formerly a convent, was a huge building, with cloisters, a church on one side, and surrounded by courts and gardens. It was the prison of the priests who had been condemned to deportation. A body of gendarmerie and of the National Guard was posted there, but on the morning of the 2nd of September the posts had been purposely weakened. In the afternoon the assassins forced the gates and closed them behind them. They were not all men of the lowest class; there were young men well-dressed, armed with pistols and sporting guns, and headed by Cerat, who was well acquainted with Marat and Danton. The priests were shot down in the gardens, in the cloisters, in the cells. The gates were opened from time to time, and carts drawn by noble horses taken from the royal stables carried out the dead bodies, leaving a track of blood as they slowly moved along. Hideous looking men, women, and children, all in rags, attracted by the noise, crowded round the doors of the prison, and followed the dead-carts, howling the 'Marseillaise.' The assassins were few, the victims many, and night came before the bloody work was finished. The priests who had not been killed in the courts and gardens were driven into the church, and brought out one by one to be massacred. The archbishop of Arles was one of the first who was called out. "It is thou," said a Marseillais, "who didst cause the blood of the patriots at Arles to flow." "I," said the archbishop, "I never did any harm to any one in my life." He fell beneath three successive blows without uttering a word. The bishop of Beauvais embraced the altar till he was summoned to his death: he met it with the same calmness and dignity as if he had been discharging the ceremonials of his church. Hébert, the king's confessor and comforter on the night of the 10th of August, was among the victims. The last was the bishop of Saintes, who was lying wounded on a mattress in the church. The gendarmes, who were stationed there and standing round the bishop, were more numerous and better armed than the assassins, but they gave him up. The massacre lasted four hours: one hundred and ninety bodies were carried away.

It is uncertain whether the massacre at the Carmes preceded the evening massacres at the Abbaye; nor is Maillard's part in the affair at the Carmes clearly stated by any authority. The proceedings at the Abbaye are attested by better evidence, and though there is some discrepancy in the accounts of what took place here, the main facts are proved by the entries on the prison rolls. Maillard, it is said, came with his band, or part of them, to the Abbaye, and they called for something to drink; and the committee of the section, who were much alarmed, gave them an order on a neighbouring wine-merchant. They drank, and looked on the dead bodies lying in the court of the Abbaye, and then they began to think of the living persons who were shut up there. A tribunal for the trial of the prisoners was formed in a room in front of the door which opened upon the court. Maillard was the president, and twelve men constituted a body of judges. They seated themselves round a table. The form of examination was very brief: the main thing was to identify the prisoners with the assistance of the prison-rolls, which were brought to them. To prevent all violent scenes before the judges, the sentence of death was not pronounced, but the expression, "To the prison of La Force," was the signal of death. When this was uttered, the door was opened which led into the court, the prisoner passed through, and the murderers fell upon him.

A voice cried out that there were Swiss in the prison, and not one of them ought to escape. There were thirty-eight, and they were all condemned in a body. Maillard pronounced judgment: "You assas-

* These facts are stated in a pamphlet, entitled 'La Vérité toute entière sur les vrais auteurs de la journée de 2 Septembre, 1792, &c.,' by Méhée fils, an eye-witness. Sicard's own account, entitled 'Relation adressée par l'Abbé Sicard, &c.,' differs in some respects from the other narrative. One may suspect Sicard of a little embellishment. Méhée was secrétaire-greffier of the Commune on the 10th of August.

sinated the people on the 10th of August; they now call for vengeance; you must go to La Force." "Mercy, mercy," cried the Swiss. "You are only going to be taken to La Force," said Maillard coolly, "perhaps you will find mercy there." The cries of the people who were thirsting for their blood told them that this was a mockery. Their shrieks and lamentations were horrible. One of the judges said, "Let us see which of you will go out first;" but all instinctively shrunk back from the door which led to death. At last a young man sprang forward, and said, "I will set the example: which way must I go?" The door was opened, and the assassins made way for him. He looked calmly around at the closing circle of pikes, sabres, and bayonets, crossed his arms, stood still for a moment, and then threw himself on the murderous weapons. The butchers took the Swiss out one after another, and massacred all. Only one escaped, and he was saved by a Marseillais, who sprung forward at the risk of his own life, declaring that the youth was not one of the soldiers of the 10th of August. Major Reding, the commander of these Swiss, had been wounded on the 10th of August, and was now lying on a mattress in a corner of the chapel. The men were drinking after their bloody work; and Reding thought that he was forgotten. But the bodies were counted, and one more victim was wanting. The unfortunate officer, whose thigh was broken by a ball, was found by his assassins, dragged from his mattress, and released from his tortures by a blow of a sabre.

Montmorin, the ex-minister, had been examined some days before by the Assembly. Brissot and Gensonné had by their questions thrown great odium on him, and he was sent to the Abbaye.* He was now brought before the tribunal. The president was proceeding to question him, but Montmorin replied that he did not acknowledge the president and his associates as his judges. "Mr. President," said one of the standers by, "the crimes of M. Montmorin are known; I ask that he be sent to La Force." "You must go to La Force," said Maillard. "Mr. President," said Montmorin in a sneering tone, "since you are so called, I beg you will let me have a coach." "You shall have one," said Maillard. A man pretended to go and call a coach. "Monsieur," said he to Montmorin, "the coach is at the door." The ex-minister asked for his watch and other things which he had left in his chamber. He was told that they would be sent to him. He went to the door, and his murderers transfixed him with their pikes.

Thierry, the king's valet, was called, his name being on the list of prisoners. He had nothing to say that could help him: "You will never convince us," said one of the judges, "that you are not an aristocrat; you were too near the Veto: like master, like servant." The president gave the word, "To La Force;" and Thierry in a few minutes was no more. He is said to have died calling out "Vive le Roi!" Two forgers of forty sous notes were disposed of summarily in the same way in the name of the sovereign people.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xvii., 103.

I have forgotten, says Méhée, one more crime committed by these self-appointed agents of the sovereign people. Though the operations of murder were effected with great rapidity, they had still time to strip their victims: watches, rings, diamonds, assignats, were pocketed by these ruffians, or put aside in baskets and cases.*

The massacres were suspended late at night: the murderers were weary with their work; but they began again on the morning of the 3rd of September. Méhée, who speaks as an eye-witness, says that Billaud came again about midday on the 3rd, and addressed the murderers in these terms: "Respected citizens, you have just massacred a number of villains: you have saved the country; all France owes you eternal gratitude; the municipality does not know how to acquit itself of its debt to you; doubtless the booty and the spoils of these villains (pointing to the dead bodies) belong to those who have delivered us from them; but without considering that this is a sufficient recompense, I am instructed to offer to each of you twenty-four livres, which shall be paid to you immediately. Respected citizens, continue your work, and the country will give you fresh thanks." Billaud-Varennes was the man who, in his capacity of substitute to the procureur of the Commune, had examined those who had been arrested during the domiciliary visits. After this address, the functionary gave the committee orders to pay each of the executioners the twenty-four livres that he had promised them; but the committee had no funds, and they asked him how they should pay. His answer was, they must make out a list of the men; and he went and left them to settle with the murderers, who were loudly calling for their money. One man held a sabre, another a bayonet smeared with blood; another a broken pike covered with human brains; another again, a human heart stuck on the end of a broken halberd. "Think you," said a baker's boy, armed with a club, "that I have only earned twenty-four livres? I have killed more than forty myself." The committee made out a list of the executioners, told them that the money was at the municipality, and sent them off there, glad to be rid of them. The committee of surveillance at the municipality had no money: the men waited till eleven, and at midnight they came back foaming with rage and threatening to cut the throats of all the committee if they were not paid. One of the committee, a draper, asked permission to go home and get some

* The evidence of Méhée on this point cannot be disputed, and he fortifies his assertion by two proofs. The commissioners, Truchot, Tallien, and Guiraud, in their report to the Assembly, do not fail to dwell on the honesty of the people, and their respect for property. It is true that there was more thirst for blood than for money, but innumerable valuables, which the prisoners had about them, disappeared. Some things were saved and produced with great ostentation; placed even on the bureau of the Assembly.

money, with which he returned and paid them half of their demand at his own risk.*

On the 3rd of September, Billaud-Varennes appeared at the council-general of the Commune, holding by the hand in a friendly manner one of the executioners, who was covered with blood, and he presented him to the council as a good fellow who had worked well.

The rolls of the Abbaye still exist. One column of all the prison rolls was used for inserting the cause of imprisonment, and another for inserting the release of prisoners, whatever the ground might be. The entries made on the rolls of the Abbaye are all of the date of the 3rd, or the 3rd to the 4th, or the 4th, or the 4th to the 5th; and yet the massacres began on the 2nd. These are the ordinary entries: "Set at liberty by the judgment of the people;" "Condemned to death by the judgment of the people, and executed on the spot." The result, according to the rolls of the Abbaye, is this: "Thirty-eight Swiss condemned in the mass; twenty-four guards of the king condemned in the mass; thirty-two condemned separately; in the mass, priests and others, twenty-seven; making a total of 122. Forty men and three women were released; and two men by order of the Commune. The result is sufficiently disgusting; but it is very different from the ordinary accounts, which are greatly exaggerated.

A few escaped the horrid butchery at the Abbaye. Sombreuil, the governor of the Invalides, was brought before Maillard's tribunal, and condemned. His daughter, who had been arrested with him, refused to quit the prison, though she had permission: when the door opened, and the pikes and bayonets flashed, she rushed to her father, clasped him in her arms, and clung to him with maddened desperation. Her tears and her entreaties softened her murderers; but they put her affection to a terrible proof. "Drink," they said, "of the blood of the aristocrats;" and they presented to her a cup of human blood. She put her lips to it, and her father's life was spared. These men, frantic with drink and fanaticism, conducted the father and daughter safe to their home. The daughter of Cazotte, an old man, also saved her father. He was summoned from his cell before his judges, and followed by his daughter. When the door opened which conducted him to the shambles, she threw herself round his neck, and the by-standers called out for mercy; and it was granted. He was however arrested again, and separated from his daughter. He did not escape a second time.*

The massacres began at the Abbaye a little after two in the afternoon of Sunday, with the prisoners who were conveyed there in the vehicles; and they were going on again at nine in the evening. (Jourdan's Declaration). The Assembly was acquainted with these facts early in the evening. Servan, the minister of war was at the Assembly, asking for four millions of money to supply the expenses of the volunteers on the frontiers. The Assembly received a letter from Sicard on the evening of the 2nd, in which he told them that he owed his life to the devotion of Monot; and the Assembly decreed that Monot had deserved well of his country.† The Assembly had sent their commissioners to the Abbaye, and they had returned. During this very day all the citizens had been summoned to arms. "I saw," says an eye-witness, "the place of the Théâtre Français covered with soldiers whom the tocsin had brought together—all at once they dispersed, being informed that it was a false alarm; yet already the court of the Carmes and that of the Abbaye were swimming with blood."—"I saw," he continues, "three hundred armed men performing their exercise in the gardens of the Luxembourg, within two hundred paces of the priests whom they were massacring in the court of the Carmes." Yet Tallien, one of the commissioners from the Commune, who came to the Assembly at half-past ten on Monday morning, said, "An order has been given to the commandant-general (Santerre) to send detachments to the prison of La Force, but the service of the barriers requires so great a number of men, that there are not sufficient to keep good order." This was false: Paris was filled with armed men, ready to act if they had been ordered. A hundred resolute men could have stopped the massacres. Nothing was done by the Assembly, nothing by the ministers: the minister of justice himself was guilty. Nothing was done by the Commune to stop the massacres: one of its committees had organized them.

On the 3rd of September, Roland, the minister of the interior, addressed a letter to the Assembly, tedious, rhetorical, and feeble; but it is the only effort that was made by any person in authority to check the murders. Written with an honest intention, and with Roland's perverted judgment, it is an evidence of the difficulties of his situation, of the necessity of speaking in moderate terms of that which he abhorred, and above all it is an evidence of the complicity of the Commune of Paris, and of the Assembly. In this letter he expresses his belief that but for the 10th of

* "They came," says Méhée, "early in the morning to demand the other half. Two commissioners conducted them fraternally to the Commune; I learned that they were at last paid by the minister Roland; and I affirm that they were never seen after." This testimony as to Roland is hearsay; and it is not true. The Commune paid the murderers' wages. Compare with the evidence of Méhée the Declaration of Jourdan, "président de comité civil et de surveillance des quatre nations." His evidence is very clear as to what he saw. But he says that the English government was the mover and instigator of the massacres; and he gives his evidence, a striking record of the fanaticism and stupidity of the Parisians.

* The acquittal of Sombreuil is duly entered on the roll of the Abbaye, dated the 4th of September. Maillard's tribunal therefore still continued sitting after Roland's letter to the Assembly of the 3rd, which will presently be mentioned.

† Sicard's letter was read in the Assembly on the evening of the 2nd: it contained these words: "Seventeen unfortunate persons have been massacred before my eyes."

August, they were all lost: "The court, long prepared, was waiting for the time to put the finishing stroke to all its treasons, to unfurl over Paris the standard of death, and to reign there by terror: the feeling of the people, always true and prompt, when opinion is not corrupted, anticipated the time fixed for its ruin, and made it fatal to the conspirators: it is in the nature of things, and in the nature of the human heart, that victory should be followed by some excesses; the sea agitated by a violent storm, still roars long after the tempest has ceased: but every thing has its limits, or ought to have." Roland said in his letter, that the day before (Sunday) the ministers were denounced at the Hôtel de Ville, in vague terms, but still with violence. He added, that on Sunday there was a meeting of the presidents of all the sections of Paris, convoked by the ministers at the mayor's residence, "with the view of conciliation, and restoring mutual good understanding;" but he had discovered that there was distrust. Thus it is proved that the ministers, the mayor, and the presidents of the sections, met on Sunday; and they could not be ignorant of that which everybody was fearing or expecting. "On Sunday," says a prisoner in the Abbaye, who escaped death by his courage and presence of mind, "our turnkey served dinner sooner than usual; his wild air, his haggard eyes, made us anticipate something dreadful: at two o'clock he came again; we surrounded him; he was deaf to all our questions; and after he had, contrary to his custom, picked up all the knives, which we had put on our plates, he abruptly ordered the woman to leave the room who was attending on the Swiss officer Reding."* At half-past two the drums beat, the alarm cannon roared, the tocsin sounded all over Paris, and the massacres began.

"Yesterday," continues Roland, "was a day on the events of which perhaps we ought to throw a veil; I know that the people, terrible in their vengeance, still exhibit in their vengeance a sort of justice; they do not consider as victims all who are offered to their vengeance; they direct it against those whom they believe to have been too long spared by the sword of the law, and whom the peril of present circumstances convinces them that they ought to immolate without delay: but I know that it is easy for villains, for traitors, to abuse this effervescence, that it ought to be stopped; I know that we owe it to all France to declare that the executive power has neither been able to foresee nor to prevent these excesses; I know that it is the duty of the constituted authorities to put an end to them, or to consider themselves as annihilated."—"Let the people shudder, and stop: just anger, indignation, carried to their full height, begin the proscriptions, which at first fall only on the guilty; but error or private revenge soon envelopes the honest man in them: there is still time, but there is not a moment to lose; let the legislators speak, let the people listen, and let the reign of the law be established."

In the morning of the 3rd of September, Roland communicated to the Assembly a letter of Pétion, in which the mayor informed them that he had only heard of the events of the night when it was too late to remedy them. This was false: the massacres began early in the afternoon, and the mayor of Paris could not be ignorant of what the Assembly knew on the evening of the 2nd. On the morning of the 3rd the Assembly was going on just as if nothing had happened—receiving patriotic gifts for the war, and providing for the defence of the frontiers, not the defence of the prisons. They had plenty of offers of armed men for the frontiers. The young men employed in the collection of the taxes came in the morning and offered to shed their last drop of blood for their country. The medical students proposed to form a company. Jouneau, a deputy, appeared at the bar: he said that he came out of prison "with the decree of the Assembly" on his breast, amidst the acclamations of the people. He placed himself among his colleagues; but one of them said, that being under accusation he ought not to sit there; he ought "to remain under the sword of the law," which meant that "he ought to run the risk of being massacred." Lacroix said that Jouneau was not under accusation; he was prosecuted by one of his colleagues for a private affair; and he moved, "That the Assembly considering that he could not without risk of his life remain in the place of confinement which had been fixed for him, there should be allowed him a *committee of the Assembly* in which he should remain on his honour." The motion was adopted, and we have thus the admission of the Assembly that the prisons were not safe.

In the afternoon a deputation of volunteers presented themselves to the Assembly: they asked for arms to go and die with their brave fellow-citizens at Verdun. They received the honours of the sitting; they were not invited to protect the prisons. The minister of war came to the evening sitting accompanied by Roland. A decree was passed, that the municipality, the council-general, and the commandant of the National Guard of Paris, should use all their means and give all the orders necessary for the preservation of life and property; good citizens were invited to rally round the Assembly and the constituted authorities for the preservation of order and public tranquillity; "the executive power would give an account in the course of the day of the measures taken to accelerate the departure of the troops which are to repair to the different camps formed in front of Paris, and to fortify the heights which cover the town;" the mayor of Paris was to report to the Assembly daily at noon on the situation of Paris, and the measures taken to execute the decree. The preamble to the decree was in the usual revolutionary style: it spoke of "the excesses of despair and of the fury of deplorable anarchy." The Assembly made a show of wishing to stop the excesses: its wish, its intention

* 'Mon agonie de trente heures,' &c., par M. Journiac Saint-Méard, ci-devant capitaine commandant des chasseurs du régiment d'infanterie du roi.

is doubtful; its cowardice, the inefficiency of its measures are not doubtful.

Roland's letter of the 3rd was then read, received with applause, ordered to be printed and posted up, a very doubtful measure so far as concerned the safety of the writer, to be sent to the departments, and referred to the extraordinary committee. At eleven in the evening a deputation of the Commune announced to the Assembly that Paris was perfectly tranquil. The names of the men who came with this lie in their mouth, are not recorded. The massacres were still going on. They did not end until Wednesday, the 5th of September, or probably the 6th, when there were no more victims, when the prisons were empty.

Roland narrowly escaped himself. Marat and his committee issued an order for his arrest, which was an order for death; but Danton prevented its being executed, not perhaps so much from any regard to Roland, as because he saw that it was too hazardous a step. Roland had offended Marat's vanity, and had not filled his purse. On being appointed to the ministry of the interior, Roland had one hundred thousand livres allowed him by the Assembly for the printing of useful things. Marat wrote to Roland for fifteen thousand livres to enable him to publish "excellent things:" but he got nothing, though he sent some manuscripts for inspection, the sight of which was enough to frighten any one: there was a treatise entitled 'The Chains of Slavery.' * Brissot's house was searched on the evening of the 3rd, by order of the committee of surveillance; but nothing was found to compromise him. It was manifest, however, that the Girondins were not safe.

On the 4th of September, Roland wrote to Santerre a letter which, in justice to his memory, should be recorded: "In the name of the nation, and by order of the National Assembly and of the executive power, I enjoin you, sir, to employ all the power which the law puts in your hands to prevent the security of persons or property from being violated; and I make you responsible for all violence committed against any citizen whatever in the city of Paris." Santerre answered that he was grieved beyond measure at the excesses: he said, that as soon as he knew that the people were at the prisons, he gave positive orders for the commandants of the battalions to form numerous patroles; and to the commandants of the Temple and others near the abode of the king and of the Hôtel de la Force, to whose notice, he said, "I have recommended this prison which was not yet attacked." These are the ambiguous words of Santerre: when he wrote this letter, he knew that the prisoners at La Force had been massacred.

The prison of La Force contained those who were most odious to the people, the men and women belonging to the court, who had been thrown there after the 10th of August. Two members of the council of the Commune, Hébert, the author of 'Père Duchêne,' and Lhuilier, had established a court at La Force, just like Maillard's court at the Abbaye. There was the same form of examination, the same signal for butchery, a body of executioners eating and drinking amidst their mangled victims. Hébert and Lhuilier disposed of above one hundred and fifty persons in two days, who fell beneath the blows of the assassins, and drenched the ground with their blood. It is said that the judges saved ten women of the queen: they spared also some of the wealthy; the obscure and unknown could offer no bribe, nor promise any. The princess of Lamballe, the widow of the son of the duc de Penthièvre, and the intimate friend of the queen, had been allowed to accompany her royal mistress to the Temple by Pétion; but the Commune took her out and threw her in the prison of La Force. She was one of the last victims. When brought before this self-constituted tribunal, and introduced to it by men whose arms were smeared with blood, she fainted. Her examination was short. "Swear," said the judges, "love of equality and liberty, hatred to the king, the queen, and royalty." "I will swear," she said, "the two first: I cannot swear the last; it is not in my heart." One of the men said to her in a low tone, "Swear; if you don't, you are dead." An executioner took her under his arm, and another supported her on the other side. As she approached the threshold of the door, and saw the heaps of dead bodies, she uttered a cry of horror. What follows is differently told; but she fell beneath the blows of the murderers, and her head was placed on a pike. The princess was odious because she was a friend of the queen, and the calumnies that had blackened the fair fame of Marie-Antoinette had not spared her friend. The bloody head was carried to the Temple, where some commissioners of the Commune, with a deputation from the Assembly, were watching, after their fashion, over the safety of the king. They received the horrid rout—not with a discharge of musketry—but with prayers and entreaties that they would go away. Their prayer was granted on condition that they might be allowed to walk in procession before the windows of the royal family. The king saw the head and recognized it; and he had only just time to save the queen, who was hurrying to the window on hearing the shouts, from seeing the horrid sight. The rabble traversed the streets of Paris, and stopped under the windows of the Palais Royal, to show the duke of Orleans the head of his sister-in-law. The duke was at table with his new favourite, Madame de Buffon, and some companions of his pleasures. He dared not refuse this homage of the sovereign people, who believed that they were offering to him an agreeable spectacle: he came to the balcony, and looked on. He has been accused of having plotted the death of the princess by causing her to be confined in this prison, and directing against her the fury of the assassins. It was the duke's ill fate to be thought capable of any crime; but there is not the slightest evidence to show that he was guilty of this.

* Mad. Roland, 'Mém.,' ii., 37; 'Hist. Parl.,' xviii., 24.



LOUIS XVI. CONDUCTED TO THE TEMPLE

The Châtelet and the Conciergerie, which were the prisons for those who were charged with ordinary crimes or were confined for debt, had received both Swiss and royalists, the other prisons being full. The Commune had removed about two hundred prisoners who were confined for debt or slight offences; a significant indication that the rest were at the mercy of the assassins. The work of murder began on the 3rd of September, and as the victims were numerous, those who were imprisoned for robbery were released on condition of massacring the rest. One-half of the prisoners fell by the hand of their fellow-prisoners. A young man, who was imprisoned for some slight offence, had his liberty offered him on condition that he would assist in the bloody work. The instinctive love of life for a moment prevailed; he directed a few unsteady blows against his fellow-prisoners, but at the sight of blood he shrunk back with horror, and declared that he would rather receive his death from the hands of villains than inflict it on innocent unarmed men. He had made his choice, and he died.

The prisons were emptied of royalists, aristocrats, and priests; but men who have tasted of blood, thirst for more. The shedding of blood is one of the most intoxicating of passions. A ruffian named Henriot, with a band of men like himself, seized seven pieces of cannon, which the Commune allowed them to take off, and went to assault the Bicêtre, the prison of madmen, incorrigible criminals, filled with the offscourings of the kingdom. The gates were forced, the dungeons broken open with the cannon, the prisoners were shot, cut to pieces, drowned, exterminated, all alike, even the madmen: the officers, the keepers—all were massacred. The Commune sent their commissioners, Pétion came to harangue, but it was to no purpose; and yet a few resolute men might have cleared the place of these vagabonds. The last prison that was attacked was Salpêtrière, a prison and the hospital of abandoned women. Here there was murder and violation.

The number of persons murdered from the 2nd of September to the evening of the 5th or the 6th, for there is no evidence of any massacres after the latest of these dates, has been greatly exaggerated. But the magnitude of the crime is not to be measured by number. Maton-de-la-Varenne, himself a prisoner, made an alphabetical list of the names of all the persons who were put to death at nine prisons: his list contains 1089 names, among which 202 were ecclesiastics. But it is not probable that the number who perished in such a place as the Bicêtre could be accurately known; and it is certain that many perished whose names are not recorded. The number of twelve thousand and upwards, which some writers have given, is a great exaggeration.*

The facts that have been stated show that neither the Assembly, nor the Commune, nor the commandant

* For example the list of Barrière and Berville gives 1594 victims at the Abbaye. Peltier, a royalist writer, makes the number at the Abbaye 180.

of the National Guards, that none of the constituted authorities made any effort to stop the massacres. That nobody was ignorant on Sunday of what was going to take place, is equally certain. The massacres did not originate in a sudden impulse: they were not the result of a spontaneous movement. They were organized, and men were found ready to do the work. They were organized by Danton and the committee of surveillance of the Commune; at the beginning of September, Marat was an adjunct member of the committee. A circular issued on the 3rd of September, after the massacres had begun, is evidence enough, but there is no want of other proof; "The Commune of Paris," says the circular, "hastens to inform her brethren of all the departments, that a part of the ferocious conspirators who are detained in the prisons have been put to death by the people, acts of justice which appeared to them indispensable in order to restrain by terror the legions of traitors shut up within the walls, at the moment that the people were going to march on the enemy; and without doubt the nation, after the long series of treasons which has conducted it to the brink of the abyss, will be eager to adopt those measures so useful and so necessary; and all the French will say, like the Parisians, 'We march against the enemy, and we do not leave behind us brigands to murder our wives and children.'" This circular was signed "by the administrators of the committee of public safety (*salut public*) and the adjunct administrators united." The names are Pierre Duplain, Panis, Sergent, Lenfant, Jourdeuil, Marat, the friend of the people, Deforgues, Leclerc, Dufort, Cally, "constituted by the Commune, and sitting at the Mairie." † On the 4th of September the following order was issued by the committee of surveillance: "In the name of the people. Comrades, it is ordered that the dead bodies be carried off, that all the blood-stains be washed and cleansed, particularly in the courts, chambers, staircases of the Abbaye; for this purpose you are authorized to take grave-diggers, carters, workmen, &c. At the Hôtel de Ville, the 4th of September, Panis, Sergent, administrators; Méhée, secrétaire greffier." Panis, the president of the committee of surveillance, was the brother-in-law of Santerre, the commandant of the National Guard of Paris.

The committee at the end of their circular of the 3rd of September, requested their "brethren" to print the circular, and to transmit it to all the municipalities of their arrondissement; but it is said that it was not printed in a single journal of the time. There were however some massacres in the provinces, at Reims, Meaux, and Lyon, accompanied with horrible cruelty. The duc de la Rochefoucauld, the most popular of the aristocratical party next to Lafayette, once the president of the department of Paris, had retired into the country after the 10th of August. He was guilty of the crime of having called for Pétion's deprivation of office, and he was a benefactor of Condorcet, to whom he had given a large sum of money. He was arrested by an order of the Commune of Paris, and it is said, though the evidence does not appear, on the recommendation of Condorcet. The Commune paid the expenses of the commissioners who were sent to arrest him. As he was passing through Gisors with the commissioner, his life was demanded by a battalion of the National Guard of Finistère, which was strengthened by a body of assassins from Paris. The mayor and National Guard of Gisors attempted to lead him safe out of the town, but a fellow threw a paving-stone at the duke's head and stretched him dead. His brother the cardinal was murdered at the Carmes.*

The prisons were emptied in Paris, but that of the high court of Orleans still contained about sixty persons accused of treason against the nation (*lèse-nation*). Some of them had been there more than a year without being tried; a presumption that nothing could be proved against them. These prisoners left Orleans on the 4th of September in seven open waggons, eight prisoners in each, chained hand and foot. They were escorted by Fournier, who had been sent from Paris with eighteen hundred men, to prevent the prisoners being rescued. The Commune paid Fournier 6,000 livres in advance for the expenses of his men. Fournier was joined by two hundred Marseillais and a detachment of federates and assassins under the command of the Pole, Lazouski, who had set out from Paris some time before, probably pursuant to an order of the Commune, and with the intention of bringing the prisoners to Paris. They had however received an order from the Assembly, which checked them, and they went to Orleans to guard the prisoners, as they said; and at Orleans they joined Fournier. After a wretched journey the wagons entered Versailles on Sunday

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' xviii., 432, where the circular is printed; and also in Thiers, 'Hist.,' &c., but with some variations both in expression and in the signatures. Thiers gives the date the 2nd of September, which is an error.

* Dumont says, in a letter to Romilly, dated Bowood, the seat of the Marquis of Lansdowne, Sept. 11, 1792: "You must have been dining at Bentham's when M. de Liancourt received intelligence of the horrible death of M. de la Rochefoucauld."—"I have just received a letter from Paris from the mildest and most humane man that I know, and he appears to think that what has happened was necessary, that it was the termination of a conspiracy, and that without it Paris would certainly have been given up to the foreign troops. It is Cabanis who writes thus. He has no interest in the revolution; he is misled by party spirit; but when party spirit misleads good and enlightened men, it must have some specious form. People have no doubts about the treachery of the court." Cabanis was the distinguished physiologist. There is no doubt that the manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick helped to drive the French half mad. The intrigues of the court throw on them part of the guilt of September.

In another letter, dated Sept. 16, 1792, Dumont says: "The murder of the duke de la Rochefoucauld is but too true: Garat (he was then in London) speaks of it with atrocious indifference: 'M. de la Rochefoucauld, who always allowed himself to be called duke, has been killed.'" Garat succeeded Danton as minister of justice.

the 9th. Fournier and Lazouski had two thousand men and cannon, a force sufficient to prevent any attack on the prisoners. Fournier, with his cannon and cavalry, was at some distance in front of the wagons; and after he had passed the iron gate of the Orangery, it was closed, and he was separated from those whom it was his duty to protect; and there were only a few men marching on each side of the wagons. Fournier made a feeble effort to get the gate open which separated him from the rest of the convoy: Lazouski, who was with the rear guard, did nothing; and forty or fifty murderers, who had come from Paris, spying their opportunity, sprung on the wagons and massacred most of the prisoners in the midst of a large town, in open day, and in the presence of two thousand armed men, who looked on. Lachaud, the mayor of Versailles, exposed his own life to save the prisoners; but six only escaped in the confusion of the massacre. The bodies were mangled, and the heads were placed on the iron railings of the palace. The duc de Brissac's head was placed under the windows of the pavilion of Lucienne, where Madame du Barry, a favourite of the duke, resided. Delessert, the ex-minister, whom the Girondins had sent to Orleans, perished; and Larivière, the justice. The murderers next attacked the prisons of Versailles, and massacred ten prisoners. The rest owed their safety to the intrepidity, the entreaties, and the prudence of Lachaud, not to Fournier and his two thousand armed men.

Lamartine in one short sentence has comprehended the guilt of the days of September: "The design belongs to Marat; the acceptance of it and the responsibility to Danton; the execution to the council of surveillance; its complicity to many; the cowardly acquiescence to nearly all." Marat was capable of such a conception: he had long been brooding over it. But it required the genius of Danton to give the conception birth. The massacres of September were the great, the only enduring monument of the administration of the Minister of Justice. He looked on it as a great political measure: he said, "We must strike terror into the royalists; the people must do something which shall for ever commit them to the Revolution." The inferior criminals were many—too many to mention: Camille Desmoulins was in the secret. The Assembly and the Commune were guilty, each in their own way. The council-general of the Commune did not at the time disavow the acts of the committee of surveillance; and they paid the expenses of the massacres. The proof of their complicity is over-abundant. Some complaint—it is not said what—was made against Panis on the 4th of September: on the 6th the council-general declared that they had no doubt of the purity of his conduct. On the 6th of September, when the massacres were over, Sergent mounted the tribune at the meeting of the council-general: he exposed the odious means which were employed to calumniate the people; he pictured the kindness, the generosity of the people, their justice in the midst of their most terrible vengeance; he complained of the atrocious rumour of a projected pillage of shops and of the rich; he spoke at length and with great complacency on the proofs which the people had so often given of their respect for property; he laid down this principle so true and so fertile in happy political consequences, that to make a man virtuous, it is necessary to appear to believe in his virtue. In conclusion, he moved that the council-general should determine on an address, expressed in such terms as to make the people feel their virtues and fear to tarnish them.—This admirer of virtue was requested to draw up the address himself and communicate it to the council: none so fit as an assassin to write the apology of assassins. But assassination was not all: a great deal of valuable property that had been taken from the prisoners when they were arrested, disappeared. There was both robbery and murder; and there is hardly a doubt that Panis, Sergent, and others filled their pockets.

There is no proof that Robespierre took any part in the massacres. He was not a member of the committee of surveillance, though he might have been if he liked. Robespierre was always quiet when great catastrophes were happening. There were two reasons for this: want of courage, and abundance of caution. No man had done more to inculcate principles which lead to bloodshed and anarchy. He was not ignorant of the projected massacres, and very few people were. It was his principle to accept a deed when done, and to get out of it all the advantage that he could. He is said to have spent a sleepless night on the 2nd of September: whether it was fear, or some feeling of humanity, let others judge. To fear he was highly sensitive; to feelings of humanity hardly accessible.

The most shameless apologies have been attempted for the massacres of September. Those who require the least apology were the actual murderers,—brutal, ignorant men, plied with drink, maddened with fanatical fury. Some of them really seemed to think that they were doing a good deed. It is said that many real criminals perished, which may be true; but that does not diminish the infamy of the deed. The object of the massacres was not to get rid of criminals, but of royalists, priests, and persons who had been denounced from motives of private vengeance. Nobody could call the priests at the Carmes criminals: they were merely placed there for safe keeping, until they could be removed pursuant to the decree of the Assembly. These men were specially under the protection of the law. Danton, Desmoulins, and some few others took care to get a few persons out of the prisons, just in time to escape being murdered; but this does not prove their humanity: it only confirms, if confirmation is wanting, their complicity in the scheme for a wholesale massacre.

There is no great crime in history more disgraceful than the massacres of September: there have been many more bloody. A handful of murderers struck terror into a mighty capital; thousands of peaceable and honest citizens gazed in the stupor of terror on acts which they abhorred, without daring to give utter-

ance to their thoughts; men with arms in their hands looked on while unarmed men were cruelly tortured, brutally massacred; and yet a few volleys of musketry would have destroyed the destroyers. It appears a mystery past all understanding, till we learn that the municipal government of Paris was itself the murderer, that the commandant of its troops was himself an accomplice, through his dastardly fear; and that the Assembly, the body which had sent the king to prison and created a new executive on the 10th of August, began its reign with avowing its impotence to maintain the law, and leaving its inclination at least doubtful.

On the 15th of September the Minister of the Interior announced to the members of the Assembly who had been elected to the National Convention that the hall in the Tuileries was ready to receive them. On the 21st it held its last sitting.

The Legislative Assembly of France began by being ridiculous, and it soon became contemptible. It ended with having an enemy on the frontiers, provoked by itself and invited by the king: the king and the Assembly working by opposite means to the same end. Within, it was powerless, helpless, a name, and nothing more. It looked on while an insurrection drove the executive from his residence: it expected to pick up the prize for which it had dared to hope, but not to contend. But the people spoke in the name of their sovereignty, and the Assembly were silent: they commanded, and the Assembly obeyed. That which the Assembly could not seize the Commune of Paris essayed to lay hold of; but sovereignty impalpable to the touch of many, eluded even the greedy grasp of the council-general. It must still descend, having once begun its downward course; it is at last arrested by the committee of surveillance, secured by Danton's rough embrace, and handed over to Panis, Sergent, and Marat. Sunk so deep, it seems to be swallowed up in the gulf of anarchy; but on the 2nd of September it spoke by the voice of Maillard, and, in the name of the People, sovereignty exercised its highest attributes; it dispensed life and death; it commanded, and was obeyed.*

* The eighteenth volume of the 'Hist. Parlem.,' pp. 70—446, contains reprints of several scarce pamphlets and documents on the events of September. The 'Histoire des Hommes de Proie,' though evidently written with exaggeration, is one of the most lively and interesting of these documents. It gives an insight into the system of plunder, which historians, particularly French historians, touch rather slightly upon. This pamphlet is by Roch Marcandier, who had been secretary to Camille Desmoulins. He was guillotined by order of the revolutionary tribunal for having written that the Convention were a parcel of villains. This volume also contains, 'Etat des sommes payées par la trésorerie de la Commune de Paris sur le compte rendu du conseil-général pour dépenses occasionnées par la révolution du 10 Août, 1792;' but the title is not complete: it contains also sums paid for the expenses "occasioned by the murders of September." The massacres of September have been a fine theme for ornamental writing. "What do you think," said Talleyrand, "that Garat sees in the revolution of the 10th of August? He sees nothing but a fine page for his history."

For further particulars as to the massacres of September, may be compared Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' vii., c. 32; Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. xxv., xxvi.; and Madame de Staël, 'Considérations,' &c., troisième partie, chap. 10. She was then the wife of M. de Staël, the Swedish ambassador at Paris. He was absent in September, and his wife was arrested, but set at liberty. Santerre guarded Madame de Staël's carriage for two hours against being plundered: it was a pretext for not looking after the prisons. The commandant-general of Paris was seated for two hours on the box of the carriage, and he made a merit of his services; but Madame de Staël reminded him that he ought to have been somewhere else. Her account of Manuel shows that he was governed by terror like many others who were implicated in these guilty deeds of September.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE ARGONNE.

The only declared enemies of France were Russia, Prussia, and the Austrians. Of the German states, the three ecclesiastical electors, and the two landgraves of Hesse, had joined the coalition: the rest looked on. France is defended on the east by the Rhine and the mountains of the Vosges. On the north the defence was a line of strong places extending from Dunkerque to the Meuse; the course of the Meuse and the Moselle, and the places upon these rivers form the defences on the north-east. The enemy entered France on the north-east between Sedan and Metz, while the duke of Saxe-Teschen threatened the strong places on the frontier of the Low Countries. Metz was masqued by a strong force of the coalition. On the 22nd of July the king of Prussia was at Coblenz. On the 5th of August the Prussian army marched from Coblenz, and the different corps formed a junction between Treves and Saarbruck; on the 19th the Prussians and Austrians invested Longwy, which capitulated on the 23rd. The object in taking Longwy was to keep the communication open with Luxembourg, from which the Prussians drew their supplies; but they left Montmédy, which, by its position, was adapted to intercept the communication with Luxembourg.

The French forces were ill disposed to resist this invasion. There were thirty thousand men in the several camps of Lille, Maulde, and Maubeuge, to protect the frontier of the Low Countries. The army of Lafayette at Sedan consisted of twenty-three thousand men, deserted by their general, and divided in



TURGOT

an original Picture in the Gallery of the Louvre

opinion. Luckner was (August 5) with twenty-five thousand men, at Richemont, between Thionville and Metz; and Kellermann was at Lauterbourg on the Rhine, a hundred miles east of Luckner. Custine was at Landau, north of Lauterbourg, and as distant from Luckner as Kellermann was. Biron, in Alsace, was still further from the seat of war. When Longwy capitulated, Luckner retired to the camp of Frescati, in the rear of Metz; and on the 30th of August the Prussians invested Verdun.

On the 17th of August, in his camp at Maulde, Dumouriez received intelligence that he was appointed to the command of the army of Lafayette. Dumouriez wished Dillon to take the command of Lafayette's army, that he might be enabled to execute his favourite plan for the invasion of the Low Countries. But the executive council of Paris did not consider an attack on the Low Countries advisable under the circumstances, and the frontier of the Meuse required protection. Accordingly, Dumouriez was ordered to join the army of Sedan, and Kellermann to take the command of the army of the centre. Dumouriez arrived at Sedan on the 28th of August. The troops viewed him with dislike, because he was the enemy of Lafayette, whom they loved; he was considered to be the author of this unfortunate war, and nothing was expected from one who was allowed to be skilful with his pen, but supposed to have no knowledge of war. But the general's self-confidence and firmness soon gave his men a better opinion of him. He found 23,000 men at Sedan, in a state of great insubordination; and he had opposed to him 80,000 well-disciplined men, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, accompanied by the King of Prussia. It was the opinion of Dumouriez that if the Duke of Brunswick, between the 22nd and 28th, had pushed on 10,000 men against Sedan, the army of Lafayette would have been dispersed.

The Prussians held Longwy: they had blockaded Thionville, which is about twenty miles north of Metz, and they were marching on Verdun. If the Prussians took Verdun, the way was open to Châlons on the Marne, and they would then be on the high road to Paris, with nothing to stop them. On the evening of the 28th of August Dumouriez held a council of war at Sedan. It was the opinion of Dillon and of the rest of the council that they should place the Marne between themselves and the enemy, and reach Châlons, if they could, before the Prussians, who were much nearer to this important place at Verdun than Dumouriez was at Sedan. The army certainly could not remain inactive at Sedan; but Dumouriez did not adopt the advice of the council, and he formed a plan of his own.

A few miles south of Sedan commences the forest of the Argonne, which runs in a general north and south direction as far as Passavant, which is three or four miles south of Sainte-Menehould. As far south as Grandpré it lies on the east bank of the Aisne: south of Grandpré it fills up the space between the Aisne and its tributary, the Aire. It separates the fertile country formerly called Les Évêchés, or the bishoprics of Metz, Verdun, and Toul, from the wide, dreary, and barren plains of Champagne, where there is neither wood, nor water, nor grass. The Argonne has an irregular surface, intersected by high grounds, rivers, streams, and swamps, which render the forest impassable for an army, except by five routes which cross it from east to west. The forest extends about forty miles from north to south, with a breadth varying from ten or twelve miles to about two miles. These five passages, from north to south, are Chêne Populeux, through which the road passes from Sedan to Rethel; Croix aux Bois, through which there is a road from Briquenay to Vouziers; Grandpré, by which passes the great road from Stenay to Rheims; La Chalade, which lies on the road between Sainte-Menehould and Varennes; and the fifth, Les Islettes, is that through which the great road passes from Verdun to Paris by Sainte-Menehould. The plan of Dumouriez was to occupy these five passages, and to dispute them against the Prussians; and it happened that the allies of Louis lost their time and their opportunity in this forest, in which Louis himself was out-generalled by Drouet, who, on horseback, took the short cut from Sainte-Menehould to Varennes, while the king went round by Clermont in the Argonne, in his big coach with his baggage.

From 40,000 to 50,000 Prussians were now besieging Verdun: and the Austrian general, Clairfayt, was at Stenay, which is lower down the Meuse, with 20,000 men. General Duval was ordered by Dumouriez to move from Pont sur Sambre, and to reach Chêne Populeux on the 7th. Colonel Galbaud, who had been sent with two battalions to Verdun, was not able to enter the place, and had retreated to Sainte-Menehould. Dumouriez was informed of this movement on the 30th of August, and sent Galbaud orders to occupy the Islettes, with an assurance that he would soon be strengthened. On the 31st, Dumouriez marched from Sedan along the eastern border of the Argonne, between the forest and the Meuse. He had to pass Clairfayt's army at Stenay, the advanced posts of which were attacked, according to the orders of Dumouriez, by General Miaczinski with 1500 men. Clairfayt gave way, and, as Dumouriez had anticipated, crossed the Meuse to occupy the strong camp of Brouenne, and left the road open. Dillon advanced from Mouzon, between Sedan and Stenay, to Varennes, and occupied La Chalade and Les Islettes. On the 4th of September, Dumouriez occupied the camp of Grandpré. This position was very strong. The ground lies between the junction of the Aisne and the Aire, supported by the town of Grandpré on the left, and Marque on the right. It is a high amphitheatre, bounded by the forest on the right, and the Aire on the left; and in front of the camp is a low tract of ground running along the course of the Aire from Marque to Grandpré. The Aire is crossed by a stone bridge at Grandpré, and in front of the Aire, Dumouriez disposed his advanced posts. In his rear was the village of Senucq, where he placed

his park of artillery; and behind his camp flowed the Aisne, over which there was a bridge. The enemy must first carry the advanced posts north of the Aire, and then cross the Aire. After crossing the river he would be in a basin, exposed to the fire from the heights of Marque, the fort of Grandpré, and the whole of the front of the French camp. To force such a position would cost many thousand men, and Dumouriez could retreat over the Aisne, and occupy a strong position at Autry, a little further south on the same river. On the 7th, General Duval occupied Chêne Populeux; and on the same day Beurnonville left the camp at Maulde with nine thousand men to join Dumouriez. In a few days Dumouriez summoned Duval to Grandpré, and he was replaced by General Dubouquet.

On the 2nd of September, Verdun surrendered without having made any defence; and the commander Beaurepaire, who had been compelled by the magistrates and the people to capitulate, and had no sufficient support in his inexperienced and feeble garrison, unwilling to survive the disgrace, blew out his brains.* Dumouriez was not discouraged: he wrote to Servan, the minister of war: "Verdun is taken; I await the Prussians; the camp of Grandpré and that of the Islettes are our Thermopylæ; but I shall be more fortunate than Leonidas." He had, however, only twenty thousand men in his camp. Kellermann had now assumed the command of Luckner's army (Sept. 1), and the useless old general had been summoned to Paris. As public opinion was still in his favour, he was not deprived of all command, but he was sent to Châlons to superintend the collecting of the new levies there, and to give his advice to Dumouriez and Kellermann, if they chose to take it. He however did more harm than good at Châlons, for he had always been stupid, and he was now old and stupid too.† Kellermann sent to inform Dumouriez that the prince of Hohenlohe and Condé were besieging Thionville, which he expected could hold out, and that he would move with twenty thousand men past Ligny and Bar to Revigny-aux-Vaches, which is within thirty miles of Châlons, as Dumouriez had suggested.

But Dumouriez had committed a great mistake, as he admits. The pass of Croix-aux-Bois, which is between Chêne-Populeux and Grandpré, was left almost undefended; and the officer in command there had not followed the orders of Dumouriez as to breaking up the road and cutting down the trees: his abattis merely consisted of trees thrown across the road. The Prussians, slow in their movements, did not show themselves till the 8th of September, when they appeared in the great plain east of the Argonne, extending from Clermont to Briquenay and Buzancy. They attacked the outposts of the camp of Grandpré, and were always repulsed. It was a very rainy season; the French soldiers were ill supplied with food, and dysentery broke out. The general officers were dissatisfied: they urged Dumouriez to retreat behind the Marne, and he received advice and even orders from Luckner and the ministers to this effect: but he would not move. Clairfayt was now before Croix-aux-Bois; the king of Prussia was threatening Grandpré, and Hohenlohe was before the Islettes, and in possession of Clermont and Varennes.

On the 13th, Clairfayt being informed of the defenceless condition of the Croix-aux-Bois, easily forced the passage. The entrenchments were recovered by the French under General Chazot, after an obstinate struggle, in which the prince of Ligne, who commanded under Clairfayt, was killed; but two hours afterwards, Chazot was dislodged by a furious attack of the Austrians, and he retreated to Vouziers. In the mean time the emigrants under the French princes attacked Chêne-Populeux, which was defended by general Dubouquet, who hearing that Croix-aux-Bois was forced, retreated under cover of night towards Châlons by the route of Attigny and Somme-Puis. Thus the enemy possessed the two passes to the north of Grandpré: the army of Dumouriez was reduced to fifteen thousand men, by the separation of the corps of Chazot and Dubouquet: he had in front of him forty thousand Prussians, and would soon have in his rear Clairfayt with five-and-twenty thousand men. He extricated himself from this dangerous position with great vigour and success.

He ordered Beurnonville to leave Rethel, and to march to Sainte-Menehould, to which place he informed Beurnonville that he was himself retreating; and he sent instructions to Kellermann to march by Bar and Revigny, and to join him at Sainte-Menehould as soon as possible. Dillon was ordered to hold firmly the Chalade and the Islettes, and to push his light troops beyond Passavant to annoy the left of the Prussians, and to get the earliest intelligence of the approach of Kellermann. Sparre, who commanded at Châlons, was ordered to form a camp of such battalions as he had, and of his cavalry at Notre Dame de l'Epine, a small elevation three miles from Châlons, and between Châlons and Sainte-Menehould. D'Harville was ordered to collect all the force that he could at Rheims, Soissons, and Epernay, and form a small camp at Pont-Favergues, on the Suippe, north of Châlons. The enemy, after occupying Croix-aux-Boix, remained inactive there. The prince of Hohenlohe, who was now with the Prussians before Grandpré, asked for an interview with Dumouriez, who sent general Duval. The prince expressed his surprise to see every thing in such good order in the French posts, and so many officers with decorations: the emigrants had told the Prussians that the army was commanded by tailors, shoemakers, and the like. Hohenlohe had not the slightest suspicion that Dumouriez was about to retreat.

The weather was very bad, but it favoured the French, who broke up their camp in the evening,

* The Convention gave his remains a place in the Pantheon; and one of the sections of Paris assumed the name of Beaurepaire. His widow had a pension.

† For a woman's opinion of him, see Madame Roland, 'Mémoires,' i., 319.

destroyed the bridges behind them, and retired in as good order as they could through the mud and the dark. The rear crossed the Aisne at eight in the morning of the 15th of September, by the bridges of Senucq and Grandchamp; and they were now safe on the left bank of the Aisne, and on the road to Sainte-Menehould. The general ordered the artillery to move on, and he went with his staff to Dammartin-sur-Hans. No sooner had he arrived there, than he saw a body of his own men running as hard as they could, calling out that all was lost and the enemy was after them. The cause of the panic was this: the army, after leaving the defiles, formed in order of battle on the heights of Autry to protect the rear, which was harassed by about fifteen hundred Prussian hussars. When the rear had passed the defiles, it formed on the heights, and the army advanced in column towards Cernay, on the road to Dammartin. Just at this moment, Chazot with his division debouched by Vaux, in the rear of the French. He had not left Vouziers at midnight, according to the orders which Dumouriez had sent, but at daybreak. His men, frightened at the sight of the Prussians, threw themselves right across the column of the French, the army was broken, took to flight, and was pursued by the Prussians. Duval, who had kept the rear in good order, repulsed the Prussians, and general Miranda rallied the army. Above two thousand men out of this army fled with wondrous speed, and made their way to Rethel, Rheims, Châlons, and Vitry, with the news that the army was betrayed, destroyed, and that Dumouriez and the generals had gone over to the enemy. Such were the men with whom Dumouriez had to oppose the Prussians, the soldiers of Frederic the Great. They carried with them to the army the fears and the suspicions of the revolution. There was a fresh panic in the evening after the army had reached Dammartin: all at once the alarm was given, and all was in confusion. Dumouriez, who had been twenty hours on horseback, had just sat down to dinner. He mounted again, and with the aid of his staff stopped the fugitives. Fires were lighted, and the army passed the night on the ground as well as they could. On the 17th he crossed the small stream of the Bionne, which flows into the Aisne, and entered his camp of Sainte-Menehould. The advanced guard of the enemy did not show themselves before the French camp until the 18th.

The weather was bad, rainy, and cold, and the French suffered from the season; but their camp was good, and they had wood, water, and provisions. The Prussians were in a much worse condition. Dumouriez occupied the heights in front of Sainte-Menehould, which lie in the form of an S; the right wing extended to a point on the Aisne, north of Sainte-Menehould, and the left to the great road leading from Sainte-Menehould to Châlons. Opposite the centre of the camp commenced the swamps, which separate the left of the camp from the heights in front of it, which are crowned by the mill of Valmy. On the left, and south of the Châlons road, is the height of Gizaucourt, backed by the Auve, which flows into the Aisne at Sainte-Menehould; and south of the Auve was the site for a small camp between Dampierre and Elise. The quarter-general was at Sainte-Menehould in the centre of the army, which faced Champagne, and opposite to Dillon, who held La Chalade and Les Islettes, with his face toward Verdun. Beurnonville joined Dumouriez on the 19th, just in time to escape the Prussians, who were already showing themselves on the heights north of the Bionne. The Prussians arrived on the 19th in good order, and occupied the heights called La Lune, north of the Châlons road, and opposite to the heights of Valmy. The heights of Yron, which rise above the Bionne, and in the rear of which is Dammartin-sur-Hans, were occupied by the advanced guard of Dumouriez.

On the same day, the 19th, Kellermann's arrival was announced, with fifteen thousand men, most of them troops of the line, and about one-third of them cavalry. Dumouriez sent Kellermann orders to fix his camp south of the Auve, between Dampierre and Elise, and if the enemy should attempt to extend their lines, and try the fortune of a battle, he might choose the heights of Valmy and Gizaucourt for his battle-ground. Kellermann, according to Dumouriez, either mistook his instructions, or did not attend to them, and marched to the heights of Valmy with all his baggage. Whatever may be the merits of the dispute between Kellermann and Dumouriez, after the arrival of Kellermann and Beurnonville, the French had fifty-three thousand men at Sainte-Menehould, and there were twenty-three thousand men distributed on the Suippe, at Châlons, and at Bar, which could in a short time be brought up. Thus the French were now numerically equal to the enemy, and superior in their position, and well supplied; whereas the Prussians wanted both forage, good water, and frequently bread. The arrival of their supplies daily became more difficult, owing to the badness of the roads and the distance. The Duke of Brunswick was in a position that he must either win a battle or retreat.

Kellermann had not occupied Gizaucourt, which is south of the Châlons-road, but he had fixed himself on the heights of Valmy, on a promontory in the centre of the basin, with the superior heights of La Lune, occupied by the Prussians, before him. The Yron on his right was occupied by the French, but it was not certain that they could hold it: on his left was Gizaucourt, which the Prussians afterwards occupied (20th of September). Behind him were the swamps of the Auve, into which he would be driven if he were dislodged from the heights of Valmy; and there was only a single bridge over the stream. The king of Prussia, thinking that the design of the French was to retire to Châlons, ordered an attack (20th September), which was commenced by the Prussian advanced guard on the Châlons-road meeting the advanced guard of Kellermann, who remained with his main body on the heights of Valmy. The French

advanced guard was at first repulsed, but they were rallied. A furious cannonade was opened from La Lune against the heights of Valmy, and it was answered by the French. But Kellermann's troops were too much crowded: his front was exposed to the heavy fire of La Lune, and his left to the fire from Gizaucourt, which the Prussians had now occupied. Dumouriez sent General Stengel to support the French on the Yron, and Beurnonville was ordered to support Stengel with sixteen battalions: thus Kellermann's right was protected. Chazot was sent on the Châlons road to support Kellermann's left, and to occupy Gizaucourt; but instead of moving direct to Gizaucourt, Chazot, while he was on the Châlons road, sent for Kellermann's orders; in the mean time the Prussians occupied Gizaucourt. During the cannonade, Kellermann had his horse killed under him by a ball. Two of his ammunition-chests exploded, and threw the infantry into confusion, and the front line was beginning to waver. Kellermann passed along the ranks and restored order.

It was about mid-day, and the duke of Brunswick resolved to force the heights, and drive the French away. A thick mist, which had covered the whole ground, now dispersed, and the two armies had a full view of one another. The Prussians advanced in three columns, firm and unwavering, two of them in the direction of the mill of Valmy. Kellermann arranged his men in three columns of one battalion in front, with orders not to fire nor to wait for the attack of the Prussians, but, when they were at a certain distance, to advance on them with the bayonet. He cried out, "Vive la nation;" the cry was responded by his men from one end of the line to the other, and prolonged at intervals for a quarter of an hour; it was a shout which announced the confidence of victory. The shouts surprised the Prussians, the head of whose columns, broken by the balls and grape of the French artillery, began to waver. At last they retreated precipitately, but still maintaining their columns, a result of long experience and discipline.

Stengel maintained his position on Kellermann's right, notwithstanding all the efforts of Clairfayt, and thus Kellermann was saved from defeat. The cannonade still continued, and between four and five in the afternoon, the Prussian columns, being again formed, returned to the attack. They were received with a discharge of artillery, and cries of "Vive la nation;" and again they retired. The battle was over: the cannonade had lasted about twelve hours, with the loss of about nine hundred men, killed and wounded, on each side. Kellermann retired across the Auve in the night, and took possession of his camp, while Stengel occupied the heights of Valmy, and lighted fires to deceive the enemy. The duke of Brunswick was not aware of Kellermann's retreat, for he had made his arrangements for a fresh attack on the following day (the 21st). On the same day as the battle of Valmy, Dillon had been attacked at the Islettes by the prince of Holenlohe and the Hessians, whom he easily repulsed.

"Such," says Dumouriez, "was the battle of Valmy, in which each of the two armies discharged above twenty thousand cannon-shot, and lost three or four hundred men, killed to no purpose. It produced a very good effect for the French, in proving that their firm face and fire could stop this formidable enemy." This opinion is no doubt just, but Dumouriez is too sparing in his narrative of the cannonade, and does not give Kellermann the credit that is due for reviving the spirit of the French army. The duke of Chartres,* commanded under Kellermann, and defended the important position of the mill in front of the village.

The Prussians remained on the heights of La Lune, and Dumouriez in his former position, with Kellermann on his left. Thus the Prussians were between Dumouriez and Paris, a position which gave them no real advantage, though it alarmed the Parisians. Dumouriez had a good camp, and was well supplied with provisions: the Prussians wanted provisions, and were suffering from dysentery; the weather was bad, and it was impossible that they could remain long before Sainte-Menehould. They could derive no supplies from the country immediately in their rear, which had been cleared by the French, and their convoys which had to pass through Grandpré, and to follow the course of the Aisne to La Lune, were intercepted by the French cavalry. Dumouriez was justified in maintaining his position, and he maintained it obstinately, notwithstanding the grumbling of his officers, and the discontent of Kellermann, who by an order received at the camp on the 22nd of September, was to act under Dumouriez so long as the two armies should be united. The Minister of War, Servan, informed Dumouriez that his obstinacy in remaining at Sainte-Menehould was considered culpable; but he still refused to change his advantageous position.

Some Prussian officers were sent to the French camp: the pretext was to treat about an exchange of prisoners. Colonel Mannstein, the Adjutant-General of the king of Prussia, told Dumouriez that it was in his power to terminate the war, and that he should have all the support that he wished, if he would put an end to the disorders in France. Dumouriez replied that France had not proclaimed war against the king of Prussia; that if the king wished for peace, he had only to retire to the frontiers and remain neutral; and that as to the disorders in France, Dumouriez could pay no attention to them so long as he had so formidable an army before him. Mannstein dined with the general, and after dinner expressed himself more plainly. Dumouriez, who is far from being explicit in the affair, says enough to show what was meant; that he should use his force in suppressing the new government of Paris; and that he rejected the proposal. It was agreed that the firing in front of the armies should be suspended, as it was perfectly useless. On the 24th, Mannstein came again, and an exchange of prisoners was agreed on, but Dumouriez refused to

* The ex-king Louis-Philippe.

include the emigrant prisoners; and Mannstein gave up this point. Dumouriez then began to show to Mannstein that the king of Prussia was engaged in a war against his own interest, and that an alliance between France and Prussia would be mutually advantageous. Mannstein replied that the king of Prussia did not desire war, nor to interfere in the government of France; and he made to Dumouriez "very prudent proposals" in six articles, the first of which was that the king should be released from prison, and restored to the authority which he had before the 10th of August. In reply, Dumouriez showed Mannstein the bulletin which he had just officially received, which contained the decree for changing France into a republic; and he expressed his concern that matters were brought to this extremity, particularly as he saw no remedy for it.

The next day Colonel Thouvenot was sent to the Prussian quarters to sign the cartel. He was well received by the king and the duke of Brunswick; and from his report of the conversation with the duke of Brunswick and the Marquis de Lucchesini, it appears that the duke was desirous to treat with the general and his army, with the view of using their influence in the settlement of the affairs of France. But Thouvenot dexterously evaded all their questions. Dumouriez in the mean time was busy with preparing a Mémoire for the king of Prussia, in which he threw all the blame of the war on Austria, and attempted to induce the king to detach himself from that alliance. The Mémoire was sent to the king through Mannstein; but the answer came on the 28th, in the form of a manifesto from the duke of Brunswick, in which he repeated his declarations of the 25th and 27th of July, 1792, and required the release of the royal family, and the restoration of the royal authority in the person of Louis XVI., and his successors, as the indispensable condition of the suspension of hostilities. The answer of Dumouriez was, that the truce was at an end.* On the night of the 30th of September, the duke broke up his camp on La Lune, and sent off before him his heavy artillery and baggage. General Dampierre was sent to occupy La Lune with a brigade of infantry; but he found the ground covered with the bodies of men and horses, and symptoms of the terrible disease by which the Prussians had suffered. Dampierre abandoned the place, for fear it should breed disease among his soldiers.

The Prussian army retreated by Grandpré. On the 6th of October the army of the coalition was at Verdun; and on the 12th, Verdun was delivered to the French. On the 17th it was agreed, in a conference between Kellermann and the duke of Brunswick, that Longwy should be restored.

The invasion, the negociations, and the retreat of the Prussians, gave rise to many conjectures, suspicions of secret stipulations, and even of bargaining with the king of Prussia. Frederic William was probably not very zealous in the war, though he wished to save Louis; and the duke of Brunswick had been talked of by a certain party as a man who might aspire to the French throne, if Louis was disposed of. But the retreat itself was a matter of necessity. The Prussians had commenced the campaign too late, they had lost their time and opportunity; and if they ever seriously designed to reach Paris, they could not accomplish it in this year. To winter in their present camp, or to advance towards Paris in such a condition and in such a season, were equally impracticable. There was nothing left but to return through the defiles of the Argonne towards Luxembourg and Lorraine. To attempt to stop the retreat of such an army would not have been prudent, and perhaps was not practicable. To harass it in its retreat was easy, and this was done very ineffectually. Dumouriez was eager to execute his favourite plan of invading the Low Countries; and Kellermann, impatient of being under Dumouriez, thought only of his command at Metz. Dumouriez describes the dispositions which he made for the pursuit of the Prussians; but, he says, they were not well executed. If he intended them to have been executed, it was his business to pursue the Prussians himself.

The Mémoires of Dumouriez betray more than they express. During the negociations Dumouriez said one day to his men, "What do you think of all these negociations with the Prussians? don't they excite some suspicion in you against me?" "If it were any one else than you," said an officer; "but with you we shut our eyes." That which Dumouriez only leaves us to suspect is completed by other evidence. It was secretly agreed between the duke of Brunswick and Dumouriez, that the Prussians should not be molested in their retreat as far as the Meuse; and that when they had crossed the Meuse, the French army should watch the Prussians, but not attack them, on condition that the king of Prussia should give up Longwy and Verdun. The king of Prussia at last consented to these terms, as he was assured that the royal family would be saved, and that Dumouriez would use his efforts for the restoration of the constitutional monarchy. The bargain was a good one both for the Prussians and the French. The honour of the king seemed to be saved, and France was rid of a dangerous enemy without the risk of a battle. Danton, with whom Dumouriez was in secret communication, wished to clear the French territory of the Prussians. He made a show, through his agents in the council of the Commune, of some solicitude for the comfort of the royal family; and Westermann left Paris with the minutes of a report of their visit to the Temple sent to Danton by Pétion and Manuel, in which they mingled certain expressions of interest for the king. Dumouriez sent this report to the quarter-general of the Prussian army by Thouvenot, his confidant, who assured the duke of Brunswick of the intention of

* "This," says Dumouriez, "is exactly the whole of the negociation that took place between general Dumouriez and the Prussians." Dumouriez, 'Mém.,' Liv. v., c. 11.

Dumouriez to save Louis XVI., and regulate the revolution. On the 28th the king of Prussia was prevailed upon to retreat on these terms, and an attack on the French, which had been ordered for the 29th of September, was countermanded. On the 30th the Prussians began their retreat, with the whole force of the coalition diminished one fourth. About twenty thousand Prussians, Austrians, Hessians, and emigrants, perished or were disabled in this useless campaign, not by the sword, but by fatigue, famine, cold, and disease.* The dead and the dying marked the retreat of this magnificent army, which invaded France in insolence, and retired from it in disgrace.

* It is not the purpose of this history to describe minutely the military events of the French Revolution. A military history is a distinct work. But the campaign of the Argonne is so important an event in the political history of the French Revolution, that a brief notice of it could not be omitted. With a good military map it is perfectly intelligible to any careful reader: but not without. The 'Tableau Historique de la Guerre de la Revolution de France,' 3 vols. 4to, Paris, 1808, by Servan, with maps and plans, on a large scale, is a useful aid to those who study the history of this period.

The Mémoires of Dumouriez are full enough as to all that concerns himself; and sometimes meagre enough as to others, Kellermann for instance. His account of the negociations and of the measures which he took for harassing the retreat of the Prussians, must have cost him some trouble, as he had to explain and yet to conceal; though one does not see why he should have concealed any thing at the time when he wrote his Mémoires. The ambition of Dumouriez, his intriguing disposition, and his cunning under the guise of frankness, detract from his character and weaken his credit. Compare Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. xxvii., &c.; 'Hist. Parlem.,' xvii., 54, &c., and xix., 177, &c., with extracts from and remarks upon the Mémoires of Hardenberg, 'Mémoires d'un homme d'Etat,' (i., 458, 460, &c.); the criticisms in the 'Tableau Historique,' ii., 128; Poujoulat, i., 341, &c.; and Dahlmann, 453, &c.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE REPUBLIC.

From the 10th of August the Commune of Paris was supreme. The prisons were emptied by the massacres of September, but the committee of surveillance began to fill them again by new orders of arrest, some of which were signed by a single member; and it is said that five hundred persons were imprisoned in this arbitrary manner, without any ground, or on the mere suspicion of incivism. Marat, a member of the committee of surveillance, covered the walls of Paris with his placards. "The impulse given on the 2nd of September lasted to the 21st; it tended to two ends, one to create an invincible resistance to the foreign invasion; the other to destroy for ever the source of internal suspicions, and to destroy it by annihilating all opposition within. These two directions were followed: the first formed an army, the second conducted to anarchy." *

The Commune sent commissioners into the departments to recommend its own example and to influence the elections. It laid hold of the money in the hands of the treasurer of the civil list, the plate of the churches, and the moveables of the emigrants. Horses, iron, and lead were seized; even the dead were turned out of their leaden coffins; but this part of their operations was given up, partly for reasons of health, partly because it violently shocked public opinion. The Commune had given no account of the moveables belonging to the massacred prisoners, which had been deposited in the rooms of the committee of surveillance. It began to sell the furniture and property in the hotels on which seals had been placed since the departure of the proprietors. The National Guard, which had been recomposed under the name of the armed sections, was useless, and Santerre had neither capacity nor inclination to organize it. The Garde-mobile, the great depositary of the splendid property of the crown, was pillaged on the 16th of September: it was insufficiently protected, it was a rich prize, and a great part of its contents passed into unknown hands, and was never recovered. The diamonds alone, says Bertrand de Moleville, which had been valued by order of the first Assembly, were worth nearly forty millions of livres. There were rumours of fresh intended massacres on the 20th of September, and probably there was some ground for the rumours. On the 18th the Commune mustered courage to dissolve the committee of surveillance, and on the 19th published an exhortation to order, and it exhorted the citizens to protect the lives of those persons who were confined in the prisons. The Legislative Assembly, encouraged by this example, published on the 20th a decree for the re-establishment of order and the safety of the citizens of Paris.*

The Jacobins agitated in the provinces to secure the return of their own party, but still a great number of the Girondins were elected, a large part of the members of the Legislative, and some who had been members of the Constituent. The faction which had ruled at Paris since the 10th of August returned men of their party, Robespierre, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, David the painter, Fabre d'Eglantine, Legendre; Panis, Sergent, and Billaud-Varennes, the men of

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xviii., 19.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xviii., 44, where the decree is printed.

September; Manuel, Robespierre the younger, the brother of the incorruptible; Collot d'Herbois, formerly an actor, and the duke of Orleans, who had assumed the name of Philippe Égalité. Dusaulx, an old man of good character, one of the electors of 1789, and known as the translator of 'Juvenal,' found himself in this strange company. "Marat, another journalist, Fréron, and some obscure individuals, completed this famous deputation, which consisting of men in business, a butcher, an actor, an engraver, a painter, an advocate, three or four writers, a prince without his titles, represented very well the confusion and the varied modes of existence which were agitating in the immense capital of France." (Thiers.)*

The first sitting of the National Convention was opened at midday, the 21st of September, in the palace of the Tuileries, from which the deputies passed to the place in which the Legislative had held its sittings. Marat, in the 'Ami du Peuple,' had denounced this place, because the galleries would hold only "three hundred spectators:" he required a place which would hold four thousand spectators: "the National Convention must be continually under the eyes of the people, that they may be stoned if they forget their duty."

The Convention consisted of 171 members above the number fixed by the decree of the Legislative; but they confirmed "all the elections made by the electoral bodies, and the primary and communal assemblies."† Pétion was the first president of the Convention: a fresh president was chosen every fourteen days. Brissot, Condorcet, Rabaud-St.-Étienne, Lasource, Vergniaud, and Camus, were elected secretaries; a proof of the influence of the Gironde in the new Assembly. The Girondins in fact formed a powerful body, and they had recovered courage to protest against the crimes of September. They also felt the insults to which they had submitted in the last days of the Legislative. Pétion, who had retired from the Commune, and was now in the Convention, was considered a Girondin, and he had great influence in the new Assembly with all parties, except the extreme. Opposed to this party was the faction of Paris; for though the members of the Paris deputation were not well united, they were backed by the men with strong arms and hands, which wielded the pike.

Manuel, the procureur-syndic, who owed his popularity chiefly to his suspension after the 20th of June with Pétion, opened the business of the Convention in these terms: "Representatives of the sovereign people, your mission would require both the power and the wisdom of gods: when Cineas entered the Roman senate, he thought that he saw an assembly of kings: a like comparison would be insulting to you; here we must see an assembly of philosophers occupied in preparing the happiness of the world: I move that the president of France be lodged in the national palace, that the attributes of law and of power be always by his side, and that every time when he shall open the sittings, all the citizens rise; this homage paid to the sovereignty of the people will continually remind us of our rights and our duties."* "Out of this room," said Tallien, "the president of the Convention is a simple citizen: if any man wishes to speak with him, he will go to find him on the third story, or the fifth; it is there where virtue lodges." Manuel's proposal was immediately rejected; but it gave the enemies of the Gironde the occasion for saying that Manuel wished to confer royal honours on Pétion.

It was decreed that "there could be no constitution until it was accepted by the people;" and on the motion of Danton, "that the security of persons and property is under the safeguard of the nation." It is difficult to see what Danton's proposition meant, but it is partly explained by his speech. He was not sanguinary, like Marat, and he had some instinctive talent for statesmanship. The horrors of September began to be viewed in their just light, and people expressed themselves with some freedom about them. A declaration of this kind from Danton would be well understood by his subordinates: he did not want blood merely for the sake of blood, and enough had been done to strike terror.

The Convention further decreed that all the laws which were not repealed, and all powers which were not revoked or suspended, were still existing; and that all present taxes should be levied as before.

Manuel began again: "You have just consecrated the sovereignty of the people; but you must rid the people of a rival: the first question that you must approach is that of royalty, because it is impossible that you can commence a constitution when there is a king." "We must," said Grégoire, "destroy this talisman, the magic force of which might still stupefy many men: I move that you determine the abolition of royalty by a solemn law." Bazire thought that the matter should be debated. "What need," said Grégoire, "to debate, when everybody is agreed? Kings are in the moral order of things what monsters are in the physical." In the midst of profound silence the motion of Grégoire was put and carried unanimously. The National Convention decreed that royalty was abolished in France. Loud acclamations followed, with shouts of "Live the Nation" from the spectators, which were prolonged for some time. The birth of the Republic was announced to the armies and to all the municipalities. The date from which the French Republic is reckoned is the 22nd of September, 1792.

Thus the Gironde saw the advent of the Republic, the name of which had been first pronounced by men

* Chabot supported the election of Marat, and he justified his sanguinary doctrines and the massacres of September: 'Hist. Parl.,' xviii., 49, where there is a very specific charge of knavery against Marat.

† 'Hist. Parlem.,' xix., 35.

* This absurd style is characteristic of the times. Manuel affected a literary reputation: he had just published some letters of Mirabeau, "with a preface," says Madame de Staël, "bad enough, it is true, but still one might see that he had all the good intention in the world to show some talent."

of their party. It did not originate with the Jacobins. "Who would have said, a year ago," wrote Brissot in his Journal, "when a corrupt faction was holding the people in chains under the yoke of a tyrant, that a year would not pass before all this scaffolding was thrown down?"—"Who will not remember with some pain that the word Republic was then almost proscribed even at the Jacobins; that it was necessary to adopt rhetorical forms of expression to justify republicanism; that a man whose business only consists in decrying talents superior to his own, confessed simply enough to the National Assembly that he did not know what republicanism was, that he was a monarchist?" Brissot here alludes to Robespierre. On the occasion of the flight of the king, Brissot and Robespierre were one day at Pétion's, when Robespierre expressed great fears at the event, which he considered to be a proof that there was a plot to massacre all good patriots. Brissot and Pétion said that the king's flight was a proof that he did not intend to abide by the constitution which he had sworn, and that it was necessary to prepare men's minds for a republic. Robespierre, with a sneer as usual, and biting his nails, asked what a republic was.*

The Convention decreed that all administrative bodies, municipal and judiciary, as well as justices of the peace, should be appointed anew. Tallien moved that every citizen might be elected a judge without the qualification of being on the list of lawyers. Goupilleau said that citizen Thomas Paine, who was a member of the Convention, but not "exercised in the idiom of their language," had just observed to him, that if partial reforms were made in the judiciary department, there would be no coherence, and that in the present state of affairs it would be impossible for men to administer justice who were not acquainted with the laws. Danton agreed with citizen Paine, that it was not well to change the whole judiciary department at present, but to extend the power of choice: all lawyers, he said, had the character of a revolting aristocracy; if a principle of exclusion could be established in the elections, it ought to be against the lawyers, who have hitherto arrogated to themselves an exclusive privilege, which had been one of the greatest curses of the human race; both priests and lawyers had eternally deceived the people; justice ought to be administered by the simple laws of reason. But the main arguments for the measure were founded on the political condition of France and the character of the lawyers. The Convention decreed that judges might be chosen indifferently from among the whole body of citizens.†

On the 22nd of September the news of the cannonade of Valmy reached Paris. Servan, the minister of war, read Kellermann's despatch, which was very brief. Embarassed, he said, to select among all the officers those whose conduct deserved honourable mention, he named M. Chartres (the duc de Chartres), and his aide-de-camp, M. Montpensier (the young duke's brother), whose extreme youth rendered their courage very remarkable.

The deputy, Cambon, made a report on the state of the finances, which comprehended a report on the state of the National Treasury, and on the caisse de l'extraordinaire. The receipts of the treasury from the 1st of January, 1792, to the 22nd of September, 1792, showed a balance of above 50,000,000 more than the disbursements; and of this balance, which was safe in the treasury, above 11,000,000 were in gold and silver.* The caisse de l'extraordinaire was established for the reception of the assignats which were fabricated, for the reimbursement of the debt which was then due and payable, and to receive the assignats which were presented in payment by the purchasers of national property. The receipts of the caisse had

* Madame Roland, 'Mém.,' i., 277, and 'Hist. Parl.,' xi., 24.—Who would have said on the 22nd of September, 1792, that, in a year, Brissot's head would be off his shoulders?

† It was absurd enough to decree that a man was eligible to be a judge, who had not studied the law; that a man was qualified to declare the law, who did not know the law. Besides a knowledge of the law, simply as a body of rules applicable to given facts, a judge must know the forms of procedure; and they can only be learned by long practice. This extravagant decree did not pass without opposition, and some excellent remarks were made by Chassey, a judge at the tribunal de cassation, and by Mathieu, also a lawyer. ('Hist, Parl.,' xix., 28.) Chassey, who was opposed to the measure, said, however, "I have long desired that there should be in every tribunal a prud'homme who did not know the law, who should bring the simplicity of his natural good sense to bear upon the routine habits of the lawyer." It is possible in a system which is overloaded with useless procedure, idle subtleties, and remnants of antiquated law, that the original natural sense of the lawyer may be buried in the rubbish that he has taken infinite pains to heap about him. The development of law, which is ever active in a progressive community, cannot find its full expression through the organ of a judge, who is mastered by his technicalities, his prejudices, and the peculiar way of thinking, which grows up in all professional bodies. But to infer that a man who knows no law would make a good judge, because a lawyer may make a bad one would be an illogical conclusion. This decree of the Convention is instructive, notwithstanding its absurdity: it has a meaning in it. The popular belief that the substance of equity, that justice is often missed in grasping at the form of law, is true; and he who has with infinite pains mastered the form, can with difficulty be made to believe that he has not grasped a substance. The minister of justice, himself an advocate, was too ignorant to throw much light on the matter, or to remind his audience that the Romans, who certainly had a capacity for law, and have left us something, had not a body of professional judges.

* The 'Hist. Parlem.,' xix., 49, gives only an extract from Cambon's report, and it is just to the editors of the 'Hist. Parlem.' to observe that their extracts on matters of finance are generally confused, and their figures inconsistent. Thiers states the matter thus: "The former Assemblies had ordered the fabrication of 2,700 millions of assignats; 2,500 millions had been spent; there remained 200 millions, of which 176 millions were yet to be made, and 24 millions were in the

amounted to 2,632,583,166 livres. There had been paid out in assignats, 2,604,752,125. There remained therefore in the caisse about 28,000,000 livres. The report stated the amount that had been received on account of the revenues and capitals of the national property, the total amount of assignats which had been received on this account, and burnt, and the amount which had been cancelled and were ready to be burnt. The legislative body had provided paper for the fabrication of 300,000,000 more of assignats; and the report recommended that they should be fabricated, "with some change however in the form of the assignats, in order that the eyes of republicans may not see on them the effigy of the former king." A fresh issue of assignats was ordered without the king's head on them; but the value of a piece of paper which contains a promise to pay, depends not on the presence or absence of a king's head, but on the ability of the promiser to pay what he promises. The report added: "The demands of the public treasury will soon be urgent; the expenses are considerable; the taxes do not come into the treasury, because they are employed in the departments in the purchase of grain." Thus the Assembly were engaged in two operations; issuing paper, which would diminish the value of what was already issued, and buying up grain, and proclaiming a scarcity, a measure which would raise its price above what it would have been without their interference.

Roland made a report on the state of France and the capital, which was in his usual style. Roland was not superior to Necker* as an administrator, but he made a greater parade of philosophical principles. However he spoke out plainly on the state of disorder, and recommended a vigorous government as the only means by which a free state could be maintained.

But a vigorous government did not exist: disorder prevailed in the provinces; and on the 24th of September the leaders of anarchy were openly attacked. "It is time," said Kersaint, "to raise the scaffold for assassins, and for those who encourage assassination." —"Doubtless you have shuddered with indignation, as I have, at the thoughts of the scenes of horror by which men would disgrace the French name; it is the last plot of our enemies; there is perhaps some courage in declaring oneself here against assassins." He called for a law for the suppression of "anarchical robbery." Buzot said, "We must have a law against those infamous men who assassinate because they are too cowardly to attack."—"I move that the National Convention be surrounded with a force so imposing, that not only shall we have nothing to fear, but our departments may be certain that we have nothing to fear. What! do you think that we are to be the slaves of certain deputies of Paris?" Tallien, Fabre d'Eglantine, Sergent, Collot d'Herbois, all opposed any active measures to maintain order. "The laws exist," said Tallien, "it is the business of the courts to apply them." "You have laws against assassins," said Fabre d'Eglantine, "I move that you make an address to the French." "One of the chief characters of the national dignity," said Sergent, "is not to multiply the laws." Notwithstanding this opposition, it was decreed that six commissioners be appointed:—1. To report on the condition of the Republic and of Paris; 2. To present a draft of a law against those who excited to murder and assassination; 3. To report on the means of placing at the disposal of the Convention a force selected from all the departments. The Girondins were evidently commencing an attack on their opponents.

The Jacobins took up the matter. On the 21st, the Jacobins changed their title of Society of the Friends of the Constitution, for the title of the Society of the Jacobins, the Friends of Equality and Liberty. Fauchet was expelled from the society, because he had endeavoured to procure a passport for M. de Narbonne, when the massacres were impending. In place of the bishop Fauchet, the society got Thomas Paine. Chabot denounced Brissot, who in his journal spoke of a disorganizing party in the Convention; this was only written, he said, to make Danton, Robespierre, and Collot unpopular. He charged Brissot's party with aiming at the establishment of a federal government, which would soon restore royalty. This fatal charge against the Girondins was talked of till it was believed. They were charged with aiming to destroy the national unity, with a design to form out of the departments as many independent states, united by a federal bond: by such means, it was said, they aimed at destroying the supremacy of Paris. The Girondins were not guilty of such a scheme, if there was guilt in it: none of them had gone further than to look for aid to the departments to check the tyranny of Paris; a measure in the opinion of all honest men laudable and useful, which they were never able to realize; in the eyes of the Jacobins of Paris, the greatest of crimes.

The stormy session of the 25th of September placed the parties in the Convention clearly in oppoistion. Merlin affirmed that Lasource had said that there was a party which aimed at a dictatorship. Lasource said that he had not spoken of a dictator nor of a dictatorship, but of a dictatorial power, at which, he said, certain men were aiming, who were skilful in intrigue,

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xix., 39. Under the head of "Subsistances et Approvisonnemens," he said that in March, 1792, he had contracted with a house in London for 40,000 sacks of flour of the best quality, and 67,000 septiers (a septier is about 240 lbs.) of inferior quality; 30,000 sacks were intended for the ports of the Mediterranean; and the rest might soon be expected at Hâvre, Bordeaux, Nantes, and Saint-Valéry. This was Necker's 'Corn Police,' see p. 51; and 'Young's Travels,' i., 625, 2nd edit., who has some remarks on these purchases of March, 1792. "There is but one plan," says Young, "for feeding the people, absolute freedom of trade: proclaim a free trade, and from that moment ordain that an inkstand be crammed instantly into the throat of the first member (of the French Assembly, he means; but any other assembly will do) that pronounces the word corn." See Chabot's and Cambon's admissions, 'Hist. Parl.,' xx., 174.

and greedy of power. "I *fear*," he said, "the despotism of Paris, and I do not consent that those who in Paris direct the opinion of men whom they mislead, shall govern the National Convention and all France: I do not consent that Paris, governed by intriguers, shall become in the French empire what Rome was in the Roman."—"I direct my remarks against the men who have never ceased to urge the dagger of the assassin against those members of the Legislative who defended the cause of liberty with the greatest firmness, against those men who, on the very day on which the massacres were going on, carried their wicked audacity so far as to sign orders for arrest against eight deputies of the legislative." He declined naming persons yet, but he said that he believed there was a party which aimed at putting all power in the hands of a few individuals. Osselin, one of the Paris deputation, called on his fellow deputies to explain: he avowed himself in favour of the most democratic republic that was possible.

Rebecqui, a Marseillais, a friend of Barbaroux, said there was a dictatorial party in the Convention; and it was the party of Robespierre. "That is the man whom I denounce." He raised the veil, which Lasource had only touched, and showed to the Convention the future dictator.

Danton replied in an artful speech. As to his own zeal and love for his country, if any man doubted, let him rise and speak: he admitted that public liberty must be protected by the severest enactments, and death should be the punishment of him who spoke of a dictatorship or a triumvirate; but he artfully added, and this was to show the Gironde what a weapon he held in his hands, that it was said that there were men who wished to parcel out France; "Let us put an end to these absurd ideas, by pronouncing the penalty of death against those who have given birth to such opinions. France must be one—there must be unity in the Representation and in the Government—the Austrians with terror will hear of this holy harmony; then, I swear to you, our enemies are dead."

Robespierre ascended the tribune, to reply to the accusation against him; not that it was his own cause which he was going to defend, but the cause of the public. This was a favourite common-place of Robespierre. He said, and said truly, that it was difficult to answer an accusation which was not precise; but still he would answer. He began with a tedious enumeration of his past services; which was interrupted by Osselin asking for a frank explanation in four words. "Robespierre," said another, "tell us plainly if you have aspired to the dictatorship or the triumvirate." But Robespierre refused to limit his defence to a simple negation. He still went on, interrupted by cries of "Cut it short." "I will not cut it short," said Robespierre: "I will compel you to listen to me;" and he went on in the same strain. He ended with supporting both propositions, to declare it a capital offence to propose a dictatorship or a triumvirate; and a capital offence to declare that the French Republic did not form one state. As to the question that regarded himself personally, he had no objection to its being fully examined.

Barbaroux rose and said, "Barbaroux of Marseille presents himself to sign the denunciation that has been made." He then told a story which throws some light on the affair of the 10th of August. "You know," he said, "what patriotic conspiracy was formed to destroy the throne of Louis XVI., the tyrant." The Marseillais effected this revolution; they were courted by the different parties which then divided Paris. "We were taken to Robespierre; we were told that we ought to rally round the citizens who had acquired popularity: the citizen Panis named to us Robespierre as the virtuous man who was to be the dictator of France; but we answered that the Marseillais would never bow their heads either before a king or a dictator." He defied Robespierre to deny this. As a proof of the dictatorial project, he urged the fact of a "disorganizing Commune" in Paris sending commissioners into all parts of the republic to convey commands to the other communes, and issuing orders of arrest against members of the Legislative, and even against a minister. If the Commune of Paris did not aim at this power, why was opposition made to the Convention decreeing that all the departments should unite for the security of the Convention, and for the security of Paris? He told the members of the Convention that eight hundred Marseillais were on the road to aid in the defence of Paris and of the Convention.

The talk of Robespierre's dictatorship was a trifling incident; but there was evidence enough of the design of the Commune of Paris. Cambon supported Barbaroux: he said that he had seen printed placards at Paris, in which it was said that there were no means of public safety except in a triumvirate, and these placards were signed by Marat. He asked if the Commune of Paris was the whole nation, and how they had dared, while there was a National Assembly, to seize on the public treasury. "I have seen," he continued, "these same men persist in their refusal to obey the law, for there is a law which commands that the Commune of Paris shall be renewed, and it is not renewed yet. I have seen the Commune go into all the national buildings and seize all the most valuable things, without drawing up any minute of what was taken away; and when a decree was passed that these things should be brought to the national treasury, I have seen this decree remain unexecuted." There was enough to prove beyond all doubt the intention of the Commune, or of some of the members, to usurp all the powers.

Panis rose to speak, in reply to Barbaroux, and his speech explains some of the movements preparatory to the 10th of August: he denied what Barbaroux had said about the dictatorship, and there is no doubt that his denial was false. This was however a trifle: it was immaterial whether Robespierre was talked of as a dictator or not. Panis asked what witnesses there were of it, "I," said Rebecqui. "You are the friend

of Barbaroux," said Panis, "I object to you as a witness." Brissot then asked why an order of arrest had been signed against him. The testimony of Panis is not worth much credit: but he referred to the terrible circumstances of the times: they were compelled to act as they did.

Marat demanded to be heard. It was the first time that he had presented himself at the tribune, and he was received with cries of indignation. "I have," said Marat, "in this Assembly a great number of personal enemies." "All, all," resounded from every part of the hall. "I have," continued Marat with the greatest coolness, "in this Assembly a great number of enemies; I admonish them to observe decorum, and not to receive with idle shouts, hootings, or menaces, a man who has devoted himself for his country and their own safety." He declared that his collegues, especially Robespierre and Danton, had always disapproved of the idea of a tribunate, a triumvirate, or a dictatorship; if any one was culpable of having propagated these notions, it was himself. He avowed his system of blood. "I have often proposed to give an immediate authority to a prudent and resolute man, under the denomination of tribune of the people, of dictator, or any other: the title is immaterial; but a proof that I wished to chain him to his country is this; I proposed that he should have a cannon ball fastened to his feet, and that he should have no authority except to take off criminal heads: such was my opinion; I have printed it in my writings; I have put my name to it, and I do not blush at it." He said that if his advice had been taken at the time of the capture of the Bastille and five hundred heads had fallen, all would then have been quiet. He disclaimed all ambitious views: his life and his sufferings, he said, proved that he had none.

It was impossible for the Girondins to remain silent; if they were, they must share the guilt of September. Vergniaud spoke, and he read the circular of the 3rd of September, signed by Sergent, Marat, and others, "What shall I say," said Vergniaud, "of the formal exhortation to murder and assassination which this circular contains?" "Marat," said Boileau, "has told you that he wishes to give you proofs of his love of peace and order;" and he read a passage from Marat's journal of that very day, which began thus: "what overwhelms me with sorrow is this, that all my efforts for the public safety will end in nothing without a new insurrection;" and it went on in the same strain. "I move," said Boileau, "that this monster be committed to the Abbaye." Marat was heard again: he avowed what Boileau had read, "because a lie had never approached his lips and dissimulation was a stranger to his heart." He said however that it had been written ten days ago, "at the time of the commencement of the nominations, when he was indignant at seeing men proposed as members of the Convention whom he had denounced as public enemies, at seeing the triumph of that faction of the Gironde which was persecuting him that very day." He said that what Boileau had read was placarded ten days ago: and ten days in revolutionary France was equivalent to a statute of limitation in such matters as these: he added that his publisher had put it in small print against his will. But he had indisputable evidence to produce of his wish to go along with the Convention, with the friends of the country: this evidence was the first number of a journal which he was commencing under the name of 'The Republican.' "Permit me," he said, "to read to you some extracts from it, you will then see what respect I pay to the Conventional Assembly for its first labours, and you will judge of the man who is accused before you." The Assembly allowed this new sample of Marat to be read by a secretary. It was chiefly about himself, his devotion to his country, his services, his prophecies and their accomplishments. He said, that he flattered himself that the Assembly could no longer doubt of the purity of his intentions; if through the negligence of his printers, his justification had not appeared on that day, the Assembly would have devoted him to the sword of the law. He went on in this style; "this fury is unworthy of free men; but I fear nothing under the sun:" here he took a pistol out of his pocket and put it to his forehead; "and I declare that if a decree of accusation had been carried against me, I would have blown my brains out at the foot of this tribune." The journal of Prudhomme ('Révolutions de Paris,' No. 168) ridiculed Marat, and his pistol, which "probably only contained powder."

All the talk ended with Tallien calling for the order of the day to put a stop to these "scandalous discussions:" "let us decree," he said, "the safety of the empire, and let individuals alone." It was convenient enough for Tallien to stop all further discussion about the usurpations of the Commune, and the massacres of September. The Convention passed to the order of the day. But the sitting was not quite lost: it was declared that the Republic was one and indivisible.

This discussion threw little light on the alleged scheme of a dictatorship, but it marked the opposing parties in the Convention still more strongly. The *côté droit* contained the Girondins, and those who came nearest to them in opinion. The centre was numerous, and consisted of peaceable men, who had neither inclination nor talent to join in a deadly struggle; its power consisted in the respect that the two extremes must pay to a large number that was to be gained for the one side or the other. The men of the centre were called the Plaine, in opposition to the *côté gauche*, or the Montagne, where all the Jacobins were crowded together on their benches one above the other. The Mountain contained the deputies of Paris and those from the departments, who owed their election to the influence of the clubs, or had been gained over since their arrival at Paris, to the opinion that the enemies of the Revolution must be attacked without mercy. The Mountain was not yet numerous: the Plaine and the *côté droit* formed

a great majority, which had given the presidency to Pétion.*

The Convention had decreed that any function of any kind was incompatible with that of a legislator. In a period of revolution it is in the nature of things that principles are pushed to their extreme limits, but this is no evidence that they do not contain an important element of truth: it is rather an evidence that they do; the error in political doctrines lies in the absoluteness. It was also discussed whether Roland, who had been elected for the department of the Somme, should be invited to keep his place. Danton, who disliked Roland because of his letter of the 3rd of September, but more because of his wife, and who was in the same situation as Roland, having been elected to the Convention, made no opposition to Roland being invited to remain in the ministry instead of taking his seat, but he begged that he himself might not be invited, for he preferred the character of a representative of the people to any other. This was dexterously said, for he was not sure if Roland was invited to remain in the ministry, that he would be invited also. Chabot moved the previous question as to all such invitations, whether to Roland or to Danton, who, he ventured to say, had served the public interest more than Roland. When the Convention had decided that the ministers could not be chosen from among the members of the Convention, the question of inviting Roland to remain in the ministry, and also Servan, who had resigned on account of his health, was again discussed. Danton could no longer contain himself: he said, "Nobody will do Roland justice more readily than myself, but I will say, if you give him an invitation, give one to Madame Roland also, for everybody knows that Roland was not alone in his department; I was alone in mine." Roland was not invited, but he chose to remain in the ministry, which gave him the opportunity of writing a long letter to the Convention.† Danton was succeeded by Garat; and Servan took the command of the army of observation along the line of the Pyrenees. Pache was elected Minister of War on the 3rd of October by a great majority in the Convention.

Roland accounted to the Convention for the money which he had received for secret expenses; Monge said that he had no secret or extraordinary expenses to account for. Danton said that he had done nothing during his ministry except by an order of the council: he admitted that large sums had been expended, for the greater part of which "we have no legal receipts." Yet Roland had produced receipts for what he spent; Monge had spent nothing. "Everything," Danton said, "was hurried, everything was done with precipitation; you have decided that the ministers should act all together; we have done so, and that was our mode of accounting." In fact Danton could give no accounts, and he was not bound to give them: the ministers were bound to account only to one another. Danton said that Roland was not present when the ministers mutually accounted, and that he might have been. Roland, who knew that all this was false, ventured to say no more than that he was not at the meeting of council when these accounts were rendered, but he had looked for the traces of them on the records of the council, and he did not find them. Danton braved it out: he never accounted. When the agony of the 10th of August vomited forth this unclean beast, he was overwhelmed with debt, and poor. He loved indulgence; he was greedy after money to gratify his love of expense; and the proof of his sordid peculation, if not direct, is strong enough to convict him of dishonesty.*

The attack on the Commune having been commenced, was followed up. The section of Quinze-Vingts at the bar denounced the despotism of the municipality, and reminded the Convention that the decree for the renewing of the municipality, which had been passed by the Legislative and confirmed by the Convention, still remained unexecuted. Bazire took the opportunity of moving that the members of the present Commune should give an account of all the valuables, jewels, assignats, taken from the royal palaces, and from persons who had been arrested, and which he said were valued at twelve millions. Tallien supported this: he was not impudent enough to resist it: he promised them in fifteen days. The Commune had in fact already ordered the committee of surveillance to give in their accounts, and had set seals on all their bureaus; but these impudent fellows did not yield without a struggle. A deputation came from this committee on the 1st of October to unmask traitors: they produced some papers, and could have produced more if the Commune had not put their seals on them: they could show how a good deal of money was disposed of before the 10th of August; but above all it was necessary that they should have the papers which the Commune had put their seals on. Tallien said, "You have seen the thread of all the intrigues and of the corruption which extended even into the Legislative body." He said that the Commune had done wrong in putting seals on the papers which the committee possessed; it was sufficient to call them to give an account of their administration; "And here," he said, "it is a fit opportunity to do justice to two men, who have merited well of their country, who have perhaps saved it, Panis and Sergent.—There are individuals who now enjoy a great popularity, who will be unmasked when these papers are known." He moved that the seals should be taken off, and the

* Garat, Mémoires sur la Révolution, p. 346. This instructive brochure, said to be very scarce, is printed in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' xviii., 289.

† Printed in 'Hist. Parlem.,' xix., 149, dated 30th of September, tedious, verbose, and in bad taste as usual, yet honest for the times, and, what is more, sufficiently bold.

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xix., 336. The debate is proof enough against Danton. Madame Roland may be considered a doubtful witness, because she hated Danton. But her account of his knavish tricks (Mém., ii., 16, &c.,) is precise, and quite in accordance with the evidence in the debate.

members of the committee of surveillance be required to analyse the papers and report on them.

The Convention were not simple enough to restore these papers to the rogues from whom they had been taken: they acted fairly in the matter. They appointed an extraordinary committee of twenty-four members, none of whom had been members of the Constituent or the Legislative, none of whom were deputies for the city of Paris, nor citizens of Paris sitting in the Convention; and they were to go to the Mairie to examine, and to report. The committee reported on the 4th of October: they stated that the mass of papers which the committee of surveillance had got together was enormous; so far as they had examined, they were convinced that the committee of surveillance were calumniators, that they had no other object than to defame honest men; that they had found papers which proved the innocence of several persons who were massacred in the prisons, "innocent persons massacred, because the members who had given the order for arrest had been mistaken in their names, and the committee of surveillance were themselves convinced of this fact;" that this committee on being called on to prove their denunciations, only produced some letters of no importance; they had summoned a few accused persons before them, "but all the interrogatories which we have put to them only served to prove their innocence, and the calumny, the atrocious calumny of the members of the committee of surveillance."* The matter ended by the Convention ordering all the papers to be brought to a room, which the committee of inspection should name, for their further examination; and that the members of the committee of surveillance should point out the papers which supported their charges. Thus the members of the committee had a rich booty wrested from them, the loss of which to Marat was beyond all calculation: they would have furnished him with eternal materials for his lying denunciations.

* Marat's article (Journ. de la Rép., xii.) on this sitting of the 4th proves his inaccuracy as to facts, or his inveterate habit of lying, and his guilt in the affair of September.

The war and the Commune of Paris were the two matters which occupied the Convention. The Commune was attacked and defended in every sitting. It was the party that ruled in the Commune which was the object of attack: there were still some apprehensions that they might enact the days of September again. The elections for the mayor were also approaching, for Pétion had chosen to sit in the Convention; and the possession of the mayor of Paris was an important object for the two opposing parties. The Jacobins designed and attempted to have the votes for the communal elections, for the mayor, municipality, and council-general, given orally, for the purposes of intimidation; but the Convention declared that they must be by ballot, in conformity with the law. The Convention also released those who were confined without an order. It only remained for them to try and punish the communal committee of surveillance, which they would gladly have done, but dared not to do.

The Convention appointed various committees, one of which was a committee of surveillance, composed of thirty members. The most important was the committee on the Constitution, the chief object for which the Convention was assembled. It consisted of nine members, chiefly of the *côté droit*. They were Sièyes, Condorcet, Thomas Paine, Gensonné, Vergniaud, Pétion, and Brissot: Barrère, who represented the centre; and Danton, who represented the Mountain. Robespierre was not on the committee, and his pride was hurt; but as the committee must have a man of the Mountain among them, they preferred Danton, who was utterly indifferent to all theories, all forms of government, to a man whose head could neither hold nor receive any ideas except his own.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FRANCE THE INVADER.

While the Prussians were before Sainte-Menehould, the duke of Saxe-Teschen marched from Tournay upon Lille on the 24th of September. He had not a force sufficient to take this strong place, but enough to inflict a severe calamity on the wretched inhabitants. For six successive days the Austrians bombarded and cannonaded the town; and as their object was to destroy the people rather than the fortifications and the troops, they showered upon the place thousands of red-hot balls and shells. Lille made a vigorous resistance; and the Austrians, being unable to invest the place and to prevent troops from entering it, and hearing of the retreat of the Prussians from the Argonne, retired on the night of the 7th of October with the loss of two thousand men killed and wounded.* In this barbarous attack two hundred houses were destroyed, and about two thousand persons killed.

General Custine, who was attached to Biron's army on the Rhine, was at the head of seventeen thousand men near Spires. He entered this place on the 30th of September, after some slight resistance. This trifling success greatly delighted the ardent revolutionists: they extolled Custine as the future conqueror of Germany, who would ease the Germans of the precious

* 'Tableau Historique,' &c., ii., 144.

metals which France wanted, and diffuse French principles. Spires ought to have been considered a neutral town; yet Custine levied on it a contribution of 500,000 francs, to be paid by the clergy and the magistrates. Boehmer, called a professor at Worms, an artful and ambitious fellow, represented to Custine that Worms also ought to be mulcted for having been the asylum of the prince of Condé and the emigrants; and Custine, who thought his reasons excellent, exacted 360,000 francs from Worms, and about 1,100,000 from the bishop, the chapter, and the convents (Oct. 5.) The twelve silver apostles of Worms were handed over to the French, in part payment. The Convention were pleased with the golden victories won by Custine, and he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the Mosel, and made independent of Biron. Custine's advisers now suggested an attack on Mainz, and after some hesitation he resolved upon it. There were traitors in the place, with whom a communication was opened, and after some manœuvres on the part of Custine, and no fighting, Mainz capitulated to the French on the 21st of October. This important position on the Rhine, the key of Germany, contained a garrison of about three thousand men, with as many militia, and a most formidable artillery. Custine's force was altogether insufficient to take the place either by assault or by a regular siege, which would have required heavy artillery and operations on both sides of the Rhine. A revolutionary party in the place, though a minority, delivered it up.

These apparently brilliant advantages led to no combined plan on the part of the French generals. Kellerman was at Longwy on the 22nd of October, and might have advanced by way of Treves upon Coblenz, where the Prussian magazines were, if Custine had descended the river to join him. But there was no co-operation; and Custine having tasted German spoil was greedy after more. He had no plan except to plunder; and the free town of Frankfort-on-the-Main, within twenty miles of Mainz attracted his greediness. The magistrates of Frankfort were surprised to see before their gates in good time on the morning of the 22nd, Colonel Houchard, with some French cavalry: being asked what he wanted, he only asked for refreshments, for which he paid. In the afternoon arrived General Neuwinger, with 1500 men, and demanded to be let into the town with Houchard; and on the magistrates refusing he pointed his cannon at the gates, which were immediately opened. Neuwinger demanded 2,000,000 florins, under the absurd pretext of the town having given an asylum to the emigrants, and of the king of Prussia and the Emperor having large sums deposited there. The people were told in a proclamation that the contribution was only to be levied on nobles, ecclesiastics and professional people: 300,000 francs were paid down; and Custine remitted 500,000 florins of the contribution. He wrote to the Convention to inform them of his brilliant success. The new Republic began its career by plundering the republic of Frankfort. It was now proposed to Custine to attack Hanau, which belonged to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, but resistance was certain, and there were better things within Custine's reach than a doubtful contest. Houchard seized the salt at the salt-works of Nauheim in Hanau, took what he wanted and raised a considerable sum by the sale of the rest at Mainz and Frankfort. He carried off all the silver that he could find in the abbey of Ilmenstadt, and took hostages for the payment of the remainder of the contribution that he had levied on this religious house. The military operations of Custine consisted in plundering the Germans and putting himself in a position, where his retreat might be cut off. In fact, the very day that Custine re-entered Mainz, after having in vain harangued the workmen of Sachsen-hausen, the suburb of Frankfort, on the blessings of liberty,—after Neuwinger had got a million of florins from Frankfort, and he himself had plundered the Jews,—the Prussians re-entered the territory of Coblenz. Custine saw the opportunity that he had lost, and had the baseness to write to the Convention, on the 31st of October, to denounce Kellerman as unworthy to command, because he had not prevented the enemy from reaching Coblenz. These and other impudent assertions were easily answered by Kellerman.

The last operations of Custine were much disapproved of by the Executive Council; but the Convention, dazzled by his conquests and pleased with his plunder, applauded the exploits of Custine, and encouraged the people to exalt him to the rank of a hero. He soon paid dear for this short-lived popularity, won by such scandalous behaviour.*

It was the plan of Dumouriez, while he was minister of war, to push the French armies to what he called the natural frontiers of France—the Rhine and the high chain of the Alps. This plan involved the conquest of Belgium, Savoy, and the comtat of Nice; and it had the merit of despoiling the two great opponents of France—the house of Austria, and the court of Turin. Montesquiou, formerly a member of the Constituent, commanded the army of the south. He had been summoned to the bar of the Legislative, to give an account of his conduct and his operations, which were too slow for the impatience of the Assembly. He succeeded in justifying himself, and returned to the Alps.

Montesquiou advanced with the main body of his troops from Grenoble to Chambéry, the capital of Savoy, which he entered on the 24th of September. He was well received by the people, who, speaking the same language as the French, and belonging to France by the position of their country within the basin of the Rhone and on the north side of the High Alps, were ready to accept a union with the new Republic. A tree of liberty was planted in the principal place of Chambéry. Montesquiou belonged to the men of the first revolution, who were hated by the men of the day: and his

* Servan ('Tableau Historique,' ii., 151, &c.,) has unsparingly exposed the incompetence and the knavery of Custine.

enemies, with Tallien at their head, had just obtained his deprivation from the Convention (September 23rd), when the news arrived of the general's success in Savoy. The decree was not repealed, but merely suspended; and the general was allowed to follow up his success.

Montesquiou had sent general Anselme with one division of his army to occupy Nice. Anselme crossed the Var and entered Nice (29th September), which was abandoned by count St. André in alarm, with his troops and the French emigrants who were in the place. The Piedmontese had four times the number of men that the French had, but they were frightened by false reports, and carried away by their fears. The strong fort of Montalban, between Nice and Villa Franca, partook of the general alarm and capitulated. Villa Franca, which contained above a hundred cannon, mortars, and howitzers, and an immense stock of ammunition and provisions, yielded to the French general without resistance, though there was also an armed frigate and a corvette in the port. Anselme, whose generalship was contemptible, was fortunate in having an enemy more contemptible than himself. Not wishing to give the Piedmontese time to recover from their fright, he sent a small detachment to watch the movements of the enemy, whom they found posted at San Saorgio, a post which the French were unable to drive them from. This strong place commands the valley which leads to the Col de Tende, the only pass by which the French could descend into the plain of Piedmont, and reach Coni and Turin. A fleet of nine vessels, commanded by admiral Truguet, with nine hundred soldiers on board, left Villa Franca, and presented itself before Oneglia, on the 23rd of October. Truguet sent some men in a boat to invite the inhabitants to surrender, but the answer was a discharge of guns, which killed several of the men. Upon this the admiral cannonaded the town, and on the following day the French entered it, without any resistance from the troops, which had fled, and avenged themselves by burning houses and killing the people. Several priests who were found in the convents were massacred, on the ground, more likely false than true, of having instigated the fire on the boat.* The French, seeing that they were unable to hold the place, re-embarked, and were again at Villa Franca on the 26th. Truguet sailed for Savona and Genoa, where he had other objects in view.

The conquest of the comtat of Nice had been neither hazardous nor laborious; and Anselme had shown no talent. The invasion of the French was disgraced by plunder and peculation. Anselme's incapacity and carelessness became every day more notorious in the conflicts with the Piedmontese and in the absurd orders which he gave to the officers in command under him. Finally the commissioners of the Convention, who had been sent to report on his conduct, Lasource, Goupilleau, and Collot d'Herbois, pursuant to an order of the executive council, ordered him to Paris; and general Biron took the command. The inhabitants of the comtat were requested in October to express their wish to be united to the French Republic, and a convention was held at Nice to ascertain the will of the people, which was in favour of the union. In January 1793, the comtat was made the eighty-fifth French department, under the name of Alpes Maritimes.

Montesquiou, being informed of the success of Anselme, commanded generals Rossi and Casabianca to advance to Mount Cénis and to the Little St. Bernard, which was successfully accomplished. Thus all Savoy was firmly held, and the snow rendered the possession of it secure for the winter. The conquest of Savoy was not disgraced by any disorders. But the Swiss were uneasy at having the French so near them. Opinion was divided in Switzerland; the aristocratic cantons were opposed to the principles of the French Revolution, but democratic opinions were also disseminated through the cantons. The Swiss complained of the invasion of part of the bishopric of Bâle, of the massacre of the Swiss at Paris, and the dismissal of all the Swiss regiments. It is said that a British diplomatic agent encouraged this disposition in the general diet held at Aarau; and the canton of Bern prepared for resisting any attack from the French by posting twenty thousand men at Nyon on the Lake of Geneva, ready to march to Geneva, if required. On the 30th of September sixteen hundred men from Zurich and Berne entered Geneva at the request of the magistrates, and the French resident immediately left the town. Montesquiou did not wish for a quarrel with the Swiss, who might join the king of Sardinia, and attack both Franche-Comté and Savoy. Clavière, one of the ministers and a Genevese exile, wished to avenge himself on his native country by an attack on Geneva, but the remonstrances of Montesquiou to the executive and his firmness and prudence prevented this impolitic step, and being entrusted with powers to negotiate, he made a convention with the Genevese by which the troops of Bern and Zurich were to leave the place, the French should retire ten leagues from the town, and the French resident should resume his functions. This convention displeased the agitators who were sent from Paris, and a great number of discontented Genevese, who were in the camp of Montesquiou at Carouge in the neighbourhood of Geneva. Clavière did all he could to throw suspicion on Montesquiou's motives, who, he said, was under the influence of the patricians of Geneva. Montesquiou easily replied to the charges contained in a memoir of Clavière; and he set about forming a new convention, which contained some modifications of the former (2nd November.) On the 9th of November, Rovère made a report to the French Convention from the committee

* It is much more probable that the conduct of the French at Nice was the cause of the fire from Oneglia, as the report of the commissioners states. ('Hist. Parlem.,' xx., 357.) "Robbery, violation, extortion, and insult," accompanied the passage of liberty into the comtat of Nice. Liberty, with such a train of attendants, would seem a very unwelcome guest.

of diplomacy, war, and general security, full of falsehood, and the Convention, renewing its decree of the 23rd of September against Montesquiou, which had been suspended on the 26th, deprived Montesquiou of his command, and decreed that he should be arrested and brought to Paris to be tried. The general, informed in time, escaped to Geneva and thence into Switzerland. On the 21st of November, Brissot, a member of the committee of diplomacy, made a report to the Convention, in which after a pitiable attack on Montesquiou, he moved that the executive council should require the evacuation of Geneva by the Swiss troops on or before the 1st of December, and that on this condition the French would respect the neutrality of Geneva; and as to the other stipulations of the 2nd of November, to pass to the order of the day. The Convention adopted the report, and thus in effect confirmed the arrangements of Montesquiou. The evidence of the knavery of Montesquiou's enemies is thus complete. As soon as they had effected his ruin, they confirmed his convention with the Genevese.

A convention, held at Chambery on the 21st of October, expressed the wish of the country to be united to France, and by a decree of the Convention (21st of November), Savoy was formed into a department under the name of Mont Blanc. Kellerman was sent to take the command of Montesquiou's army.

Dumouriez came to Paris on the 11th of October. He was well received by the French people on his way and by the Parisians, but he complains that his reception by the Convention did not correspond to his deserts. He appeared at the bar on the 12th, and made a short address in the language of the period, which he knew how to employ as well as any man.* He came to Paris to arrange with the ministers the plan of the Belgian campaign while his army was moving to the northern frontier. On the 14th, Dumouriez visited the club of the Jacobins in company with Santerre, and embraced Robespierre for the second time. Danton presided. Dumouriez spoke modestly of his services, professed the principles of liberty and equality, and declared that he was going to set out to Belgium to give evidence of his faith. Collot d'Herbois improvised a speech of advice to the general in the most absurd style, to which this supple and dexterous man replied thus: "The eloquent discourse which Collot d'Herbois has just delivered will remain for ever engraved on my heart; it will serve me as a lesson: but it is not for myself alone that it must be instructive; it applies to the whole nation: I move that it be printed." Westermann, the hero of the 10th of August, accompanied the general, and he made the Society a present of a musket which had been taken from the Prussians.†

Dumouriez, the man of the Argonne, and Danton, the man of September, were on perfectly good terms; both unprincipled in their several ways. The general was reconciled to his old colleagues, whom he had once dismissed from office. Madame Roland's residence was the centre of the best society of Paris, where good taste and simplicity presided. The grossness of the Republic was not yet predominant. Dumouriez dined one day with Madame Roland, and when he entered the room made her a present of a beautiful bouquet which he had in his hand, as a token of reconciliation; but he did it awkwardly enough, says Madame Roland, for a man of his easy manners. However the lady accepted his present, and made him a complimentary answer on his military honours. In the evening Dumouriez went to the opera to receive the homage of the spectators. He went about to other public places, and his companions were Danton and Fabre d'Eglantine.

Marat, who never forgot his occupation, did not let Dumouriez alone. Mademoiselle Candeille, who had been a successful actress, and was the author of several works, gave the general an entertainment, at which Talma was present, and many members of the Gironde. Marat had already denounced the general at the Jacobins for his alleged severity against two battalions of volunteers who had massacred some emigrant deserters; and upon his motion, the Jacobins, who meddled with everything, appointed Marat and two other members to question the general. After some trouble, they found him at Mademoiselle Candeille's, and Marat, with the two commissioners, made his way into the house, and disconcerted the whole party by this unexpected and hideous apparition. Gorsas, who was present, gave a short account of this affair in the 'Courier des Départemens.' "We were witnesses," he says, "of the apparition of this figure of the Apocalypse, flanked by two sorry jades as lean as the horse of the visionary of Patmos; this *triumvirate* came expressly to question Dumouriez like a prisoner at the bar: it appears that the general was *afraid*, for he turned his back on them." Dumouriez tells the story shortly. Marat staring at him with fury in his eyes, asked him how he had dared to commit an act of tyrannical violence against estimable citizens. The general eyeing him contemptuously from head to foot, said, "Ah, you are the man they call Marat: I have nothing to say to you;" and he turned his back on him. He gave some short explanation to the other commissioners, who were satisfied, or affected to be.*

Dumouriez only stayed four days at Paris, long enough to disgust him with the state of affairs. The Girondins had still a majority, but he saw that their

* He says in his 'Mémoires,' (vol. iii.,) that he reached Paris on the 16th, which is a mistake. He appeared at the bar of the Convention on the 12th of October.

† Robespierre gave a favourable account of the sitting and of the general's reception, in a letter to his constituents.

* Marat gives a particular account of this affair in his Journal, 17th October, 1792, full of lies as usual. Marat was never accurate about facts. He says that the entertainment was at Talma's house, and this falsehood was afterwards the ground of accusation against Talma by the Mountain, and nearly cost him his life. Dumouriez tells us, in his 'Mémoires,' what he really thought of the Jacobins of Paris at the time, and of Collot d'Herbois' address to him.

power was declining, and giving way to the attacks of Marat and the Jacobins. He advised the Gironde to gain over Danton, who, says Dumouriez, "with a hideous figure, a heart hard and violent, great ignorance, and great coarseness, had much natural talent, and a character of great energy." The Gironde neglected his advice, and Guadet particularly would listen to no compromise with the men of September. Danton said to Guadet, "You cannot sacrifice your resentment to your country; you cannot pardon; you will be the victim of your obstinacy." Dumouriez left Paris on the 16th of October.

On the 15th, the votes for the mayor of Paris were reported. Pétion had an immense majority, 13,899 out of 15,474 votes; Billaud-Varennes had 14, Danton 11, Marat 7, Panis 80, Robespierre 23, Sergent 6, and Santerre 1 vote. Bailly, the first mayor of Paris, had 12 votes. Pétion declined the honour, and preferred to sit in the Convention. These votes are not a measure of the popularity of Robespierre and other Jacobins: their place was in the Convention.

On the 29th of October, Roland made his report on the state of Paris, in accordance with the decree of the Convention. He expatiated on the glorious 10th of August, to which they owed the Republic, and he apologised for the disorder that necessarily accompanied that insurrection; but he carefully separated it from the events of September, which Tallien, Robespierre and other Jacobins persisted in representing as a consequence of the 10th of August, and the completion of what was then begun. As a proof of the spoliation that was committed, he particularly described the seizure, by two members of the committee of surveillance, of property, plate, and other valuables in the hospital at Senlis, which the Commune of Senlis had not been able to recover. Roland had not been able to get any account of this property from the Commune of Paris. He specified other instances of the seizure of public and private property by the Commune. He described the department and the Commune in these terms: "Department prudent, but with little power; Commune active and despotic; people excellent, of which the sound part is intimidated or constrained, while the other is worked upon by flatterers and inflamed by falsehood; confusion of powers, abuse and contempt of the authorities; public force weak or null through bad command: such is Paris." *

Roland also communicated, as part of his report, a letter addressed to the minister of justice, which said that there was a design to renew the massacres of September, and to have a more copious blood-letting: the cabal of Roland was to be got rid of. "The provokers to murder," said the letter, "will not hear of any man but Robespierre: he alone can save the country." But there was no evidence given in support of the alleged scheme of a new massacre. Roland's report was well received, and it was moved that it be printed and sent to the departments. Robespierre rose to answer what personally concerned himself. He was interrupted, and the president reminded him that he could only speak on the motion to print. "I have no need of your officious instructions," said Robespierre; and he went on speaking about himself in the midst of great interruption. He protested against charges, directed against himself in particular, being printed and sent to the departments. The report was ordered to be printed. Barbaroux, the implacable enemy of Robespierre, urged that it should also be sent to the departments; but this motion was adjourned until the report had been discussed, and it was referred to the committee of nine. The introduction of this letter into Roland's report was unfair, and leads to the conclusion that the Gironde resolved to ruin Robespierre by any means. At the same sitting Louvet attacked Robespierre: it was a concerted plan, for Louvet was ready with his discourse as soon as Roland's report was read.

Louvet said that the Legislative Assembly, after the 10th of August, had been insulted and trampled under foot, and there were persons now preaching insurrection against the Convention. It was time for them to give some explanation to France of the reasons which induced them to keep in their body that man with respect to whom public opinion was expressing itself with disgust. He derived from the whole conduct of a certain party for the last six months the irresistible proof of projects leading to anarchy and the subversion of the National Assembly; and he showed that they must carefully separate the revolution of the 10th of August from that of the 2nd of September. The party whom he designated were the present leaders of the Jacobins, who had destroyed the character of a club which had once rendered great services to the country, and who had uttered atrocious calumnies against the excellent *côté gauche* of the Legislative: "There was a man who would be always talking, talking incessantly, letting nobody else talk, not to instruct the members of the body, but to throw divisions among them, and mainly to be heard by some hundreds of spectators, and to get their applause at any price." At the end of August and beginning of September "this man who directed the Jacobins and then the Legislative Assembly, was declaiming against this philosopher, against that writer, against this patriotic orator; it was then that subaltern intriguers began to say that Robespierre was the only virtuous man in France, and that we ought to confide the safety of the country to him alone, to him who lavished the meanest flattery on some hundreds of citizens, at first called the people of Paris, then the people simply, and finally the sovereign; to him whom one heard eternally speaking of his own merits, his own perfections, his own virtues." The revolution of the 10th of August, he said, was the work of all, "but that of the 2nd of September, barbarous conspirators, that belongs to you alone." He maintained that the massacres in the prisons were the work of a small number, that the

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xx., 103—122, contains Roland's report.

spectators were few, and that the mass of the citizens was not guilty. His special charges against Robespierre were either far from being precise, or, when precise, substantiated no distinct ground of accusation. He ended with accusing him "of having manifestly aimed at the supreme power, which was proved by the facts that he had stated and by all his conduct." Such a charge, though vague and ill-sustained, was dangerous to the accused: it was a direct attack on Robespierre's life. Louvet moved that Marat should be impeached, and that the committee of general security (*sûreté-générale*) should be instructed to examine into the conduct of Robespierre and others. This address was received with loud applause, and the speech was ordered to be printed. On the motion of Robespierre it was agreed that he should be heard in reply on Monday, the 5th of November.*

The members of the Society of Jacobins were at this time not so much united in opinion as linked together by being in the position of a party that was attacked. The Jacobins gave birth to the 10th of August; some of them directed the massacres of September: they had governed, and they still governed, the Commune of Paris. The majority of the Convention, which sprung from the Legislative Assembly, were trying their strength against the men who had overthrown the constitution of 1791, destroyed royalty, and compelled the Assembly itself to abdicate and call a Convention. In their club Robespierre cheered his brother Jacobins by reading to them, on the 28th of October, a discourse on the influence of calumny upon the revolution; a specious, artful pleading, wearisome to read, unless we form a lively picture of the times and the people to whom it was addressed, but well enough adapted to flatter the Parisians, and to bring odium on the party of the Gironde. This discourse was widely spread, and Robespierre inserted it in his letters to his constituents.* On the 29th, the Jacobins discussed the scandalous scene that had passed that day at the Convention. Robespierre the younger, said that liberty was never in greater danger; their enemies had more means at their command than ever Louis XVI. and Lafayette had; and there was nobody on their side but the people of Paris. Chabot said that their enemies aimed at destroying all the patriots in detail, Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Santerre, and others. The war of the two parties was also waged by the press, the two extreme organs of which were Marat's 'Journal de la République Française,' and the 'Courier des Départemens de Gorsas,' which attacked Marat unsparingly, and sometimes with very successful ridicule. The 'Epistle to my colleague and good friend Marat,' is a parody on Marat's monstrous proposals, with some humour in it. "Yes, my friend," says Gorsas, "two-thirds of the people of France must fall beneath the dagger of the sovereign; it must be done, to save the country, to operate a real regeneration: what a delightful moment that will be, when France without legislators, without administrative bodies, without courts of justice, reduced to one-third of her population, will offer the consoling picture of a new order of things, of a people conducted and governed by their most tender friends: O Marat, what a triumph! what glory! Then we can at our leisure establish the Agrarian law, divide the property of those whom we have murdered: nobody then will oppose the dictatorship."

Robespierre did not appear during the week: he was busy filing and polishing his answer, while the impression caused by the attack was dying away. On the 1st of November, Buzot read to the Convention a letter signed by the president of the section of the Tuileries, in which it was stated that the evening before there were villains in different parts of Paris, preaching pillage and assassination. In this sitting Jean de Bry said that the Convention must at last pronounce on the fate of a man who had exposed twenty-five millions of men to become the victims of tyrants; and he called for the report of the Legislative Committee on the proceedings to be adopted against the late king. Cambacérès said that the report would be soon ready.

* The combination against Robespierre, the effort of the Gironde to overthrow the Jacobins, was now clear. Brissot on being expelled from the Jacobins, published a lengthy address to "all the Republicans in France upon the Society of the Jacobins," which is worth reading. Robespierre must have winced beneath the imputations of cowardice and treachery which Brissot fixed upon him. Brissot here speaks out against the massacres of September. The opposing factions had their several opinions on these massacres. Brissot and his party denied that there was any connection between the 10th of August and the 2nd of September; they denied that the massacres were the result of a spontaneous movement; they affirmed that they were planned and directed; they were executed by a few, and the mass of the people had no share in them. The doctrine of the Jacobins was, that they were the complement of the 10th of August; that the immediate exciting causes were the tardiness of the tribunals in doing justice, the excitement caused by the surrender of Longwy, and the report of the capture of Verdun; it was a popular movement, a doing of justice, speedy and effectual; an event terrible no doubt, and punishable in a time of tranquillity; but in a time of revolution and of agitation, an event over which a veil must be drawn, "and it must be left to the historian to appreciate this epoch of the revolution, which has been much more useful than people think." (Tallien, 'La Vérité sur les événemens du 2 Septembre.') "A single woman," said Tallien, "perished—the princess Lamballe; but we must say, her intimacy with the most furious enemy of the nation, Marie Antoinette, of whom she had always been the companion in debauchery, justifies in some degree the excesses committed with respect to her." Tallien's 'Vérité,' of four pages, contains nothing but falsehood. There is hardly a man of the period who could match Tallien for villany.

* The notice at the end of the pamphlet states that the society ordered it to be printed, and sent to all the affiliated societies, to the electoral assemblies, to the forty-eight sections, and to be distributed in the galleries, and among the members of the Convention. The editors of the 'Hist. Parlem.,' xx., 9, have printed the pamphlet at length.

On the 3rd of November a deputation of federates appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and called for measures to establish the reign of the laws, respect to the Convention, and to destroy the anarchists; and this, they said, was to be effected by a federation of the citizens of the departments with those of Paris. The number of these federates from the departments was daily increasing; and Pache, the minister of war, said, in reply to the Commune, several sections of which had expressed uneasiness at seeing in Paris troops who were not expected, and the purpose of which was unknown, that he had not invited them, that he knew no reason for their being in Paris, and that the first order they would receive from him would be to go away. He said, however, that the object of these federates was not to second the projects of any evil-minded persons; their object was to serve the Republic, and he advised the citizens of Paris to receive them, and give them sustenance and help, of which they were much in need. Legendre, in the Convention, said that some of the federates had gone through the streets of Paris singing a song, the burden of which was a call for the heads of Marat, Robespierre, and Danton. Other members said that Guadet, Gensonné, and Louvet, had been marked out for assassination.

On the 5th of November, Robespierre appeared at the tribune to answer the charge of Louvet. It was a laboured discourse that he read, more skilful than the attack, the feebleness of which was hardly disguised by its violence. Robespierre said that he was accused of aspiring to tyranny—but to become a tyrant, a man must have means; and where were his treasures and armies? He was charged with erecting for himself a power at the Jacobins; and he asked what did that prove? that he was listened to there more than others, because perhaps he addressed himself better to the understanding of that society than Louvet, who wished to avenge in the Convention his vanity that had been hurt at the Jacobins. As to Marat, he said, "One of the most terrible reproaches against me, and I do not conceal it, is the name of Marat." He said that Marat paid him a visit in January, 1792, before which time he had had no kind of intercourse with him, direct or indirect: this was Marat's first and last visit; and Robespierre told Marat that he prevented the good which "the useful truths developed in his writings" might produce, by his perpetual repetition "of certain absurd and violent proposals, which revolted the friends of liberty as much as the partizans of aristocracy." Marat, he said, found these opinions very narrow, and declared that "Robespierre had neither the views nor the audacity of a statesman." All the feeble personal attack of Louvet was answered by Robespierre: the answer was complete. Robespierre then came to the days of September, and he observed that here Louvet "generalized very vaguely the charge which up to this point he had directed personally against him." Robespierre denied that he took any part in these "events," or that the council-general had done anything to bring them about; on the contrary, it had done every thing to prevent them. He said, "If you think that the movement given to men's minds by the insurrection of the month of August had entirely stopped at the beginning of September, you are deceived, and those who have attempted to persuade you that there was no connection between these two times, have pretended an ignorance both of facts and of the human heart." He affirmed that the affair of September was a popular movement, and not, as it had been ridiculously supposed, "the partial sedition of some villains paid to assassinate their brother men." If it were not a popular movement, he asked, why did not the people prevent it? why not the National Guard? why not the federates? for the federates themselves were there in great numbers. "I have heard," he said, "some persons coolly say that the municipality ought to have proclaimed martial law. Martial law at the approach of the enemy! martial law after the day of the 10th! martial law for the accomplices of the dethroned tyrant and against the people! What could the Magistrates do against the determined will of an indignant people, who opposed to their speeches both the remembrance of their victory, and the devotion with which they were hurrying to meet the Prussians, and who reproached even the laws themselves with the long impunity of traitors who were tearing the bosom of their country." Of all the apologies for September and the violence of the Revolution, this of Robespierre is the most artful, the most consistent. His ability in supporting his own view of the revolution is infinitely superior to that of any other writer of the time. He was always a man of principle; and his conclusions from his principles are nearly always just: it is only with his principles that we can find fault; and in a time of revolution, how can we find fault with principles which are the essence of revolution? We must condemn revolution altogether, and to this alternative Robespierre reduced his feeble antagonists. One passage shows the man, his principles and his logic: "I have seen," he said, "some persons emphatically denounce the conduct of the Council of the Commune of Paris. Illegal arrests! Must we then, with the Criminal Code in our hand, estimate the salutary precautions which the public safety requires in times of crisis brought about even by the impotence of the laws?—Why don't you institute proceedings against the municipality, against the electoral assembly, against the sections of Paris, against the primary assemblies of the cantons, against all those who have imitated us? for all these things were illegal, as illegal as the revolution, as the fall of the throne and of the Bastille; as illegal as liberty itself." His answer was ordered to be printed; and the Assembly passed to the order of the day.*

* Robespierre's speech is printed in the 'Hist. Parlem.,' xx., 198, from Robespierre's letters to his constituents. The pamphlet printed at the National Press consists of twenty-six octavo pages.

By this artful, laboured, and skilful reply, Robespierre won applause. The majority of the Convention thought it politic to press the matter no farther. The Girondins had made an imprudent attack, the main weight of which consisted of charges which in their nature did not admit of proof. Pétion published the speech which he had prepared for this occasion.*

Vergniaud took no part in the matter. The result of Louvet's charge was that the Jacobins and the Gironde were irreconcilable enemies.

The battle between the two factions was suspended for a while. There was an unfortunate captive in the Temple, whose sentence was not yet pronounced. He must be disposed of first; and then the two parties will be at leisure to tear one another to pieces.

* It is printed in 'Hist. Parl.,' xx., 98. Pétion was allied with the Gironde; and he did not wish to quarrel with the Jacobins. His picture of Robespierre's suspicious, irritable, vain character, is good and true; and Robespierre did not forget it. But he acquitted Robespierre of dictatorial designs. He denounced Marat without any mercy. His remarks on the massacres are extremely curious. Pétion was not sanguinary: he was a hypocrite.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE LOW COUNTRIES.

Dumouriez arrived at Valenciennes on the 24th of October. The plan of his campaign was to advance direct into the Low Countries, and he had a sufficient force for that purpose. General Valence, with the army of the Ardennes of 16,000 men, was ordered to advance upon Namur by way of Givet, to prevent the junction of Clairfayt with the duke of Saxe-Teschen. But Clairfayt was on his way from Luxembourg to join the duke; which he effected on the 31st of October. D'Harville was to advance from Maubeuge upon Charleroi with 12,000 men, to join general Valence, in order to cover the siege of Namur, and to remain in the province of Namur to check any troops that might march from Luxembourg. These were the arrangements of Dumouriez on his right. Dumouriez, with 40,000 men, intended to march upon Mons, and thence straight to Brussels, driving the duke of Saxe-Teschen before him, or giving him battle if he did not retire. Labourdonnaye, with 18,000 men, was to encamp at Cisoing, and to approach Tournay, in order to compel the duke of Saxe-Teschen to divide his plan of defence, and he was to take Tournay if the imperialists left only a small force there. A body of 4,000 men was to march upon Courtray and Deinse, to drive all the small detachments on the frontiers of West Flanders, back upon Antwerp.

The supplies of Dumouriez ought to have been at Valenciennes on the 25th, but only one half of the supplies had come. Cloaks, shoes, tents, artillery, and money, all were deficient. Dumouriez attributed this delay to the change in the ministry, for Pache was now minister of war, and to the changes in the various offices. Pache, at first a Girondin, went over to the Mountain, and purposely embarassed Dumouriez, sacrificing the interests of the State to the views of a faction. Dumouriez had demanded six millions of livres in coin to furnish fifteen days' pay, and had stated that "far from exhausting the coin in the national treasury, he would cause it to flow back from the Low Countries, and that he would establish the circulation of the assignats." Dumouriez got promises from Paris; and availing himself of the ardour of his troops, who expected a short and successful campaign, he advanced into the Low Countries at the close of October, 1792.

Dumouriez encamped, on the 28th of October, between Quarouble and Quiévrain, on the road from Valenciennes to Mons. The Austrian army, commanded by the duke of Saxe-Teschen, formed a cordon extending from Mons past Condé and Tournay, as far as the river Lys; but the duke had only 40,000 men, including Clairfayt's division; a force insufficient to defend a line of this extent. After Clairfayt's junction with the duke, the division of D'Harville was recalled by Dumouriez; and D'Harville took up a position on the 1st of November, at Hon, to the left of Maubeuge, and to the right of Dumouriez. On the 4th of November, the French advanced guard, supported by nine battalions under the command of the duc de Chartres, who was then called general Égalité, took the posts of Montreuil and Thulin, between Mons and Condé; upon which the duke of Saxe-Teschen contracted his position and concentrated his forces on the heights in front of Mons.

These heights, which lie in the form of a curve, extend from Berthaimont, a suburb of Mons, to Quaregnon, on the road from Mons to Valenciennes. Between Berthaimont and Quaregnon lie the heights of Cuesmes and Jemmapes, which are partially separated by a depression. The Austrian army of about 25,000 men occupied these heights, and all the front from Cuesmes to Jemmapes was covered with entrenchments, strong redoubts, and batteries placed in the form of an amphitheatre on the wooded slopes. In the opening between Cuesmes and Jemmapes the Austrians had placed their cavalry, ready to fall on the centre of the French, if it should be thrown into disorder.

Dumouriez formed his army in a semicircle parallel to this formidable position. His line extended on the right from Siply, which is opposite to Berthaimont,

as far as Quaregnon, which is on the flank of Jemmapes. D'Harville, who had joined Dumouriez on the evening of the 5th, was posted on the extreme right near Siply, with orders to attempt to turn the position of Beaulieu, which was above Berthaimont, and to occupy the heights at the back of Mons, the only place to which the Austrians could retreat. Beurnonville was to attack Cuesmes; and general Égalité (the duc de Chartres), who commanded in the centre, was to attack Jemmapes, and to attempt to force the passage between Jemmapes and Cuesmes. Ferrand, who commanded the left, was to force Quaregnon, and fall on Jemmapes in flank. The attack was to be made in column, and the cavalry was to support it in the rear and on the flank. The French artillery was disposed so as to fire on each redoubt in flank. A reserve of cavalry and infantry was placed near Quaregnon, behind the small stream of the Wasmes, to watch the event. On the morning of the 6th the French were ready for the assault. Sixty thousand men covered the battle-field, of whom the French had nearly double the number of the enemy. One hundred pieces of artillery were pointed for mutual destruction; but the position of the Austrians gave them a great advantage, and their cannon commanded that of the French.*

* See the plan of the battle of Jemmapes in the 'Tableau Historique;' and Dumouriez, 'Mém.,' "Bataille de Jemmapes."

The cannonade began in the morning, but no impression was made on the Austrian lines at ten, when Thouvenot was sent by Dumouriez to the left, where Ferrand's attack was feebly conducted. Thouvenot forced Quaregnon, turned Jemmapes, and the French with fixed bayonets ascended the heights, and were on the flank of the Austrians. Dumouriez then resolved to commence the assault in front, and he directed the centre right against Jemmapes. The infantry advanced in column, and the hussars and dragoons covered the passage between Jemmapes and Cuesmes, from which the enemy's cavalry was ready to make an attack on the French. One brigade began to be unsteady and to give way on seeing the approach of the Austrian cavalry, when Baptiste Renard, the valet of Dumouriez, ran up to the general of the brigade, reproached him with cowardice, and brought him and his men to the attack. The centre too was wavering under the Austrian fire, when general Égalité threw himself in the midst of the ranks, restored order, and led the French against the enemy. Clairfayt thus attacked, both in front and flank, defended himself vigorously. Beurnonville had been unsuccessful in his assault on Cuesmes, and was going to retreat, when Dampierre, who commanded on one point of the assault, boldly threw himself with some companies into a redoubt, an act of great courage and bad generalship, for Dumouriez coming up at this moment found the rest of Dampierre's battalions without a commander, under a heavy fire, and threatened by the imperial hussars. Du-



THE BATTLE OF JEMMAPES.

mouriez encouraged these men, who were his old companions in the camp of Maulde, to stand firm against the cavalry, who were checked by a discharge of musketry, and then routed by a body of French horse. Dumouriez putting himself at their head, gave out the 'Marseillaise,' led them against the entrenchments, and carried the village of Cuesmes.* After this exploit Dumouriez, followed by some troops, was hastening to the centre, when he met the young duc de Montpensier, who informed him of the success of the attack in that part, which was chiefly due to his brother, general Égalité. Jemmapes had been vigorously assaulted in front and in flank, and Clairfayt gave way, being unable to make any further resistance. It was now two in the afternoon, and the French troops being exhausted, Dumouriez allowed them to repose on the heights of Cuesmes and Jemmapes, which they had won. He relied on D'Harville for pursuing the enemy, but D'Harville either had no precise orders, or he did not execute them well. Clairfayt retired, being protected by Beaulieu, whose retreat had not been cut off by D'Harville.

In their retreat past Mons on the road to Brussels, above four hundred of the Austrians were drowned in the Hêne, which flows behind Jemmapes. The Austrians are said to have lost fifteen hundred prisoners, and between four and five thousand in killed and wounded: the French are said to have lost as many, but Dumouriez concealed the amount of his loss. His conduct was criticised in attacking so formidable a position, when he had force enough to have turned the enemy's flank, and at the same time to keep them in check in front, and thus to compel the imperialists to yield without a bloody contest. But Dumouriez was ambitious to win a battle, and the result of the victory of Jemmapes was to inspire the French troops with confidence, and to restore the credit of the French arms.

This victory caused great rejoicing at Paris; and even those who disliked Dumouriez affected to applaud his success; all save one, and that was Marat. The letter of Dumouriez, in which he announced his victory, was read to the Convention on the 9th of November.† Marat, in his Journal, denied that it was a victory, for Dumouriez had taken neither baggage nor artillery; he said that Dumouriez lied as to the number of killed, for a hill could not be attacked with so little loss; and in his usual style he added, that such an assault could have been made from no other motive than to sacrifice the brave soldiers of Paris. At a somewhat later date Marat accused Dumouriez of forming a secret treaty with the duke of Saxe-Teschen, and of enriching himself by plunder: the general's aides-de-camps, he said, were loaded with gold, and lighted their pipes with fifty-franc assignats; and such absurd lies had their effect on the credulous people of Paris.

On the 7th of November, Dumouriez entered Mons amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. On the 8th a proclamation was made by the provisional administration, "in the free town of Mons, the first year of the Belgic Republic, in the name of the sovereign people;" by which it was declared that all the ties which united the people to the house of Austria were broken; that the people did not recognize that "any person had a right to the sovereignty of Belgium, for they were resolved to resume their primitive, imprescriptible, and inalienable rights." A society of the friends of liberty and equality was established, in imitation of the Jacobins of Paris. Dumouriez assisted at the first meeting of the society, and the president, after making an address to the general, presented him with a red cap as a pledge of their republican sentiments; and for the second time Dumouriez had to accept with feigned delight the symbol which he detested.

The difficulties of Dumouriez began after his victory. The Austrian dominion was overthrown, but the nation was divided in opinion. All wished for independence, but the priests and the privileged classes wished to maintain every thing except the Austrian dominion; and the priests had with them a large part of the people. Another class, whose opinions are represented by the proclamation of Mons, wished for a revolution as complete as that of France. Dumouriez was neither for one party nor the other: he wished to unite Belgium to France either by alliance or territorial union, to conciliate the clergy, to prevent all oppressive measures, in fine to displease no party. He wished to do what is impossible in a revolution.* He had to drive the Austrians out of Belgium, which was no difficult matter; but he had an army to feed and clothe, and keep in discipline. His commissariat was at Valenciennes; and "he was without provisions, without money, without the means of advancing." (Dumouriez.) These difficulties explain why he allowed the duke of Saxe-Teschen to retreat quietly, while he stayed at Mons until the 11th. As he was without supplies, he set out about providing himself on the spot, and made purchases of shoes and cloaks, of which the soldiers were greatly in need. The Belgian capitalists agreed to supply the army with provisions and forage for two months. The clergy were, however, his great resource: they had large revenues, and plenty of the precious metal which was lying idle. The general demanded from them a loan of one year's income, and promised that the debt should be guaranteed by the Belgian nation, with whom the French would come to a settlement at the close of the war. The clergy, though men do not like to part with their money on compulsion, considered the loan as a kind of admission

* As to Dampierre's conduct, Dumouriez' statement is not reconcileable with other evidence. See the note of the editors of Dumouriez' 'Mémoires.'

† Printed in 'Hist. Parlem.,' xxi., 84. Baptiste, the valet of Dumouriez, was presented to the Convention, who gave him a uniform at the expense of the Republic. Some days after Baptiste got drunk, and was arrested in the streets of Paris for making a disturbance. 'Hist. Parlem.,' xx., 305.

* See the report of Cambon, 'Hist. Parl.,' &c., xxi., 211.

that their property would be respected. The contracts for provisions supplied the immediate wants of the French army, and as the contractors were paid in assignats, they were interested in putting them in circulation.

The Austrians were retreating in good order, but very slowly; and Dumouriez, for want of means of transport, could not harass them with any effect. On the 14th he entered Brussels, where he was well received, and the streets were lined by a double row of Austrian deserters, to the number of more than four thousand. But his difficulties increased the further he advanced. Malus, his commissary, informed him that there were only fourteen thousand francs in the military chest, and there was pay due to fifty thousand men. He was obliged to borrow 80,000 florins from the public chest of Brussels, and 300,000 francs, without interest, from a banker, to whom he gave a bill on the National treasury, which the Convention at first refused to pay. For this resource Dumouriez was indebted to the ingenuity of D'Espagnac, formerly an abbé, and a man of loose morals, whom he employed. He also was informed that the ministry at Paris had refused to confirm his contracts; that all the persons who had hitherto been engaged in army contracts and supplies were displaced by a small committee for purchases (*comité des achats*), who were in future to make all the contracts without being permitted to have any interest as contractors; and the generals were to have nothing to do with the supplies.

Dumouriez was violently opposed to this change; and whatever advantages it might offer in the end, his soldiers were in the mean time famishing. Accordingly he resolved to go on with his contracts for supplying his men; and he ordered his agents, Malus, D'Espagnac, and a third person, named Petit-Jean, to continue their operations on his responsibility. He also wrote to the ministers, and insisted on being allowed to provide for the wants of his army; and he said that the *comité des achats* was an absurdity, for it was easier to get what he wanted on the spot than to import it from France, and cheaper too; he added, that the Belgians would lose all interest in the French being in their country, if they had not the profit of supplying them, and they would not encourage the circulation of the assignats. Pache, instead of listening to all that was reasonable in the general's remonstrances, and doing the best under the circumstances, acted with his usual want of decision, and let things take their course. Every party became dissatisfied with the haughty tone of the general; and Cambon, the great authority in finance, denounced Malus, D'Espagnac, and Petit-Jean: he said that the *comité des achats* was an excellent institution; that to get their supplies in Belgium, was to deprive the French workmen of labour, and expose them to the risk of causing disturbance from want of employment; and that as to the assignats, Dumouriez ought to compel the Belgians to receive them; that he ought to carry with him the Revolution and all its system, and that the Belgians in return for liberty, which the French brought them, must take its advantages with its inconveniences.

The French found in Mons, in Brussels, and all the Belgian towns, property which belonged to the emigrants, and which was seized for the benefit of the French nation. This property was sold, but "the commissioners of the Convention, Danton and Lacroix, who came to Brussels, entrusted the sale to a band of hungry Jacobins from Paris, and caused great disorder: very little advantage for the nation was derived from the sale, and thus a resource for the support of the army was lost." (Dumouriez.) The general left Brussels on the 19th, passed Louvain, and attacked the duke of Saxe-Teschen at Tirlemont, who lost several hundred men. The duke had now not above fifteen thousand men; and the army of Dumouriez was reduced to about twenty-five thousand; a force, however, quite sufficient to compel the duke to quit the Low Countries. The season though fine, was cold, and the men wanted both provisions and clothes. Pache said he had ordered every thing to be forwarded; he had given orders, and there were provisions, cloaks, shoes, and money, at Valenciennes; but nothing reached the army.

On the 23rd, the general received orders to arrest Malus, D'Espagnac, and Petit-Jean, and to send them to the bar of the Convention; which was done. A new commissary-general presented himself, named Ronsin, a Jacobin poet, and the author of two or three violent plays, one of which was entitled 'The League of Tyrants.' Ronsin had no knowledge of business of any kind; his qualification was his Jacobinism. Dumouriez wrote to Pache, to tell him what he thought of his conduct; and he wrote to the Convention to justify his agents, who had acted under his orders, and he said that if they were guilty, he was guilty too, and he asked to be superseded, and to share the fate of his three friends. The Convention returned no answer, but Condorcet, Pétion, and Lebrun, were instructed to write him conciliatory letters. All the commissariat was disorganized by the arrest of the three agents of Dumouriez; Ronsin was incapable; nobody would act under him, and the Belgian contractors ceased to furnish supplies. The Maréchal de Castries, then at Spa, wrote in a letter, "Dumouriez will soon have the same fate as Lafayette;" and the prophet Marat said in his Journal, "Dumouriez will desert like Lafayette." To prevent the total ruin of his army, Dumouriez used all his influence with the Belgian contractors, and the commissariat officers in his army, and induced them to act with Ronsin, and things were arranged to go on as before until the *comité des achats* should be in a condition to supply the army; for this committee was not to commence its duties before the 1st of January, and for the next six weeks the army would have run the risk of being famished, or must have plundered the Belgians: and it is not unlikely that Pache and Cambon wished to reduce Dumouriez to the necessity of acting as Custine had done in Germany.

Dumouriez advanced upon Liége by St. Tron; and the imperialists, after making some resistance near Liége, at Raucoux and Varoux, with their rear, crossed the Meuse, and retired to the small town of Herve. The French general encamped on the heights which look down on the fair valley in which Liége is situated, to prevent his troops committing any excess, for hunger and nakedness had broken their discipline, and they were disposed to help themselves. On the morning of the 28th he entered Liége.

On leaving Louvain, Dumouriez had sent general Miranda to take the command of the army of Labourdonnaye, who was before the citadel of Antwerp, which, says Dumouriez, he would not have taken in a month. It surrendered to Miranda on the 26th, and agreeably to his instructions Miranda advanced to Ruremonde, which is north of Liége, and at the junction of the Roer and the Meuse. On the 2nd of December the citadel of Namur surrendered to general Valence. Tournay and Ghent had been taken by Labourdonnaye on his march to Antwerp. Stengel was in possession of Mechlin, which was full of ammunition and arms. Thus all the Low Countries and the province of Liége were in possession of the French within a month after they had entered Belgium. The generalship of Dumouriez has been criticised because he did not cut off the retreat of the Austrians, which, with the force at his own disposal, seemed practicable. If he had been well furnished with supplies, the censure would be just.

The people of Liége rushed into all the extravagances of the French Revolution. Fabry, the mayor, who had been active in the first revolution of Liége, lost all credit as soon as he began to talk of a reasonable constitution. A club of violent persons was formed, but the Jacobin emissaries from Paris formed another still more violent, which accused the first of being aristocratical. The French soldiers sided with the one or the other club according to their dispositions; and the general tried without success to mediate between the two parties. He has described the condition of Liége in a few characteristic words: no man saw more clearly than he did the absurdities of the Revolution: "The Liégois of Outre-Meuse were, as the expression was in France, completely up to the level of the Revolution (*à la hauteur de la révolution*); they were for nothing but absolute equality and pillage: those of the town wished to make a constitution, but with their metaphysical subtleties they did not know what they really wished for." It was not the wish at Paris that the country of Liége and Belgium should form an independent republic; the wish of the Jacobins was to lay their hands on the gold of Belgium and the property of the clergy, to increase the disorder till Belgium should be compelled to throw itself into the arms of France, or should give some pretext for treating it as a hostile country. Danton and Lacroix laboured zealously at the union of Liége with France, which was ultimately agreed on by the sans-culottes of Outre-Meuse and the more moderate party, who knowing the weakness of their country, thought that if they became French, the Republic would defend them.

The French army was still encamped at the back of Liége, and the weather was very cold. The soldiers, who had neither straw nor wood, burnt the fruit-trees and the doors and windows of the houses which they demolished. Whole batallions were without shoes, and the soldiers wanted clothes. Leather was bought at Liége, where shoes could have been had very cheap, and the leather was sent to Paris to be made into shoes, which were sent to Liege, but the supply was insufficient. It was the same with boots, woollen stockings, and arms, all of which could have been procured on the spot at a low price. No money came to the army, and the general borrowed a small sum from the seven collegiate churches of Liége. The soldiers deserted by whole companies, and returned to France, or went to amuse themselves in the large towns of Belgium. It was chiefly the National Guards and the officers who abandoned their colours. The artillery and the cavalry suffered grievously. Ronsin sent armed men to rummage the villages, and the peasants at first furnished supplies in the hope of being paid; and when they refused to furnish more, cavalry were sent, who under the pretext of looking for forage, robbed and plundered the peasants, who retaliated by killing the soldiers when they were not in great force. In the month of December, and in January, 1793, six thousand horses belonging to the artillery died for want of food.

At Paris the general was blamed for staying at Liége and not pushing on to Cologne on the Rhine; but he had no supplies, and he would have found none between Liége and Cologne. The enemy were established at Aix-la-Chapelle, at Herve, and at Henri-Chapelle. On the 7th, Dumouriez ordered colonel Frécheville to leave Vouziers, and turn the enemy's left; colonel Hack attacked them on the same flank, and general Stengel in front. The imperialists retired upon Aix-la-Chapelle, which the French entered on the 8th of December, and Clairfayt retreated beyond the river Erfft, which flows into the Rhine at Düsseldorf, and took up a strong position. Dampierre was stationed at Aix-la-Chapelle with somewhat more than three thousand men. Stengel occupied the banks of the Roer as far as Aldenhoven, near Jülich; and Miaczinski was on the Foron, a small branch of the Meuse. The French under Frécheville also occupied Eupen. The advanced guard of Valence was at Malmédy and Spa, and at Verviers and Limburg in the valley of the Vesder, on the present line of railroad from Liége to Aix-la-Chapelle: his army was in two lines, extending from Huy on the Meuse to Liége and St. Tron. The army of the centre occupied Liége and the neighbourhood. The army of the north, under Miranda, extended from Tongres to Ruremonde. On the 12th of December the French army entered their winter quarters. At this time orders were received from Paris to transfer from Mechlin to Douay all the workshops

for casting cannon and repairing the small arms, and to destroy the establishment at Mechlin. Dumouriez resisted this infamous measure, and the minister of war yielded.

On the 15th of December, on the proposition of Cambon, was enacted the decree which told the Belgians and others who had invited the French, or should be invaded by them, what they were to expect.* This decree, which declared that the French brought "peace, help, aid, fraternity, liberty, and equality," ordered the French generals to proclaim, "in the name of the French nation," the abolition of all taxes, of tithes, of feudal rights, of nobility, and of all privileges; the sovereignty of the people, and the suppression of all existing authorities; and they were instructed to convoke primary or communal assemblies for the establishment and organization of a provisional administration. It was declared that the generals should place "under the safeguard of the French Republic all the property movable and immovable belonging to the fiscus, to the prince, to his favourers and adherents and voluntary satellites, to public establishments, to bodies and communities both lay and religious; they were to draw up a detailed account of it, which they were to forward to the executive council, and they were to take all the measures in their power to secure this property." As soon as the provisional government was appointed, the National Convention promised to send commissioners selected from among themselves to fraternize with it; and also to send national commissioners to act with the provisional government, and to take measures for the common defence, and for procuring clothes and provisions for the army of the Republic, and for the payment of the expenses which had been incurred and would be incurred during the stay of the troops on the Belgian territory. Thus the French Republic, which carried liberty into Belgium, did not allow the Belgians to use their new liberty in their own way, but at once assimilated their revolution to the revolution in France.

According to the general plan of the campaign, the army of the Mosel, commanded by Kellermann, was to advance upon Trèves and Coblenz, and to form a junction on the left with the army of Dumouriez, who was to drive the enemy over the Rhine, and on the right with the army of Custine, whose operations were in the neighbourhood of Mainz. The plan, which was good, failed in consequence of many obstacles and causes of delay. Kellermann was superseded by Beurnonville on the 14th of November, who made several unsuccessful attempts on the positions of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Trèves, and finally encamped for the winter along the Saar, which joins the Mosel a little above Trèves.

On the Rhine this was the state of the war. On the 28th of November, the Prussian column, accompanied by the king of Prussia, reached Homburg, in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, and general Kalckreuth occupied Bergen and Wilbel, and on the following day he joined the king of Prussia. The prince of Hohenlohe effected a junction with the king by reaching Usingen on the 30th. Custine had left Van-Helden in Frankfort with about two thousand men, to command a city that was irritated by the exactions of the French. On the 2nd of December the Prussians attacked Frankfort, and took the place. In the night Custine hastily moved from Höchst, which is between Mainz and Frankfort, and retired towards Mainz. On the 14th of December the Prussians took possession of Hochheim, a position near Cassel, which is opposite to Mainz. On the 10th of December the Commissioners of the Convention, Rewbel, Haussemann, and Merlin de Thionville, came to Mainz, where they were received with military honours; and Custine, to make a parade of his skill, and to retrieve his disgrace, ordered generals Houchard and Sedillot to seize Costheim and Hochheim, which the Prussians had not guarded. But the Prussians taking advantage of a fall of snow on the night of the 5th of January, drove the French away, who left five hundred men on the field of battle, and all their cannon. Custine had gained nothing by all his operations. The right of the king of Prussia extended to Coblenz, which was the point of junction between the king and the forces of the imperialists, whom Dumouriez had driven behind the Erft. The king of Prussia, with 60,000 men, with the contingents of the circles of Saxony, Franconia, and Bavaria, occupied the rich country of the Rheingau, on the right bank of the Rhine, which extends from the vineyards of Rüdesheim, opposite to Bingen, as far as Biberich, and he had all the positions between Frankfort and Mainz. The king and the duke of Brunswick were only waiting for the approach of spring to commence the siege of Mainz. Beaulieu and the prince of Hohenlohe-Kirchberg occupied the duchy of Luxemburg, and the electorate of Trèves, and the Saar as far as Saar-bruck. The Neckar and the right bank of the Upper Rhine were also occupied by the Austrians and a body of emigrants.

Servan, with the army of the Pyrenees, was perfectly inactive, and he had great difficulty in reforming this army of observation. The expense of the armies now were about 150,000,000 francs every month; and the troops were in want of everything, owing to the bad administration of the department of war. But the nation was in a state of exaltation, and its fervor was kept up by the success at Jemmapes, the capture of Frankfort, and the occupation of Nice and Savoy. The ardent republicans were anticipating the overthrow of thrones and the universal establishment of republics.

Dumouriez came to Paris on the 1st of January, 1793, where he kept quiet for some days, and employed himself in writing four mémoires, one of which was against the *comité des achats*, and two on military matters and the plan of the future campaign. He did all that he could, according to his own assertion, to influence the various parties by various motives to save the king, or at least to defer the trial; but all his

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xxi., 351.

efforts were unsuccessful: "Everywhere he found only consternation or apathy: during the twenty days that he studied Paris, he did not perceive the slightest movement, private or public, in favour of the unfortunate Louis XVI., nor the least change in the habits or the dissipation of the frivolous and barbarous Parisians." *

* Dumouriez, 'Mém.,' iii., 329. To form an opinion of the campaign in the Low Countries, it is just to the general to read his own remarks on it. 'Mém.,' iii., 241.

CHAPTER XXXV.

LOUIS IN PRISON.

The doors of the Temple were closed on Louis Capet: he was a dethroned king and a prisoner. Removed from the cares of government for which he was not fitted, from an ambiguous and dangerous position in which he committed many errors, separated from false friends and foolish advisers, he was restored to himself and to his own thoughts. Solitude and suffering try the temper of a man's soul, but solitude and suffering are not the greatest trials of his virtue. High station and luxurious ease will corrupt the best disposition, if it is not chastened by religion or strengthened by philosophy. Prosperity assails a man's virtue by the blandishments of pleasure and the possession of power; adversity by the stings of pain and the contumely of base men. But he who has not yielded to the soft seduction of power and pleasure, will not fear the rude gripe of poverty, of imprisonment, of death. Louis escaped the corrupting influence of power by his native goodness and his religious faith: Aurelius by his excellent education and the discipline of philosophy. The Roman was a philosopher, a soldier, and a statesman: the Frenchman had only the virtues that befit a private station. On a throne the king of France was feeble, irresolute, contemptible. Louis Capet in a dungeon is firm, courageous, heroic. His abasement is his exaltation: the triumph of his enemies is their eternal shame and degradation; immeasurable becomes the distance between the oppressors and the oppressed. One man in France now commands our sympathy and respect; one man only, the prisoner in the Temple, the crownless king, the victim preparing for the sacrifice.

The prison of Louis and his family was the ancient residence of the Knights Templars, situated not far from the site of the Bastille: it was a spacious edifice which contained many large apartments, but the royal captives were confined by the order of the Commune, to whose care they were entrusted, in the small tower which adjoined the large tower, but had no internal communication with it. This tower consisted of four stories: the first contained an ante-room, a dining-room, and a small chamber formed in one of the two turrets which flanked the building: this small chamber contained the library of the keeper of the archives of the order of Malta. The second story was similarly arranged: one of the apartments was the bed-room of Marie-Antoinette and the dauphin; the other, which was very small, was occupied by Madame Elizabeth and the queen's daughter. The king slept in a room on the third story, and he had a small sitting-room in the turret. The fourth story was closed.

Louis rose at six in the morning, and shaved himself. Cléry, his only servant, after he had been deprived of Chamilly and Hüe, assisted him to dress. The king then went into his small room to pray, but the door was left open, in order that the municipal guard, who was always there, might not lose sight of him. Till nine o'clock he employed himself in reading, and Cléry went down to assist the queen and the dauphin, Madame Elizabeth and the young princesses; for since the 20th of August, all the attendants of the royal family had been sent away. At nine the royal family breakfasted in the king's rooms, and at ten the queen, with Madame Elizabeth and the princesses left the king alone with his son, to whom he gave lessons in geography, a subject with which Louis was well acquainted, in history, and the elements of Latin. Marie-Antoinette occupied herself with the education of her daughter, and the princesses passed the rest of the day in sewing, knitting, and working at tapestry. When the weather was fine, the royal family walked in the garden in the middle of the day, accompanied by four municipal officers, and a commander of a legion of the National Guard; but the space allowed for the exercise of the royal family along the alley of trees, was purposely contracted by building some walls and other obstructions. The dauphin amused himself with running about and playing at ball or quoits, and his father often played with him. From the upper windows of the houses which commanded a view of the garden, anxious looks were darted towards the royal prisoners from faithful friends and adherents, some slight consolation for the coarse and vulgar behaviour which they often experienced from their guard. Santerre, with two aides-de-camps, daily inspected the tower, and regularly made his report to the Commune. Sometimes the king would speak to Santerre; the queen never spoke to him. At two the royal family dined; the king alone drank wine, and very little; the rest drank only water. After dinner the king and queen would play at picquet or some other game; and the king would take a short nap, during which the ladies worked in silence at their needles, while Cléry exercised the young prince in

another room at such games as were suitable to his age. The rest of the time till supper was occupied by reading aloud: the king or Madame Elizabeth read. At eight the dauphin supped, and Louis used to amuse the children with riddles from a collection called the 'Mercure de France.' Cléry put the boy to bed, after he had said his prayers to his mother.

At such moments as he could steal, in the evening, when the dauphin was going to bed, and when the royal family was supping, Cléry told them such news as he was able to learn. He had contrived to hire a crier, who came every evening, and posting himself under the windows of the Temple, called out the chief events of the day as loud as he could, under the pretence of selling the journals. Cléry stationed himself in the little room in the turret of the third floor, and listened to the crier's report of what was going on in the Convention, in the Commune, and the news of the armies. After supper the king parted from his family and went up to his little room, where he read till midnight. He read Montesquieu, Buffon, Hume's history in English, the Latin and Italian classics, and the Imitation of Jesus Christ, in Latin. It is said that when he left the Temple he had got through a great number of volumes of different works.

The suspicious Commune used every precaution to prevent the escape of the prisoners and all communication without. The municipal officers never lost sight of the members of the royal family; and it was only during the hours of rest that they were separated from them by a closed door, and even then a bed was placed against the door of each apartment so as to prevent any one from going out; and here the guard passed the night. This obscure and tranquil life pleased the king better than his throne of thorns: in a private station, and in some obscure village, he would have been a happy man and a good citizen. With acquirements of no mean degree, and a large amount of good sense, he wanted the peculiar qualities which fit a man for a high station, qualities that are much more rare than unthinking people seem to suppose. On the 21st of September, while the municipal Lubin was reading in a loud voice in front of the tower the proclamation of the abolition of royalty, Hébert and Destournelles were on guard at the door of Louis's chamber. They searched with curious eye the countenance of the king, who was reading at the time, and could well hear the proclamation: the king went on reading, just as if the proclamation had been a matter of the utmost indifference. Whatever he might feel, he had dignity and strength of mind sufficient to hide it from the obscene eyes of the author of 'Père Duchesne.'* The walls of the Temple were often marked with threatening words, and coarse designs of the same character: the jailors would sometimes puff the smoke of their pipes in the king's face, and even in the face of his wife and sister. The royal family was much in want of clothes and linen: the wife of the English ambassador sent the queen some linen; and the Commune, at the request of the king, supplied the whole family. The king never asked for other clothing, and none was supplied. The princesses patched what they had, and sometimes Madame Elizabeth had to wait till the king was in bed, that she might have the opportunity of mending his clothes.

The table was well supplied, at least in the first part of their imprisonment. There were thirteen persons employed in the kitchen, and the expenses of the table of the royal family, from the 13th of August to the 31st of October, amounted to 28,745 livres, 6 sous, and 9 deniers.* The Convention had voted 500,000 francs for the expenses of Louis in the Temple; but all the money that he ever received was 2,000 livres in assignats, on the 3rd of September, which were brought to the king by Pétion's secretary; and 526 livres were paid to Hüe, which he had advanced to the king.

On the 29th of September, paper, ink, pens and pencils, were taken from the prisoners; and the king was removed from his family and transferred to the great tower of the Temple to a chamber, the only furniture of which was a bed, and where the workmen were still employed. After a painful separation, the rest of the royal family were removed, on the 6th of October, to the great tower, a gloomy building of great height, containing four stories. The king was lodged with the dauphin on the second story, and the queen with his sister and his daughter on the third. The paper on the walls of the king's ante-chamber, the device of the architect Palloy, represented the interior of a prison, jailors, chains, and irons; and on one of the panels was inscribed in large letters the Declaration of the Rights of Man, with a border of three colours round it. The windows were blinded with planks, so that the prisoners had no view of the earth: they could only look into the heavens. In October, Louis was deprived of the orders of St. Louis and of the Fleece of Gold, which he still wore. The new municipality, who came into office in December, were more brutal than their predecessors. By a decree of the Commune, of the 7th of December, the prisoners were deprived of knives, razors, scissors, pen-knives, and all cutting instruments. The king had to part with a knife which he had in his pocket, scissors and a penknife which he kept in a small red morocco portfolio. The princesses were deprived of the necessary articles for their toilette, and the needles and other little articles which they employed in their daily labour:

* Told differently by Lamartine. The general treatment of the king in the Temple is proved clearly enough: as to the details there is variance.

* This is from the report of the citizen Verdier to the council-general of the Commune. 'Hist. Parlem.,' xxii., 335. It is extremely minute, and states what each meal was. Louis regularly observed the fasts prescribed by the church, but his family did not. The report states that the prisoners were very moderate. The expenses during the first twenty days were much larger than in the latter part of September. It does not appear that the prisoners were insufficiently supplied, but yet the supply was much less.

they could not even mend their clothes. The knives and forks which the prisoners used at table were taken away after they had done with them. But these precautions were unnecessary. Malesherbes said one day at the Temple, to Cubières, who was on duty there, "If the *king* was of the religion of the philosophers, if he was a Cato, he might destroy himself; but the *king* is pious, he is a Catholic, he knows that religion forbids him to attempt his life; he will not kill himself." "Upon this," said Cubières, in his report to the council-general of the Commune, "I perceived, though I am no friend to religion, that in some circumstances it might be of some use." *

On the 6th of November, Dufriche-Valazé made a report to the Convention "in the name of the extraordinary committee of Twenty-four on the crimes of the late king." † This report contains some interesting documents, and a reference to an immense number of papers. It contained the evidence of some facts which could not be doubted, such as the king's privity to the plan of Bouillé for his escape; it also contained an account of the sums of money given to Bouillé by the king for the formation of the camp of Montmédy, which was the place of his destination when he fled from Paris. This report, which concluded with an attack on the constitutional inviolability of the king, was printed by order of the Convention. On the 7th of November, Mailhe made a report, in the name of the committee of legislation, on the question relating to the trial of Louis XVI.‡ The report commenced in these terms: "Can Louis XVI. be tried for the crimes which he is charged with having committed on the Constitutional throne? By whom must he be tried? Shall he be brought before the ordinary tribunals, like any other citizen accused of a crime against the State? Will you delegate the power of trying him to a tribunal formed by the electoral assemblies of the eighty-three departments? Is it not more natural that the National Convention itself should try him? Is it necessary or reasonable to submit the judgment to the ratification of all the members of the Republic, united in the communal assemblies, or in the primary assemblies? These are the questions which your committee of legislation have long and deeply considered. The first is the simplest of all, and yet it is that which requires the most mature discussion, not for you, not for this great majority of the French people, which has fathomed all the extent of its sovereignty, but for the small number of those who think that they discover in the Constitution impunity for Louis XVI., and who are waiting for the solution of their doubts; for the nations which are still governed by kings, and whom it is your business to instruct; and for the universal human race, which has its eyes upon you, which is wavering between the necessity and the fear of punishing its tyrants, and which perhaps will only form its determination according to the opinion which it shall have of your justice." The report consisted of arguments drawn from the nature of the case and the history of other countries, England and Charles I., Rome, and Sparta; it proposed, as the basis of a decree, that Louis XVI. could be tried, and that he should be tried by the National Convention. The reporter descended the tribune amidst the universal and repeated plaudits of the Assembly and the spectators. The Convention ordered the report to be printed, to be translated into every language, and sent to the departments, the municipalities, and the armies, and that ten copies should be given to every member of the Convention. The discussion of the report was adjourned to the following Monday.

Thus was opened the great question of the king's responsibility and trial; but it was viewed as a matter of less importance then, than it is by the historian now. It was rather a text upon which the opposing parties combated one another, and endeavoured to establish their political doctrines, than a grave political circumstance in itself. All the personal disputes continued just as before, and formed the chief matter for discussion in the journals. On the 7th, in the evening, nothing was said at the Jacobins of the report of Mailhe, or of the decree of the Convention; but they were busily engaged with considering the defection of many of the affiliated societies. Marseille had broken with the Jacobins, and also the societies of Bordeaux and St. Etienne; and other societies threatened to do the same. Accordingly it was resolved to write to these societies. On the 13th of November, Pétion moved that the Convention decide the question, Can the king be tried?

The deputy Morisson, a member of the committee of legislation, spoke first, and he wished to save the king; but he was compelled to make concessions to opinion which weakened his arguments. "The first," he said, "of all my passions, the most natural without doubt is to see this sanguinary monster expiate his crimes in the most cruel tortures; he has merited them, I know; but at this tribune, the representative of a free people, of a people who seek their happiness, their prosperity, in acts of justice, in acts of humanity, of generosity, of benevolence, I must only listen to the councils of reason, only consult the spirit and the rules of our laws, only seek the interest of my fellow-citizens, the sole object towards which all our deliberations ought to be directed." He concluded that the law was silent before the guilty king, notwithstanding the atrocity of his crimes. St. Just, a young man,

* Rapport sur le Temple, fait au conseil-général par Dorat-Cubières de service à la Tour. 'Hist. Parlem.,' xxii., 333. All the evidence of the enemies of Louis attests the firmness and serenity of his behaviour.

Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. xxxii., has drawn an affecting picture of the sufferings of the prisoners in the Temple. The narrative of Cléry is the chief evidence for the residence in the Temple, 'Journal de ce qui s'est passé à la Tour du Temple pendant la captivité du Roi.'

† Printed in 'Hist. Parl.,' xx., 239—262, where it is remarked that this report had never appeared in any collection, and that it is not complete in the 'Moniteur.'

‡ 'Hist. Parl.,' xx., 278—298.

twenty-four years of age, rose to prove that the king could be tried; that the opinion of Morisson, which maintained the inviolability of the king, and that of the committee which recommended that he should be tried as a citizen, were both false, and that he should be tried according to principles which were opposed to both opinions; he should be tried as an enemy, whom they had not so much to try as to resist; that he formed no party to the contract which united the French; that the forms of procedure were not in the law of France, but in the law of nations. "To try a king as a citizen! These words will surprise posterity, who will calmly contemplate these proceedings. To try, is to apply a law. A law is a relation of justice. What relation of justice is there between humanity and kings? What is there in common between Louis and the French people, that they should show any consideration for him after his treason?—Royalty is an eternal crime against which every man has the right to rise and arm himself. We are told that the king ought to be judged by a tribunal like other citizens; but the tribunals are only established for the citizens. How could a tribunal have the power of restoring a master to his country, and of acquitting him? How could the general will be cited before the tribunal?—It is you who must try Louis; he is a stranger to us; he was not a citizen before his crime; he could not vote, he could not carry arms; he is still less a citizen after his crime: and by what abuse of justice would you make a citizen of him in order to condemn him?—I repeat it, you cannot try a king by the laws of his country. There was nothing in the laws of Numa by which Tarquin could be tried; nothing in the laws of England by which Charles I. could be tried. They were tried by the law of nations; a stranger, an enemy, was repulsed: this is what rendered legitimate those measures, and not idle formalities which have no principle except the consent of the citizen by the contract."

St. Just said the truth, though not in the best terms. A monarch, a sole ruler, cannot be tried: he may be conquered, deposed, and punished, simply because those who have defeated him have the power; and the punishment may be merited. A constitutional king cannot be tried. A constitutional king is not a man only: he is a Person, the two essential elements of which are, that his power is transmissible to another Person by hereditary succession, and the Person is inviolable. He cannot be tried any more than a chamber of representatives can be tried. His acts are constitutionally punishable as the acts of his ministers and advisers; but his personality remains intact, for in his personality is embodied one of the Powers of the State. He has this immunity not for his own sake, but in the interest of all, in order that government may still exist, though the ministers of the king be punished for his acts. If a constitutional king is deposed, and punished, his punishment may be merited, and it may be in the interest of a people that he be deposed and punished; but there are no legal means of trying and punishing him: he must be tried and punished by those who have the power, and who must exercise it as they think fit.

Fauchet said that the republic existed; it had triumphed over its enemies; and that was the judgment of the late king: "He has merited more than death; eternal justice condemns the fallen tyrant to the long punishment of life in the midst of a free people." He concluded that Louis XVI. should not be brought to trial. Robert said, "Let the head of Louis XVI. fall, but let it be the last: I move that the punishment of death be abolished as soon as the tyrant shall have been executed."

On the 25th of November, Roset moved that when the Constitution should be presented to the people for their acceptance, the people should also decide on the fate of Louis XVI. and all the members of the former reigning family, and that in the mean time the Convention should provide for the safety and support of the king and those who were with him in the Temple. "Posterity," said the Abbé Grégoire, "will perhaps be surprised that it could be made a matter of discussion whether a whole nation can try its first clerk (*commis*); but sixteen months ago, I proved at this tribune that Louis XVI. could be tried—I shall prove first, that a constitutional king of the French, without making any reference to Louis XVI., may be tried for acts foreign to the exercise of royalty; and second, that even if it should be admitted that the king can never be brought before any constitutional authority, this prerogative disappears before the national authority." On the 21st the opinion of Thomas Payne was read before the Convention by the secretary. Thomas Payne said that the crowned brigands of Europe had formed a conspiracy not only against the liberty of the French, but the liberty of all nations; that there was every reason to suppose that Louis XVI. was one of the band of conspirators, and that they had him in their power, the only one of the crew whom they had yet secured; as an individual, Louis XVI. was not worth the notice of the Republic; but viewed as one of the body of conspirators, as a criminal whose trial might lead all nations in the world to recognize and detest the disastrous system of monarchy, the plots and intrigues of their own courts, it was necessary that he should be tried. "As to inviolability," said citizen Thomas Payne, "I could wish that no mention should be made of this argument: Louis XVI. is merely a man of a weak and limited understanding, ill educated, like all other kings, and subject, as it is said, to frequent and excessive intoxication; a man whom the Constituent Assembly imprudently set again on a throne for which he was not made; and if any compassion is shown to him, it will not be the result of the ridiculous notion of a pretended inviolability." This letter, which had the merit of being direct to the point, was ordered to be printed.

The great question of the king's inviolability was thus raised: one party supported it; another denied it. Those who were not entirely carried away by the

revolutionary fervor, still preserved some regard for the fallen king, and while they admitted his secret correspondence with the enemy, they imputed it to his weakness, and to those by whom he was surrounded, and they could not endure the thought of his being capitally punished. But no one dared openly to defend him, for the opinion that the king was the cause of the invasion was firmly fixed in men's minds. All that the more reasonable party could do was to argue in favour of moderation to a vanquished enemy; and to say or to insinuate that those who called for his punishment, sought only to establish the reign of terror and to compromise France with all Europe. The Girondins had yet said nothing, though it was the end of November; and the Mountain gave it out that they wished to save the king. But it was contrary to the principles of the Gironde to maintain the inviolability of the king, whom they considered as the cause of the invasion of France: the violence of the Mountain they detested and feared: they were wavering and uncertain.

The old question of subsistence, the high price of grain, embarrassed the Convention, and it was connected with the matter of the king's trial. There were persons in the Convention who believed, or affected to believe, that the free commerce in grain was impeded by the agents of bankers in Vienna, Berlin, London, and Madrid; that they were the cause of all the disorders; that foreign despots were trembling for their own heads, when they saw that of Louis in danger, and that they were exciting insurrection in France; and these strange opinions were alleged as reasons for hastening the trial of Louis. The crop of 1792 was not short, though the season was late, and much of the corn remained unthreshed for want of hands. The high price was the consequence of the want of confidence and the depreciation of the assignats. Roland had contributed to cause the alarm by his foreign purchases. On the 2nd of November the Convention was informed that the municipality of Tours had made arrangements with that of Orléans to protect the transport of corn, and prevent its being pillaged on the roads. On the 16th, Férand observed in the Convention, that the rise in price was caused by the depreciation of the paper money; and he proposed the most perfect freedom in the grain trade, and the penalty of death against any man who by his instigations or otherwise should attempt to impede this freedom. Beffroy said that wheat was an article of the first necessity; that it was not purely private property: "Society has the right* of superintendence over it; the cultivator cannot be allowed to use it and abuse it according to his caprice or interest, to destroy it or engross it." He proposed that a market should be established in each canton, and that no buying or selling should be permitted except at these markets. He forgot one important element in this and many other questions; that the interest of individuals may coincide with the interest of the public, and that a man's caprice will go no further than to get the best price that he can for his grain; that with this view only will he buy or sell.

Boyer-Fonfrède proposed a bounty of forty sous on every bushel of grain imported. A deputation of the electors of the department of Seine et Oise petitioned for a law against what they called Monopoly, a term as much abused as the word Right; they prayed that every proprietor should be compelled to bring to the markets a quantity of grain in proportion to his stock, and that the price should be fixed by the municipality of his domicile. These samples will show the state of opinion on this question.

Roland addressed two letters* to the Convention (18th and 27th of November) against the draft of a decree which the committee of agriculture and commerce had produced. Though he had fallen into one of Necker's errors, he had now clear, and just views on the dangerous consequences of what some members of the Convention proposed. He said that "the history of England, the history of France, the great views of Turgot, and the disastrous errors of Necker,—every thing proved that government never meddled with any commerce, with any manufacture, with any enterprise, except at enormous cost when it came into competition with individuals, and always to the prejudice of all; that as often as it undertook to interfere in the affairs of individuals, to regulate the form, the mode of disposing of property, it shackled industry, and raised wages and the products of labour." These views, sound and true, are not in accordance with Roland's former measure for the purchase of corn (p. 217). "This is the case," he said, "with food more than with anything else, because it is a thing of the first necessity, it gives occupation to a great number of individuals, and every man is interested in it: restrictions excite, increase, and propagate want of confidence." His conclusion was in favour of perfect freedom, and his letters show that he had now a clear insight into the real end of government, the security of individual freedom and activity: there is nothing in the whole history of the French Revolution, more memorable than these eternal truths: "President of the representatives of a great people, show that the great art is to do little, and that government, like education, consists chiefly in anticipating and preventing evil in a negative way, in order to allow the facul-

* This unfortunate word has been the cause of much mischief. The confusion of legal rights with other so-called rights, between the positive law and that which is for the general interest, pervades all the ideas of this time. But it is not peculiar to France. It is embalmed in the pages of Blackstone, consecrated by our judges, and abused by our politicians, both writers and speakers, and those that neither write nor speak, but only adopt the confusion of ideas which great authorities sanction.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xx., 405. These letters of Roland bear the impress of his wife's manly and vigorous mind. After her enthusiasm had been corrected by some experience, she became the best and the wisest man of the day. At any rate Roland was improving.

ties their full development, for on this freedom depends all prosperity: the only thing perhaps that the Assembly can allow itself to do in the matter of subsistence, is to declare that it ought to do nothing, that it removes all restrictions, that it proclaims perfect freedom in the trade in corn, that it determines no man's activity, but that it will display great activity against any person who shall impede this freedom." In his second letter Roland stated "that since the municipality of Paris had sold flour at the Halles below the price of the neighbourhood of Paris, people came from the neighbourhood to purchase at Paris; and the regular supplies failed, because persons could not afford to sell at the price at which the municipality sold." The municipality soon discovered that, while they were losing 12,000 francs a day by their sales, they were causing a real scarcity, they were increasing the evil which they wished to remedy. Roland declared in his second letter that Paris could not be supplied unless the Convention would allow perfect freedom in the trade in corn, and secure it against all attacks, and unless the Commune of Paris sold at the same price at which they bought. The discourse of St. Just on this occasion attracted the most attention: it was in a measure his début. He attributed the high price of grain and the disorders chiefly to the excessive emission of assignats; and no doubt he was right, for the excessive emission of assignats induced the farmers to keep their grain, which they could use, instead of changing it for assignats, which were of little value, and could not be hoarded, as they were accustomed to hoard the precious metal, which they brought out when they wanted to employ it. "The principal and the only means of re-establishing confidence and increasing the supply of provisions," said St. Just, "is to diminish the quantity of paper in circulation, and to be very sparing about making any more."* This discourse, among some doubtful propositions, and some that are not quite clear, contains the germs of great truths: it is a lasting monument of the enlarged views, the sound good sense, the unbending will of this youth, one of the sincerest, most resolute, and most fanatical of the children of the Revolution. Feeble in contrast with it is the discourse of Robespierre (2nd of December, 1792,) on the same question, narrow in its views, and violent in the measures which it proposed. Robespierre saw no difficulty in the question. "What," he said, "is the first object of society? it is to maintain the imprescriptible Rights of Man. What is the first of these rights? to exist." Robespierre was always enveloped in a mist of imaginary Rights. "The food necessary for man is as sacred as life itself: all that is necessary to preserve it is a property common to the whole of society: it is only what is over and above that which is necessary, which is individual property, and which should be given up to the industry of traders."† But in the climate of Paris, fire, and clothing, and house-cover, are as necessary for life as food; yet Robespierre said nothing about these necessaries. "All mercantile speculation which I make at the expense of the life of my fellow men, is not traffic; it is robbery, it is fratricide." But Robespierre's fallacy is transparent: a trader's profits and the interests of the public are identical, where trade is perfectly free. The remedies, according to Robespierre, were simple: the first was, to ascertain the quantity of grain that each district had produced, and the quantity that each proprietor or cultivator had got in; the second consisted in compelling the corn-merchants to sell their grain at the market, and to prevent all removal of purchased grain in the night. The Convention, however, did not follow the advice of Robespierre, and they empowered Roland (Dec. 6) to take means to arrest all persons who should stop those who were bringing provisions to Paris.*

There were various disturbances in some of the departments, especially Eure-et-Lois, excited by the scarcity, rather alleged than real. The people blamed the Convention for not fixing the price of bread, and for aiming at the destruction of their religion. The priests were active in encouraging these disturbances. Cambon had given notice of a motion for suppressing all payments for the service of religion, and he had said that those who wanted mass ought to pay for it. Two members of the Convention, who were sent by the Assembly, were assailed at Courville by a band of peasants armed with guns and agricultural implements, and they were compelled to sign a paper which fixed the price of grain. A force was sent by the Convention to re-establish order; but the scarcity and the attachment to their religion had commenced the troubles in the west. To quiet them on the score of religion, Danton declared on the 30th of November, that there was no intention to abolish religion. Robespierre, in one of his letters, had ably combated Cambon's measure.† He said on the 30th, that he had measures to propose which would restore tranquillity: "I move that the last tyrant of France, the head, the rallying-point of conspirators, be condemned to suffer the punishment of his crimes: so long as the Convention shall defer its decision on this important affair, it will encourage the factious and support the hopes of the partizans of royalty: I move that you afterwards occupy yourselves with the question of subsistence, and that at last you lay aside for ever all hatred, all private animosities."

The Assembly had decreed that all the opinions which the members of the Convention had prepared on the proceedings against Louis should be laid on the bureau, printed, and distributed among the members, and that they should then decide on the trial of Louis without losing their time in hearing long discourses

* Discourse of St. Just, 'Hist. Parl.,' xx., 418—430. The speech was ordered to be printed.

† 'Opinion de Max. Robespierre sur les Subsistances, imprimée par ordre de la Convention Nationale, 1792.' The discourse consists of eleven pages. It is printed in 'Hist. Parl.,' xxii., 175.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxi., 198, etc. The history of this affair of subsistence is instructive. It is well treated by Thiers, 'Hist.,' &c., c. 17.

† 'Hist. Parl.,' xx., 448; one of his best productions.

read. The discussion of this matter was adjourned to the 3rd of December. The activity of the Convention was quickened by a deputation of the Commune of Paris appearing at the bar on the evening of the 2nd of December: it was "a section of the sovereign, that terrible section which fears not the power of bayonets, which had made the revolution, and renewed it on its own responsibility." The "section of the sovereign" said that the sections of Paris asked the Convention to consider this question: "Is Louis, once king of the French, worthy of death? is it for the interest of the Republic that he die on the scaffold?" On the 3rd, the Convention satisfied the wishes of those who called themselves a section of the sovereign. Robespierre had not placed his opinion on the bureau; yet he was allowed to speak, because he was not going to speak for the trial, but against it. His proposition was contained in the first few words of his speech: he had adopted the opinion of St. Just. "There are," he said, "no legal proceedings to take in this affair: Louis is not an accused; you are not judges; you are, you can only be, statesmen and the representatives of the Nation: you have not to pronounce a sentence for or against a man, but a measure of public safety to adopt, an act of national providence to exercise."—"Louis was king, and the Republic is established: the great question which engages you is simply determined by these words—Louis is dethroned by his crimes; Louis denounced the French people as rebels; he has invited for our chastisement the arms of his brother tyrants; victory and the people have decided that he was the rebel; Louis then cannot be tried; he is already condemned, or the Republic is not absolved." This was the true view of the case: there had been a contest between the king and the nation, or a part of the nation: this part of the nation was victorious; a form of trial was a farce. The victorious had the power: it was not a question of law, but a question of public interest and justice. "If Louis," said Robespierre, "can be subjected to trial, Louis may be acquitted; he may be innocent; nay, he is presumed to be innocent until he is tried; but if Louis may be presumed innocent, what becomes of the Revolution? Is it not still uncertain and doubtful?"—"I propose to you to determine on the fate of Louis immediately: as to his wife, you will send her before the tribunals, as well as all the persons accused of the same crimes: her son will be kept in the Temple until peace and public liberty are secured. As to Louis, I move that the Convention declare him a traitor to the French nation, criminal against humanity: I move that, as such, he be made a great example to the world, in the very place in which died, on the 10th of August, the generous martyrs of liberty; and that in commemoration of this event there be dedicated a monument designed to cherish in the hearts of people the sentiments of their rights and the horror of tyrants, and in the heart of tyrants the salutary terror of the justice of the people."* Pétion said, nobody doubted that the king ought to be punished, but his punishment must be determined; he ought therefore to be tried, and tried by the Convention. It was decreed that Louis XVI. should be tried by the National Convention.

On the 4th Buzot said that it had been affirmed that there were partizans of royalty in the Convention; and he moved that it be decreed that "whoever should propose or attempt to re-establish royalty in France should be punished with death." Merlin added that an exception should be made in the case "that the re-establishment of royalty should be proposed in the primary Assemblies." This caused a violent outcry. Merlin explained that the people were the sovereign, and their power must be recognized; and though he did not suppose that the people wished to resume their chains, it did not belong to the Convention to fetter the will of the people by any penal law. Guadet observed that every citizen ought to be allowed to express his opinion; and perhaps the Assembly had no cause to regret having heard an opinion which gave them the key to the project long formed of substituting one despotism for another. This was said dishonestly; for Guadet knew that Merlin was a more zealous republican than himself. Robespierre was roused: he, Chabot, and Desmoulins, were at the tribune all at once: all three wanted to speak. The Convention was all confusion. At last they passed to the order of the day on the various motions which Merlin's clumsy amendment had produced,—one of which was that he should be censured; and Buzot's proposal was decreed.

The question of Louis came on, and Robespierre again appeared at the tribune. Part of the Assembly rose, and called for the close of the debate (*clôture de la discussion*). Robespierre persisted in speaking: there was renewed confusion. Some said, "we will hear Robespierre or nobody." At last Robespierre got permission to speak, and the hall was filled with tumultuous applause. Robespierre now knew what the sovereign people, or rather, the faction who acted as such, wanted: he was bold, cruel, consistent. He complained of the repeated violence committed in his person against the right of the "representative, freedom of speech: it was an attack on the sovereignty of the people." Again he returned to his point: you ought to decide on the fate of Louis before you separate: "I maintain that, consistently with principle, you ought to condemn Louis to death immediately, and your title is insurrection." The Assembly, however, decreed that they would proceed with the trial.

This sitting and others were employed in reading documents found in the possession of Laporte, and at the Tuileries in the armoire de fer. A letter of Laporte to the king, dated 21st March, 1791, proved Mirabeau's connection with the court. Mirabeau required as his terms for serving the king with his influence a fixed income, either in the shape of a life annuity charged on the public income, or in land: he had not at that time named any particular sum. There was also read a list of persons, in the handwriting of Laporte,

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xxi., 162.

and of the sums which they were to receive for directing the movement in the provinces, which Mirabeau was to superintend. A member moved that the sanctuary of the law should no longer be polluted by the bust of Mirabeau, and that his remains should be removed from the Pantheon. Manuel, who had a kind of personal interest in the memory of Mirabeau,* said that he was yet only accused, and that his conduct should be examined before he was condemned. The Assembly decreed that the matter of Mirabeau should be referred to the Committee of Instruction, and that until the report was made the bust of the great orator, which was before the eyes of the Convention, should be covered with a veil.

The king had an immense quantity of papers; and in order to conceal them he had a place made in the wall of an interior corridor of his apartments. The man whom he employed to make it was a locksmith, named Gamain, who had worked for and with the king for above ten years, and who, in the workshop where Louis used to amuse himself, was on terms of the greatest familiarity with the king. The wall, where the hole was made, was painted to represent large stones; and the opening was completely concealed by the dark-coloured grooves which represented the shaded part of the stones. The hole had an iron door, whence it has been called the "armoire de fer;" and the iron door was covered with wood. This Gamain, who had enjoyed the favour and confidence of the king, denounced the secret of his fellow-workman to Roland; and Roland was so eager to lay hold of the papers that he had the imprudence to go with Gamain alone, and seize them without having any of the members of the Assembly with him; and this gave his enemies the opportunity of saying that he had secreted some of the papers. It seems that he did not even make an inventory of the papers, and he carried the documents to the offices of the Ministry of the Interior to examine them before he presented them to the Convention. Gamain was rewarded by the Convention with a pension of twelve hundred francs. The Convention gave the papers to their Committee of Twelve, to report upon them. Many names were implicated in these papers, but only a few persons, and Mirabeau among them, were distinctly inculpated. The documents proved that there were persons, many of them political adventurers, who wished to bargain with the court: all that they wanted was money. There was nothing to compromise Danton: his guilty secret was elsewhere.

Before the assault on the Tuileries of the 10th of August, Madame Campan burnt nearly all the queen's papers. The queen intrusted others to a gentleman whose name is not mentioned, and among these papers was her correspondence with Barnave; but, subsequently, all those papers were burnt. The queen, suspecting that Gamain would not keep the secret, urged the king to take all the papers out of the armoire de fer; and, to pacify her, the king said that he had done so. In fact, he did fill a huge portfolio with papers, though he left many in the armoire de fer; and he gave the portfolio to Madame Campan to keep. The queen informed Madame Campan that these papers might compromise the king, if ever he should be brought to trial; but there was among them one which was a minute of a discussion in the council, in which the king had given his opinion against the war, and he had caused all the ministers to sign it. This paper, the queen said, might be useful to the king: she intrusted the whole to Madame Campan. After the removal of the royal family to the Temple, when the domiciliary visits were made, Madame Campan being fearful of the consequences of this portfolio falling into the hands of the king's enemies, instructed Gougenot, the king's maître d'hotel, into whose hands she had put it, to destroy the papers. Her house was searched; but Gougenot had already destroyed the papers, except the minute of the discussion on the war and a few others. The papers which were destroyed comprised letters of Monsieur, of Alexandre de Lameth, of Montmorin, and other ministers and ambassadors; but the largest part of the correspondence was Mirabeau's. Gougenot, who read this correspondence, told Madame Campan that it was exceedingly interesting, and "that the correspondence with the princes, all relating to what was going on out of France in concert with the king, would have been most dangerous to him, if it had been seized." *

A committee was appointed, on the 6th of December, to prepare an enumeration (*acte énonciatif*) of all the crimes of which Louis Capet was accused; and to arrange in convenient order all the documents which supported the charges; and to present to the Convention the series of questions which were to be put to Louis Capet. It was further decreed that Louis Capet should be brought to the bar of the Convention to hear this act of impeachment read, and to answer the questions, which were to be put to him only by the President; a copy of the impeachment and of the series of questions, was to be given to Louis Capet, and the President would then remand him for two days, in order that he be finally heard; the day after his last appearance at the bar, the National Convention would pronounce on the fate of Louis Capet, by calling on each member severally, and every member must present himself successively at the tribune. It was not Louis only who was going to be put on his trial: the members of the Convention were on their trial before the sovereign people. "To know the traitors," said Marat, "for there are traitors in this Assembly; to know them with certitude, I propose to you an infallible method: let the death of the tyrant be voted by each member being singly called, and let the votes be published." Marat descended from the tribune amidst the clamorous plaudits of the galleries.

* Page 215.

* Madame Campan, 'Mém.,' ii., 218, and ii., 262; and vol. 1, note (M); Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. xxxiii., 14; Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., viii., c. 37.

On Monday, the 10th of December, in the evening, Robert Lindet, *in the name of the Committee of Twenty-one presented the* "Report on the crimes imputed to Louis Capet."* On the 11th of December, Barbaroux presented to the Convention the "Acte énunciatif"† of the crimes of which Louis Capet was accused: and on this day Louis XVI. appeared before his judges.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxi., 259—276.

† It consisted of the questions which the president put to Louis, and it was adopted after several members had suggested various facts, on which questions were to be put. The Gironde was silent. A set of miserable, unprincipled men brought their several contributions to increase the heavy load which was accumulated on the head of the unfortunate king. Even Sergent had something to contribute—he one of the signers of the circular of the 3rd of September.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

LOUIS AT THE BAR OF THE CONVENTION AND ON THE SCAFFOLD.

Clé'ry, it is said, contrived to get intelligence of the decree for bringing Louis before the Convention, and he informed Madame Elizabeth, who informed her brother. On the morning of the 11th of December, Chambon, who was then mayor of Paris, and the procureur of the Commune, went to the Temple, and waited there some time for the decree for his removal.* The people in the meantime were very uneasy, fearing that the king would not be brought to the bar of the Convention. At last the decree came, and the mayor announced to Louis Capet the order of the Convention. "Capet is not my name," said Louis, "but the name of one of my ancestors—I am ready to follow you, not in obedience to the Convention, but because my enemies have the power in their hands." It was near one o'clock when the Convention resolved that their decree should be communicated to Louis, and that he should immediately appear before them. Every precaution had been taken to ensure tranquillity: all the posts had been doubled since eight on the morning, and a picquet of two hundred men were under arms in every section, in every prison, and in every public place. The king had breakfasted with his family that morning according to his custom; but at eleven he was separated from his son, to whom he was giving a lesson. Louis tenderly embraced the boy, and he was taken to his mother.

He went to the Convention in the mayor's carriage, with the mayor seated at his side, escorted by a small army of cavalry, infantry, and artillery. The windows of the carriage were down, so that everybody could see the king, who looked all around without betraying grief or ill-humour. As he was passing the Portes St. Martin and St. Denys, he asked which of the two it was proposed to demolish. When the carriage reached the court of the Feuillans, the municipal authorities surrendered the king to the armed force, and he was kept waiting in a room until the Convention summoned him. The Convention were discussing how they should receive the king. Legendre proposed that no motion should be made while Louis was at the bar; that there should be no sign of approbation or disapprobation; "the silence of the tomb must terrify the guilty." Fermont moved that Louis should have a seat, which it was usual to allow every accused person who appeared before a tribunal; and this was assented to. Manuel, the most silly and impertinent man in the whole Convention, said, that "as the Convention was not condemned to busy themselves about a king only, it would be proper to discuss some important matter, even if they kept Louis waiting:" and the Convention began to discuss a law about the emigrants.

Barrère, who was president, informed the Convention that Louis was at the door of the Feuillans: he reminded the Convention that the eyes of Europe were upon them; that incorruptible posterity would judge them with inflexible severity; and he exhorted them to behave in a manner suitable to their new functions; he also addressed the spectators, "associated in the glory and the liberty of the nation of which they formed a part." The meaning of all he said was, that they should keep quiet. Santerre appeared, and said, "Louis Capet waits your commands;" and Louis Capet entered with the mayor, and generals Santerre and Wittengoff, in the midst of profound silence. "Louis," said the President, "the French nation accuses you.—The 'Acte énunciatif' of the crimes which are imputed to you will be read.—You may be seated." And Louis seated himself.

One of the secretaries read this long list of charges, which began with the affair of the 20th of June, 1789, and recapitulated everything which could be urged against the king from that time to the contest at the Tuileries on the 10th of August, 1792. The President then repeated each article of accusation, and concluded each of them with the words, "What have you to say in reply?"* Many of the articles were vague, and hardly admitted of an answer; some were false and absurd; and some were true. The answers of the king were precise, when the article was capable of such an answer. As to his conduct on the 20th and 23rd

* Rapport du Maire et du Procureur de la Commune, &c., 'Hist. Parl.,' xxi., 317; and the Procès-verbal of the Secrétaire-gréffier Coulombeau. Various interesting documents about the king's removal are printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxi., 311. &c.

* Interrogatoire de Louis Capet, 'Hist. Parl.,' xxi., 287.



TRIAL OF LOUIS XVI.

of June,* his answer was, that there was no law to prevent him doing what he did. He professed to know nothing, or to remember nothing, about some of the matters that he was charged with; and some he positively denied. He admitted that members of the Constituent and of the Legislative had presented various schemes to him, but the schemes were so vague that he did not remember them: he denied that he had given or promised money to any of them: he declared that the idea of a counter-revolution never entered his head. To some articles his reply was, that he had acted on the advice of his ministers: as to other charges, such as putting his suspensive veto on two decrees of the Legislative, his answer was, that the Constitution gave him that power. Being asked why he had assembled troops at the Tuileries on the 10th of August, he replied, "All the constituted authorities saw it; the palace was threatened, and as I was a constituted authority, I could defend myself." "You caused the blood of Frenchmen to be shed," said the president; "how do you answer?" "No, sir," said Louis, "it was not I."

"The questions are ended," said the President; "Louis, have you anything to add?" "I ask," said Louis, "for a copy of the charges which I have just heard, and of the documents which are attached to them, and the power of choosing persons to defend me." Valazé, who was seated near the bar, read the titles of various documents, and showed them to the king. He began with a Mémoire of Laporte, "which proved counter-revolutionary projects between Louis Capet, Mirabeau, and others;" but Louis said that he had no knowledge of it. He then presented a letter, in Louis's handwriting, dated the 29th of June, 1790, "which proved his communications with Mirabeau and Lafayette, for the purpose of effecting a revolution." Louis replied, "I reserve myself to explain the contents of that letter." Valazé read the letter, and Louis then said, "It is only a project; there is nothing in it about a counter-revolution; the letter ought not to have been sent." He refused to acknowledge the documents that were presented to him: one of them was a letter in his own handwriting, signed by himself, addressed to the bishop of Clermont, the 16th of April, 1791, but Louis would not recognize it. The President said, "You do not recognize your own handwriting and your own signature?" Louis said "No." "The seal is the arms of France," replied the President. "Many persons had it," was the rejoinder of Louis. "Did you," said the President, "cause a recess with an iron door to be made at the palace of the Tuileries; and did you cause papers to be placed there?" The answer was, "I have no knowledge of it." The fact however was notorious, and Louis could not possibly conceive that any person would believe that he was ignorant of the existence of the *armoire de fer*. His cool and collected replies prove that he did not choose to admit any thing that was against him. It has been said that he might have refused to answer any question, and that this would have been more consistent with his dignity. But it is not easy for a man who is subjected to a searching interrogatory to persist simply in not answering: he will answer that which he can truly deny; and as to that which he does not choose to admit, it is the privilege of the accused to deny it, and leave his accusers to prove it.

* Page 14, &c.

After the interrogatory was over, the President told Louis that he might retire into the salle des conférences; for the Assembly was going to deliberate. "I have asked for counsel," said Louis, and retired. Treilhard then proposed that Louis Capet might have one or more counsel; a motion which caused a violent tumult in the Assembly: but the storm was at last assuaged by the oily voice of Pétion, and it was decreed that the king might choose his counsel.

When Louis was in the salle des conférences, he was asked if he would take anything, but he refused. However, on seeing a grenadier take a piece of bread out of his pocket, and give half of it to Chaumette, the procureur of the Commune, he asked the procureur for a bit, who gave it to him. On the order coming for his return to the Temple, the king of France again entered the mayor's carriage with the piece of bread in his hand, and Chaumette with him. He only ate the crust of his bread, and asked Coulombeau, who was also in the carriage, what he should do with the crumb. Coulombeau settled his difficulty by throwing it through the window. "Ah," said the king, "it is wrong to throw bread away when it is dear." The procureur said, "My grandmother used always to say to me, "Little boy, we ought never to waste a crumb of bread; we cannot make one." "Monsieur Chaumette," replied Louis, "your grandmother appears to me to have been a woman of great good sense." As Louis came out of the salle des conférences he was saluted by the populace with this verse from the Marseillaise,

"Qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons;"

and he was accompanied to the Temple by cries of "Vive la Republique!" It was observed that the king had lost somewhat of his former stoutness. His beard was not cut close, and his dress was neglected. He re-entered the Temple between six and seven in the evening, when he was informed that the Commune had resolved that he should have no further communication with his family, and that his valet should have no communication with any person; and that if the Convention allowed him counsel, they should only see him in the presence of the municipal officers. Louis had eaten nothing all day; and the reports of the day, which delight in minute particulars, informs us that he "ate to his supper six cutlets, a considerable portion of a fowl, two eggs, and drank two glasses of white wine, and one of Alicante wine, and forthwith went to bed."*

* Resumé du rapport du commissaire Albertier. 'Hist. arl.,' xxi., 319.

On the 12th the Convention sent Cambacérès, Thuriot, Dubois-Crancé, and Dupont de Bigorre, to the Temple, to ask Louis to name the persons whom he would choose to defend him. The king named Target and Tronchet; and Garat, the minister of justice, was instructed to make all the necessary communications to them. The Convention also made an order that the king's defenders should communicate freely with him, and that the municipal officers should furnish the king with all necessary writing materials. Target declined the honour of being one of the defenders of Louis; and a letter published on the 13th, alleged his age and feeble health. Target's pusillanimity only excited indignation; and it is said that a mob went to his house with rods to give him a whipping, which he only escaped by timely notice of the intended chastisement, and taking refuge with a friend.* Target's place was supplied by the venerable Malesherbes, then seventy years of age, who on the 11th had written to the President of the Convention. He said, "I have been twice called to the councils of Louis, who was my master at a time when this function was the ambition of everybody: I owe him the same service when it is a function which many people consider dangerous: if I knew any possible means of letting him know my inclinations, I should not take the liberty of addressing myself to you." Sourdat, of Troyes, made the same offer in a letter to the President of the Convention; and he said that his motive for making the offer was his conviction of the king's innocence. Louis accepted the services of Malesherbes, and the first time that he came to the Temple, the king embraced him most affectionately. The Convention in the mean time made an order that Louis should only see his children, and that the children should not see their mother or their aunt until after the final examination of the king. But the king would not take the children from their mother on these terms. On the 17th, at the request of Tronchet and Malesherbes, Desèze was associated with them for the king's defence. It is noted that at this time Marie-Antoinette, her daughter, and the king's sister, asked for winter clothing, which they wanted, and that they might still have the 'Journal des Débats.'

While Louis was preparing his defence, the Convention were quarrelling. On the 16th, on the motion of Thuriot, the Convention decreed the penalty of death—for, like Draco, they could think of no other—against every person who should propose or attempt to break the unity of the French Republic. This was a covert attack on the supposed federalism of the Gironde. Buzot retorted by proposing the banishment of Philippe Égalité and all his family. The duke of Orleans, though he had divested himself of his title, and as early as 1791 had declared that he was ready to renounce all his contingent claims to the crown of France, (of which fact he reminded the French by a letter published on the 9th of December, 1792,) was still suspected, for he was of the royal family: he was immensely rich too, and it had always been said and generally believed that he had given money to the promoters of anarchy. He was not in the ranks of the Girondins: his only place of refuge was among the Jacobins, and this was enough to make the Gironde his enemy. Louvet supported Buzot's motion with a tiresome history of the elder Brutus and the Tarquins: "The speech of Brutus, uttered more than two thousand years ago, is so applicable to our present situation, that a man might suppose that I had composed it to-day:" and he then treated his audience with the speech of "the immortal founder of the Roman Republic."* Louvet descended the tribune amidst the applause of a majority of the Assembly. The debate became tumultuous: all was confusion. Albitte said, that if the family of Orleans was to be ostracised, he called for the ostracism of Roland also. "And that of Pache too," cried out another. Rewbell asked if they had the "right" to banish a representative of the people, for such the duke of Orleans was; and Duhem maintained the same principle. The affair was ended by a decree that all the family of Bourbon Capets who were in France should be banished, except the prisoners in the Temple, as to whose fate the Convention reserved their decision; and as to Philippe Égalité, his case was adjourned for two days. On the 19th, when this affair was again discussed, and on the motion of Pétion, it was again adjourned until the king's fate was decided.†

The Jacobins had a meeting on the 16th, in which the affair of Égalité was discussed. Robespierre said, that if he had been at the Convention that day, he would have voted for Louvet's motion: "it is conformable to principles, and the conduct of Brutus is applicable to our present situation." He admitted that the house of Orleans had shown much patriotism, but all the members of the former royal family ought to be sacrificed to the truth of principles. "Can the nation be sure that all the members of this family will be invariably attached to principles?" Robespierre said, however, that the motion made that morning was only a farce, and that the object of the faction was to impute to the Jacobins all the projects which they meditated themselves. This faction had tried how much they could damage the Jacobins by talking of a dictatorship; and when that calumny failed, they were trying what they could do by fixing on the Jacobins the name of the Orleans' faction. Marat said that he wished Égalité to remain; and this was received with bravos from the galleries. He said the faction of Brissot

* Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., viii., c. 38.

* Livy, ii., 2. The classicism of the Revolution is a characteristic of the times. The abuse of history is more common than its use.

† Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., viii., 38, throws some light on this affair, if he tells the truth. It seems likely that the duke and his partisans intrigued to prevent the decree of banishment. Bertrand de Moleville's assertion that he engaged to vote for the king's death, may be true, but it requires stronger evidence than he has given.

aimed at attacking the rights of the people in the person of Égalité: "if we abandon Égalité, liberty is irrecoverably lost." This debate enables us better to understand the position of the duke of Orleans, and it renders his intrigues with the Jacobins exceedingly probable. St. André said, "The scene of to-day was prepared at Roland's, who distributed all the parts: it is to cement his despotism, that he wishes to exile Égalité: if Roland were virtuous, he would abandon his party.—Let us be tranquil, let us have the dignity which befits us: the calm of the people is the calm of nature at the approach of a tempest, which will be destructive to the Brissotins and to all other intriguers."

The affair of the king was not the only one that engaged the attention of the Convention in the first part of December: they were also busy with considering the important question of education. In 1790, Talleyrand had presented to the Constituent a plan of education, the principles of which the Assembly approved, but it did no more. Talleyrand's plan went no further than the provisional maintenance of the existing establishments; but most of the professors in France were ecclesiastics, and the oath that was required had driven the greater part of them away. Condorcet made a Report on Education to the Legislative Assembly in 1792, which was now reprinted; and the discussion on education was resumed. If the ideas of the Convention on this matter were not clear, nor well settled; they did not at least overlook its grave importance even in the midst of war and during the process of the king.*

Louis was busy with his counsel in examining the immense mass of documents on which his defence was to be founded. Commissioners daily brought the papers to the Temple, and the king examined them as carefully and coolly as if the matter had concerned some other person. Desèze prepared the written defence, which he wrote in four nights, being employed during the day in examining the documents with his colleagues. On the morning of the 26th of December, Louis again appeared at the bar of the Convention, with his counsel, and Desèze read the defence of the prisoner.† Desèze did not surrender the principle of the king's inviolability: he did not deny the sovereignty of the nation, but a monarchical government required the inviolability of its head; and the Constitution had given to the king this inviolability in the most absolute and unconditional terms; none of the provisions of the Constitution went further than to provide for the deposition of the king in certain cases. If the king was not to be allowed the privileges which the Constitution gave, he ought at least to have the privileges of every other citizen, such as the distinction between the jury of impeachment and the jury of trial, the power of challenge, the majority of two-thirds,‡ and vote by ballot. "Citizens, I will address you with the frankness of a free man: I look among you for judges, and I see only accusers." As to the facts alleged against Louis, he divided them into two classes, those which preceded and those which followed the acceptation of the Constitution. He answered all the charges founded on acts or alleged acts prior to the acceptance of the Constitution: but there was one answer to all, and that was the Constitutional pact. He examined and answered the charges founded on acts or alleged acts posterior to the Constitution: these acts he divided into those for which the ministers were responsible; and those which were personal to the king. As to those acts which were the acts of his ministers, they might all be true, might be matter for reproach, matter for accusation, and yet Louis would not be responsible for them. As to the facts charged against the king personally, he denied them, or answered them, or showed their futility; and as to the 10th of August, he made a most complete reply: Louis had always refused to shed blood; he had always refused to give any order which might cause the loss of life, on the trying occasion of the 6th of October, and when he was at Varennes. He concluded in these terms: "Hear by anticipation what history will say; Louis ascended the throne at the age of twenty, and at the age of twenty upon the throne he set a virtuous example; he brought to the throne neither guilty weakness nor corrupting passions; he was economic, just, severe; he always showed himself the friend of the people. If the people desired the abolition of a grievous tax, he abolished it; if they demanded the abolition of servitude, he began by putting an end to it on his own domains; if the people asked for reform in criminal legislation, to mitigate the condition of those who were accused, he made these reforms. The people wished that thousands of Frenchmen whom the rigour of our usages had deprived of rights which belong to citizens, should acquire or recover their rights, and he made the French enjoy these rights by his laws. The people wished for liberty, and he gave it. He even anticipated their demands by his concessions; and yet it is in the name of this people that it is now sought to——Citizens, here I go no further. I pause in the presence of history; consider that history will sit in judgment on your judgment, and the judgment of history will be the judgment of ages."

The king read a short paper, in which he declared that his conscience reproached him in nothing, and that his defenders had said the truth: he had never feared a public examination of his conduct; and he was most grieved at being charged with wishing to shed the blood of his people, and especially with the misfortunes of the 10th of August. The king went back to the Temple;* and a stormy discussion com-

* See 'Hist. Parl.,' xxii., 189—274.

† Printed in 'Hist. Parl.,' xxii., 2—57. It is too long to analyse fully: it is close and cogent.

‡ As to the law on this matter, see the remarks of Merlin of Douay, 'Hist. Parl.,' xxiii., 213.

* Before he left, he was shown some keys which had been found at the Tuileries, in the apartments of Thierry, the king's valet, with a note to this effect in Thierry's handwriting: "Keys which the king gave me at the Feuillans

menced, which was continued till the Assembly had made their final decree. On the 27th, St. Just said, "If the king is innocent, the people are guilty." This was to condemn the king; for who could dare to say that the people were guilty? He moved that every member should ascend the tribune, and declare "Louis is or is not convicted." The Girondins were still silent; some of them were touched by the fallen state of Louis, but they wanted courage; and in their irresolution they tried the expedient of shifting from themselves the heavy responsibility of the king's fate. On the 27th, Salles proposed that the Convention should decide on the guilt of Louis, and should refer to the primary assemblies the question of his death or his exile upon the general restoration of peace. The galleries this day were tumultuous beyond all precedent, even in the French Assemblies. On the 28th, Buzot said that he was in favour of condemning Louis to death, and appealing to the people for the confirmation of the sentence. But this was more objectionable than the motion of Salles: it was a direct appeal to civil war. Robespierre delivered a long and artful discourse: his principles gave him the merit of consistency: "The true judgment of a king is the spontaneous and universal movement of a people weary of tyranny, who break the sceptre in the hands of the tyrant who oppresses them; it is the surest, the most equitable, and the purest of all judgments." He proved that the proposition for submitting to the primary assemblies the matter of Louis Capet, would tend to a civil war; and it was his opinion that the Convention should declare Louis guilty, and worthy of death. The great orator of the Gironde had not yet spoken. Vergniaud felt for Louis, and perhaps he wished to save him. He began by attempting to fix the notion of the sovereignty of the people, of which they were continually talking: "It is the power of making laws, regulations; in a word, doing all the acts which concern the happiness of the social body: the people exercise this power by themselves or by their representatives: in this latter case and it is ours, the decisions of the representatives of the people are executed as laws; but why? because they are presumed to be the expression of the general will; from this presumption alone is their force derived; this presumption alone gives them the character which causes them to be respected.—Every act which proceeds from the representatives of the people is an act of tyranny, a usurpation of the sovereignty, if it is not submitted to the formal or tacit ratification of the people; the judgment, then, which you will pronounce on Louis ought to be submitted to one of these modes of ratification." This was his argument, developed in a long ingenious speech, which produced some effect, but did not decide wavering opinions. The discussion continued to the 7th of January, 1793. Brissot supported the proposition of Salles; Gensonné also, and he made a violent attack on Robespierre: "You finished your infamous diatribe," said he to Robespierre, "by exciting the people to avenge *you*, you and your friends, whom you call the Patriots, when the last of you shall be murdered. Calm yourself, Robespierre; you will never be massacred, and I think that you will not cause any one else to be massacred." Gensonné was no prophet. On the 4th of January, Barrère pronounced a long discourse, in which he examined the question under all its forms: he argued against Vergniaud's exposition of the sovereignty: he maintained that the principle of true democracies is, "that the nation which has the sovereign power must do itself all that it can do well; and that which it cannot do well, it must do by delegates or representatives;" and he showed that the matter of the king was not one which the nation could properly consider. His moderate language, his specious though not vigorous argument, his suppleness and dexterity, perhaps decided the king's fate. The insignificance of Desmoulins is rescued from oblivion by his atrocious proposal, that Louis deserved death, and that a scaffold should be erected on the Place du Carrousel, to which he should be led, bearing a placard with the inscription, "Perjured, and a Traitor to the Nation."

12th of August, 1792." One of these keys opened the "armoire de fer." He admitted having given keys to Thierry, but he would not acknowledge the key.

On the 15th of January the question was put, "Is Louis Capet guilty of conspiring against the liberty of the nation, and of attempts against the general security of the State?" Every member was required to appear at the tribune to give his vote, and to sign it; those who were absent were allowed to give their votes afterwards; and the members were permitted briefly to state the reason of their vote. Eight members were absent through sickness; twenty were absent, being employed as commissioners. Thirty-seven, who signed their vote and gave reasons for it, had various opinions. Six hundred and eighty-three members simply gave the answer "Yes."* The President declared Louis Capet guilty on this point. The next question was, "Shall the judgment of the National Convention against Louis Capet be submitted to the ratification of the people?" Nine members were now absent from illness; and twenty on business, as before. Four refused to vote. Eleven assigned a reason for their vote. Two hundred and eighty-one voted for the ratification of the people: four hundred and eighty-three rejected the ratification by the people. The President declared that the National Convention had decreed that the sentence of Louis Capet shall not be referred to the ratification of the people. The whole day was occupied with the voting: the final question was reserved for the morrow.

As the decisive moment approached, the agitation of Paris increased. When the piece called 'Ami des Lois' was acted at the theatres, there were heard expressions in favour of Louis XVI., and the jealous Commune ordered the suspension of the piece, and instructed the police not to allow any plays to be acted

* All the names are printed in 'Hist. Parlem.,' xxiii., 111, &c.

which might disturb the public tranquillity.* The Jacobins talked of conspiracies to save Louis from punishment; and a part of the Convention did wish to save him by indirect means: if they only saved him for a time, they might hope that he would finally escape with his life. At an early hour on the 16th the galleries of the Convention were stocked with Jacobins, to keep an eye on the votes. The early part of the day was taken up with other business. Before the voting commenced, Lanjuinais moved that two-thirds of the votes should be necessary to constitute a majority. Danton, who was present to-day, maintained that a simple majority was sufficient. Lanjuinais said, "You have rejected all the forms which perhaps justice and certainly humanity required. We are supposed to be deliberating here in a free Convention; but we deliberate under the daggers and the cannon of the factious." The Assembly passed to the order of the day, on the ground that all the decrees of the Convention were founded on a simple majority. It was eight in the evening when the third question was proposed, "What punishment shall be inflicted on Louis XVI.?"

The department of Haute-Garonne was called first; and Jean-Mailhe was the first man who was summoned to the tribune. He voted for death, with this addition, that if this vote was carried, the Assembly should discuss whether it was for the public interest that the execution should take place immediately, or be deferred: and this proposal was quite independent of his vote. A great number of deputies voted for death, with the addition of what Mailhe had proposed. The voting went on all night, and was continued the next day till eight in the evening, when all the votes had been taken. It was a trying time to many of the members, who intended to vote in favour of the king; and the resolution of some of them was shaken by the solemnity, which was in fact their own trial also. One by one they were called to ascend the tribune, and to give their vote in the midst of silence and in the face of the threatening galleries. The vote was heard in silence, but followed by murmurs, if it was not the vote of death. Vergniaud, who was touched by the calamities of Louis, and was not a sanguinary man,—Vergniaud, who, it is said, had declared that he could never condemn the unhappy king, faltered at the tribune, and his voice pronounced for death, with the addition which Mailhe had made. Thomas Payne voted for imprisonment and banishment at the peace; Sièyes, his old rival (p. 137), now utterly contemptible, voted for death. Among the votes for death is the name of Cavaignac. The twenty-four deputies of Paris, with the exception of Manuel, Dusaulx, and Thomas, voted for death. Among them was Danton, and Robespierre, who gave a reason for his vote; Collot d'Herbois, Marat, Sergent, and Panis; the great criminals of September, who merited death themselves, were voting for the death of Louis. But among them was a still more despicable man: the duke of Orleans voted for the death of his kinsman, and added as his reason: "Solely occupied with my duty, convinced that all those who have attacked or shall hereafter attack the sovereignty of the people merit death, I vote for death."* This was hypocrisy and cowardice.

When the votes were counted, the President informed the Assembly of a letter written by the Chevalier Ocariz, chargé d'affaires of Spain in France, to the French minister for foreign affairs, in which the Spaniard prayed the French minister to ask of the Convention time enough to allow the King of Spain to use his good offices in restoring peace between France and the hostile powers: it was an indirect way of asking for the life of Louis. But the Assembly would not hear the letter, and Danton said if they were of his mind they would forthwith proclaim war against Spain, on the ground of this letter only. The council of Louis prayed to address the Convention. Robespierre resisted their request.

The votes were counted: there were for death without any condition, 387; for imprisonment or conditional death, 331; and 28 were absent or did not vote.

Vergniaud was president. In a mournful voice he said, "I declare in the name of the National Convention that the punishment which it has pronounced against Louis Capet is death."

The council of Louis were introduced, and Desèze read a note from Louis, written and signed by himself, in which he appealed to the nation from the sentence of the Convention. Malesherbes, with tears in his eyes, prayed to be allowed to the following day to present his views on this question. Robespierre would speak: he was always speaking: he was inflexible, inaccessible to pity:—"The decree is irrevocable; the decree has been promulgated for the pressing interest of the public safety; it cannot be recalled; it cannot even be discussed without prejudice to first principles." The Convention followed Robespierre.

It remained to settle whether the execution should be deferred. On the 19th of January the question was, "Shall the execution of the sentence of Louis Capet be deferred?" The opinion of Thomas Payne was read: "Citizens," he said, "I sincerely regret the vote which the Convention has given for the punishment of death.—France has now only one ally, the United States of America.—I can assure you that the execution of Louis will cause universal sorrow there.—If I could speak French, I would go down to your bar, and in the name of all my American brethren I would present a petition for the suspension of the execution of Louis. Citizens, give not to the despot of England the pleasure of seeing the man mount the scaffold who assisted in rescuing from their chains my dear brethren of America." Only 690 members voted: for the suspension of the sentence there were 310; against it, 380. On the motion of Cambacérès it was decided that the executive council should inform Louis

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxiii., 25, &c.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxiii., 168, where all the votes are given.

in the course of the day of the decree, and cause it to be executed within twenty-four hours after notice should be given to him.

Every effort to save the king had failed, and his death was now certain. The triumphant Jacobins were active and vigilant in taking all means for securing their victory, that there should be no chance of their victim escaping them. At the close of a tumultuous session of the 18th, when the president had quitted the chair, and about three hundred members were left standing in the hall, Santerre impudently got on the tribune, about midnight, and comforted all who were present by assuring them that there was perfect tranquillity, and that the sentence of the king should be executed with great solemnity. But "this punishment of a king, in the midst of a country which three years before, by its habits, usages, and laws, was an absolute monarchy, seemed still doubtful, and only became credible after the event."—(Thiers.)

The king had not seen his family since the 14th of December. Malesherbes, overpowered with emotion, first communicated to him the fatal sentence; the intelligence of which he received without surprise or agitation, and all his care was to comfort the venerable old man and his servant Cléry. After they parted, the king never saw Malesherbes again. Garat, the minister of justice, Lebrun, of foreign affairs, Grouvelle, the secretary of the council, and others, went to the Temple at two o'clock on Sunday, the 20th of January. Garat, with his hat on, told him that they had come to communicate the decrees of the Convention, which Grouvelle read from a paper with a faltering voice. Louis heard his sentence without emotion, took the paper from Grouvelle, and put it in his pocket. He then read a letter, dated that day, and addressed to the Convention, in which he requested a delay of three days to prepare himself to appear before God; and he asked permission to have a priest; also to be relieved from the continual surveillance which he was then under, to see his family without witnesses, and that they might be allowed to leave France: he recommended to the bounty of the nation all those who were dependent on him. The name of the priest, which he gave on a bit of paper, not in his own handwriting, was M. Edgeworth de Firmont. Garat presented the letter to the Convention, who granted him a priest, and permission to see his family; and they "authorized the executive council to reply to Louis, that the nation, always magnanimous and always just, would consider the situation of his family." They refused the respite.

The king had named to Malesherbes the Abbé Edgeworth as the priest whom he would wish to see if he should be condemned to death, which he expected from the first; but he desired the Abbé to be informed that if he had any personal fears, he begged that he would recommend to him a fit person. The Abbé had no fear, and he gladly undertook to administer to the king the consolations of religion. He went to the Temple in Garat's carriage, composed and tranquil, while the minister of justice was ill at ease. The members of the council of the Commune, who were that day sitting at the Temple, were more brutal than usual: they searched the Abbé Edgeworth's pockets, to see that he was not bringing poison or a dagger. When the Abbé was introduced to the king, Garat and the rest who were there retired, and the king closed the door. Edgeworth threw himself on his knees and kissed the king's hand, which he bathed with tears. Louis affectionately raised him from the ground, and led him to the closet, where he read over his last will to him.* He asked about the condition of the clergy, and intreated Edgeworth to assure the Archbishop of Paris that he died in his communion. It was eight o'clock: Louis rose and begged the Abbé to wait; he was going to see his family for the last time. The Commissioners of the Commune refused to comply fully with the order of the Convention to allow the king to see his family without witnesses. The Commissioners said he must see them in the eating-room; the door would be shut, but they would have their eyes on him through the glass.

At half-past eight the queen came, leading her son by the hand, and followed by the king's sister and daughter. They all threw themselves into the king's arms, and the silence was only interrupted by sighs and sobs. It was a scene of sorrow and lamentation which lasted near two hours. At last the king rose from the chair on which he had been seated, with his family clinging to him, and moved towards the door. He promised to see them again at seven the next morning; but he saw them no more. His daughter fainted at his feet, and Cléry and Madame Elizabeth supported her. Once more embracing them all the king said, "Farewell, Farewell," tore himself away, and rejoined his confessor. Louis soon recovered his tranquillity, and as he wished to hear mass and receive the eucharist, the abbé applied to the council sitting in the Temple. They made objections: priests, they said, had sometimes mixed poison in the consecrated wafer. At last they consented.

The king went to bed about one in the morning, and the abbé spent the night in the same room. The king slept sound till five, when he got up. Cléry prepared the altar in the room, and the king heard mass and took the eucharist; after which he retired to his closet, and taking Cléry by both hands thanked him for his faithful services. He gave him a seal for his son, and a ring and a packet of hair for the queen. He asked for a pair of scissors to cut his hair, that he might not have to submit to this at the hands of the executioner. Cléry applied to the council, but they refused the request.

The drums were beating; the armed sections were assembling; doors and windows were closed in Paris; it was not a day of rejoicing. The Convention, the Commune, the Executive Council, the Jacobins, all were sitting. Ample preparation had been made to prevent any attempt at rescue, if a rescue was ever

* The Testament of Louis XVI. has been often printed, 'Hist. Parl.,' xxiii., 345; Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., viii., &c.



EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI.

thought of; till the tragedy was over there was anxiety and doubt. Santerre appeared at eight to lead the king to execution. The king was ready; he had resolved to spare his family another painful interview. He offered a paper to one of the municipality officers, and prayed him to transmit it to the Commune. It was his Testament: the man to whom he offered it, Jacques Roux, had been a priest. He refused to take it, and answered that his only business was to conduct the king to execution. Another person took charge of the paper, and the procession left the Temple. The Abbé Edgeworth was in a carriage with the king, and two officers of gendarmerie. The carriage went slow, and the way was long. The king was reading in the breviary of the abbé. The streets were lined with armed men: there was deep unbroken silence. On the Place de la Révolution, formerly the Place Louis XV., a large space had been left free around the scaffold, and it was garnished with artillery. A body of federates surrounded the space, and behind them were the rabble, who showed signs of joy. A few minutes before ten the carriage was on the spot, and Louis came out. Three or four executioners presented themselves to take off his upper dress, but he did it himself. When they were going to cut his hair and tie his hands, the outrage roused his indignation, and he seemed preparing to resist. The abbé, who was still by his side, said, "Endure this insult as a last resemblance to the God who will reward you." He submitted, his hair was cut, his hands were tied, and he ascended the scaffold. He advanced towards the crowd with a firm countenance, and said, in a clear loud voice, "Frenchmen, I die innocent; I pardon my enemies; and I wish that my blood may be to the advantage of the French, and may appease the anger of God."* He was going to say more, but the drums beat and drowned his voice: the executioners stretched him beneath the axe of the guillotine, and as it was going to descend, the abbé addressed to him his last words, "Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven." The scaffold was drenched with the blood of the king of the French. Some dipped in it handkerchiefs, some the end of their pikes.

One of the self-constituted judges of Louis died before the man whom he had condemned. Michel Lepelletier de Saint Fargeau, of ancient family and immense wealth, had joined the popular side; and the measure of the progress which he had made in Jacobinism is the approbation of Robespierre. He voted for the king's death, and on the 20th of December a young man named Pâris, one of the constitutional guard of Louis, found him at the Palais Royal, where he had just dined. "Are you Lepelletier?" said Pâris. "Yes." "What opinion had you in the affair of the king?" "I voted for death according to my conscience." "Villain! take your reward," said Pâris, and plunged his sword into Lepelletier's heart. The Convention buried Lepelletier in the Pantheon, and gave him a public funeral. The body of Louis was taken in a covered tumbril to the cemetery of the Madeleine, and thrown into a grave with quick-lime.*

The trial of Louis was the grand act of hypocrisy of the Revolution; the chief actors were the Convention; the sincere and fanatical were few; the timid, many; the hypocrites, still more. They appealed to posterity, and posterity must be their judge. "With unheard-of hypocrisy towards men, towards God, and their own consciences, for without such a complication of it their conduct is inexplicable, even this action, which so little admitted of any cloak, was contrived, and carried into execution, under pretence of authority and liberty, and by professing the forms of justice in an arraignment and trial, like to what is used in regular legal procedures. No age indeed can show an example of hypocrisy parallel to this."†

* These words are given with some variations; but the substance is the same. The 185th No. of the 'Révolution de Paris,' which is the authority for these words, does not mention the last words of Edgeworth, which were only addressed to the king, just as the axe was descending.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxiii., 361. Chénier said in the Convention, "Lepelletier, immortalized by his assassination, shows you the civic palm of the martyrs of liberty: he has taken his place among the Barnveldts and the Sidneys." French revolutionary comparisons are seldom exact. See also 'Hist. Parl.,' xxiv., 1, and 10, &c.

† Bp. Butler's Sermon, Jan. 30, 1740—41, on the text, 1 Peter, ii., 16: "And not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God." Compare Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' xxxv., 27.

Different narratives of the execution of Louis are printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxiii., 298—361. There is a variance in many small particulars: there is none in the evidence as to the king's courage. He died with the faith and the constancy of a martyr. The filthy author of the 'Oraison funèbre de Louis Capet,' the Véritable père Duchesne, says, 'He was firm, and a bigot to the last moment."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

WAR DECLARED AGAINST ENGLAND.

The execution of the French king produced the result which some of the revolutionists expected: it engaged France in a struggle to maintain the Revolution, from which she could not withdraw. The Jacobins had gained their great victory more easily than they expected: they were masters in Paris, and they had only to secure the opinion of the departments, which was by no means universally in their favour.

On the 23rd of January, the Convention published an address to the French people on the execution of the king, which was drawn up by Barrère.* The Girondins saw in the death of Louis the prelude to an attack on themselves. One of their party had moved and carried a resolution for inquiry into the massacres of September; but the affair ended in nothing. On the 23rd of January, Roland wrote a long letter to the Convention, in which he offered his resignation, which was accepted. The retirement of Roland was a blow to the Gironde, who indemnified themselves by an attack on the mal-administration of Pache, the minister of war; and on the 3rd of February, 1793, Pache was replaced by general Beurnonville, the friend of Dumouriez. War with all Europe was now imminent, and the general defence and finance were the questions of the day.

The three declared enemies of France were the king of Sardinia, Austria, and Prussia. A new and more dangerous enemy was provoked by the Republic. Great Britain had maintained a strict neutrality, and had shown every disposition to keep clear from all interference in French affairs. Kersaint said in the Legislative Assembly, on the 18th of September, 1792, "There only remains one nation in Europe, whose neutrality is clearly declared with respect to France; and that is England: yet there are no means left unemployed to irritate the English who are now in France—at the present moment everything is done that can annoy strangers, and particularly the English." † After the 10th of August the British ambassador left Paris. On the 30th of January, 1793, Lebrun, the minister of foreign affairs, informed the Convention, that on the arrival of the news of the death of Louis in England, the French ambassador, Chauvelin, had received his passport, and the British court had gone into mourning. But the conduct of the French Republic had before this excited general alarm in Europe. The 10th of August and the proclamation of a Republic, were an attack on the principle of royalty; the massacres of September had shocked the feelings of humanity; a decree of the Convention of the 19th of November, 1792, had offered fraternity and assistance to all people who wished to receive their liberty; and the decree of the 15th of December passed upon the "Report of Cambon, as to the conduct to be observed by the French generals in the countries occupied by the arms of the Republic," distinctly declared, among other things, that in all countries, which then were or should be occupied by the armies of the French Republic, the French generals must proclaim "the sovereignty of the people and the suppression of all existing authorities." ‡ The Jacobin leaders in France relied on the sympathy of a large part of the English nation; * in which, however, they were signally mistaken; for most of those who at first hailed with delight the new-born freedom of France, were now cooled or disgusted; and the addresses from the London Corresponding and other Societies, after the massacres of September, were no evidence of the opinion of the nation. Pitt, the English prime minister, complained that the French, upon conquering Belgium, had opened the navigation of the Schelde, which was closed against the people of the Low Countries by the treaty of Münster; he complained of the decree of the 19th of November, and of the designs which France had upon Holland, the ally of Great Britain. Lord Grenville, in his correspondence with Chauvelin, distinctly stated the conditions on which Great Britain would continue on friendly terms with France; and these were, that France should keep within her own territory, "without insulting other governments, disturbing their tranquillity, or violating their rights." After the decrees of the French Convention and the declaration of Lord Grenville, it was immaterial which country first proclaimed war: the principles of the French Republic and those of the British Government were directly opposed. The French would meddle everywhere; the English ministry required them to keep at home, and molest nobody.

Brissot was the man who had urged the declaration of war against the king of Hungary and of Bohemia; and Brissot, on the 1st of February, 1793, in the name of the Committee of General Security, made his report on the relations between France and England. "Citizens," he said in the beginning of his report, "the English court wishes for war; you can no longer doubt it." The draft of the proposed decree for a declaration of war against Great Britain and the Stadtholder of Holland, was prefaced with the grounds on which this measure was founded; and these were, the conduct of the king of England, "principally since the revolution of the 10th of August, 1792:" in fact, no ground of complaint prior to that date is alleged. Of the alleged acts of hostility, the most distinct was the "refusal to recognize the ambassador of the French Republic, though furnished with credentials." On hearing the report, the Convention in the same sitting declared war against the King of Great Britain and the Stadtholder of the United Provinces.†

To resist a new enemy, so formidable on the sea

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxiii., 319. It begins, "Citizens, the tyrant is no more." The assassination of Lepelletier furnished a large part of the matter. The address is signed by Vergniaud, as president.

† 'Hist. Parl.,' xviii., 2.

‡ 'Hist. Parl.,' xxi., 351. This decree has been already referred to.

* See the answer of the Président Grégoire, 'Hist. Parl.,' xx., 377, to the address of the Allobroges.

† 'Hist. Parl.,' xxiv., 200; and the 'Histoire de la rupture de la France avec l'Angleterre,' in the same volume. Compare Thiers, 'Hist.,' ii., c. 2.—It is difficult to read with patience the vague assertions of the French historians in such matters as this, when national antipathies operate. The grounds of the quarrel are simple enough; and if France had not proclaimed war, Great Britain would soon have done it. The communication made to Chauvelin is precise, and leaves no doubt.

and possessed of such immense resources, required all the efforts of the young Republic. Cambon made an elaborate report in the name of the Committee o Finance. He stated the amount of assignats in circulation on the 26th of January, 1793, at 2,387,460,040 livres; but he showed that there was still an immens mass of national property at the disposal of the State, which had been lately increased by the decrees for th sale of episcopal palaces, houses formerly possessed by the order of Malta, and by colleges; and from othe sources. He estimated all this property at more than 3,170,000,000 livres; and he showed various source from which it would be still further increased; such, fo instance, as the sale of the property of the emigrants, which alone Roland had estimated at 3,000,000,000 livres. One of the sources is rather curious: "The amount of the indemnity which will be due to the Republic from the people to whom the success of the French arms shall have procured liberty and equality." Upon this report the Convention decreed the creation of 800,000,000 additional assignats.

Though Dumouriez had lost much of his popularity by his half-revolutionary measures in Belgium, the leading Jacobins did not think that they could do without him; and even Robespierre defended the general, and threw all blame, that might be imputed to him, on his friends of the Gironde. The Convention restored to him his two commissariat officers, Malus and Petit-Jean, promised him all necessary supplies, and adopted his plan for the next campaign. Dumouriez set out for Antwerp, to execute his scheme of invading Holland; and he was in this city when the Convention declared war against the King of Great Britain and the Stadtholder. The Convention, upon declaring war, had resolved to raise the military force of France to 500,000 men, part of which was to act on the defensive in the east and south, along the front of the Pyrennees, and on the coasts; the rest were to act on the offensive on the northern frontier. But the effective force actually raised did not exceed 270,000 men; of which number there were 100,000 men in different parts of Belgium, and 25,000 on the Mosel. To complete the projected number of men, it was decreed that recruits should be raised among the National Guards.

In pursuance of the plan of Dumouriez all the disposable forces had been drawn, on the 19th of January, from the department of Nord, and the garrisons in the Belgian towns of Bruges, Ostend, Gand, and Dendermonde; and all this force had been marched to Antwerp. After the declaration of war against England and Holland, when those two states were joining their forces to those of the enemies of France, it seemed impossible that the French should maintain themselves in the Low Countries. The French troops encamped on the Roer and the Meuse were not masters of the country: Maastricht was not in their hands; and prince Frederick of Brunswick had entered the duchy of Clevès, on the 30th of January, with 25,000 Prussians and Hanoverians. If the general-in-chief had evacuated the Low Countries, he would have done it at the risk of being sent to the scaffold; and independent of this reason, Dumouriez was not disposed to retreat. He resolved to advance and to conquer Holland. His plans were always gigantic, like his own ambitious and somewhat incoherent views. Master of Holland and the Low Countries, he dreamed that he could give them a constitution, send away the commissioners of the Convention, and dictate to the Jacobins of Paris his own terms. The French troops entered the territory of Holland on the 17th of February, 1793, and posted themselves in cantonments between Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda. On the 22nd, Dumouriez left Antwerp with the artillery and the rest of his force. The French took Breda on the 24th of February. Klundert and Gertruydenberg, both on the south side of the Biesbosch, fell into their hands; and Bergen-op-Zoom, Steenbergen, and Willenstad, were blockaded. Dumouriez had fixed his head-quarters at Roowaert, on the Biesbosch, opposite to Dordrecht, and his soldiers had constructed straw huts among the sands which line this arm of the sea. He was busy in getting ready boats to enable him to cross the water; but the success of the French on the banks of the Meuse compelled Dumouriez to return to the army of Belgium, early in March, and he left colonel Thouvenot in command of the troops which were destined for the invasion of Holland.

Roland had resigned, but this did not satisfy the Jacobins, who said that he ought to be brought to trial; and they accused him of peculation. Clavière, Lebrun, and Beurnonville, they also denounced as ntriguers and traitors. It happened that Chambon, he mayor of Paris, a feeble man, had sense enough to know his weakness, and he resigned his office; and he Jacobins contrived to get Pache elected. Pache had shown himself very tractable as a minister; and if f he were equally docile as mayor of Paris, he would e a treasure to the Jacobins. The inquiry into the loody days of September were still hanging over the lays of the guilty, when "a deputation of the defenders f the Republic, one and indivisible, assembled at the acobins, in the street of St. Honoré," appeared at the ar to protest against the proceedings being continued. After an angry discussion, in which neither Danton, Robespierre, nor Marat, took any part, the proceedings were all quashed; the Septembrizers, as they were alled, were relieved from all uneasiness on this score. The communal council of Paris had been long trying o bring the committee of surveillance to a reckoning; nd the council informed the Convention, on the 23rd of January, that certain members of this committee, who were members of the Convention, did not appear when they were summoned. One of the sections presented a petition to the Convention on this matter, directed against Panis, Sergent, and Tallien. Panis said that he was almost choked with indignation; he could not conceive why they should be pursued so uriously for their accounts: "we have no accounts to give." The Convention had, however, made a decree

that they should account; but they now passed to the order of the day simply: they made no reference to their decree; they left the matter as it was; the virtuous Panis was untouched. The Convention would not inquire either into the blood or the plunder of September.

The question of subsistence recurred again. Réal, in a report of the 7th of February, stated that the difference between the prices of grain and flour purchased by the municipality for the provisioning of Paris, and the re-sale of these articles at the Halle and to the bakers produced, in 1792, a deficit, including the expenses of management, of 3,875,930 livres.* The report stated that the municipality must either raise the price of bread or have recourse to an extraordinary tax. The municipality could not think of raising the price of bread at such a time: nothing was left but to tax the rich. The Convention gave the Commune of Paris power to raise 4,000,000 livres, to be levied on immoveable property and moveables, but to be so regulated as to moveables, that it should not touch the poor class, should be moderate on the middle class, and weigh more heavily on large properties. This scheme delighted Cambon: "by such means," he said, "you will realize the equality, which some people consider chimerical." Cambon was right: a series of such measures would make all equally poor.

On the 12th of February the deputies of the forty-eight sections of Paris presented a petition to the Convention. The beginning of the address of the spokesman of the deputation contains the truth, somewhat strangely expressed: "It is not enough to have declared that we are French republicans; it is necessary that the people be happy; the people must have bread, for when there is no bread, there are no laws, no liberty, no Republic." The remedy which the deputation proposed was, that neither agriculturists nor merchants should sell a sack of wheat of the weight of 250lbs. for more than twenty-five livres, under the penalty of six years' imprisonment for the first offence, and death for the second. Even Marat opposed this proposition, as subversive of all order and as tending to destroy the free circulation of grain. The Convention refused the petitioners the honours of the sitting; the spokesman had addressed the Convention in the name of his brethren of the departments without having any authority. The excessive issue of assignats had made everything dear: sugar, coffee, candles, and soap had all risen greatly in price, and the wages of labour had not increased in proportion to the depreciation of the paper money. The washerwomen of Paris presented a petition on the 24th of February, in which they declared that all the articles which they used had become so dear, that the poorer class must soon go without clean linen; and yet there was no deficiency in the commodities; it was the price only that was excessive, and the washerwomen blamed the accapareurs and the money-dealers. Within one month soap had become twice as dear. There seemed no remedy to the suffering people, except to fix a price for commodities; but even the leading Jacobins resisted this, for they had learned enough from experience to know that such a measure would only increase the want of confidence and make matters worse. Marat, who had lucid intervals, was too unsteady to be right for more than a moment. In the morning of the 25th of February he wrote in his journal: "In every country in which the rights of the people are not a vain title ostentatiously registered in a simple declaration, the pillage of some shops, and the hanging of the accapareurs at the doors, would put an end to all malversation." Marat's advice was well received. by those who were ready to act even without it. At ten in the morning on the same day, there were numbers of women at the bakers' doors, but the bread was given out in tolerable quiet, under the superintendence of the commissioners of the sections. About eight the people assembled at the doors of those who dealt in sugar and coffee, candles, soap, and the like. Men went about giving the dealers notice to sell their articles at the price which should be named, if they wished their property to be respected. There were more women than men in this tumultuous assemblage; but there were men in womens' dress who had not even taken the precaution to shave themselves. Some of the women had pistols at their girdles. The people compelled the dealers to deliver to them sugar, soap, candles, and other articles, at prices much below the market rate; and some things were carried off without being paid for. A circumstance happened that is truly characteristic: one dealer gave out his wares without choosing to take money, on the condition that he should only deliver to each person a pound: they accused him of giving short weight. The journals of the time say that there were well-dressed women among the pillagers, and "emissaries paid by the civil lists of all Europe:" this is the usual style of the writings of that day. A great number of shops were plundered, and articles were carried off which were not in ordinary use among the people. Brandy and other liquors were taken; the people tasted everything, and helped themselves. Santerre was out of the way as usual: he was said to be at Versailles; and there was no order given to restore tranquillity. At last Santerre appeared, and the orders were given to disperse the thieves; the battalion of the Brestois, which was at Paris, was very active, and finally the dealers were delivered from the visits of their unwelcome customers.

The Jacobins had a meeting on the evening of the 25th. Marat said that the disturbances were owing to a very natural cause, the excessive price of articles of the first necessity. So far he was right; but he added, inconsistently enough, that the disturbances were caused by counter-revolutionists, whose plan was to carry back Roland, their god, to the ministry of the interior. Robespierre said that it was all a plot contrived against the patriots: "There are intriguers who

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxiv., 212.

wish to destroy the patriots; there is a just indignation in the heart of the people: I have maintained in the midst of persecutions, and without support, that the people are never wrong; I dared to proclaim this truth at a time when it was not yet recognized: the course of the Revolution has developed it." Robespierre declared that he had been a witness of this popular movement; he had seen among the honest citizens foreigners and opulent men "in the respected dress of sans-culottes;" he had heard declamations, not against the intriguing and counter-revolutionary part of the Convention, which sits in the place that was once occupied by the aristocrats of the Constituent, but against the Mountain, against the deputies of Paris, and the Jacobins, whom they represented as accapareurs. "The people ought to rise, not to get sugar, but to strike to the earth the brigands." In the Convention, on the 26th, Salles denounced Marat for inciting the people to pillage, and one of the secretaries read his number of the twenty-fifth, which was followed by loud cries for the impeachment of Marat, who only laughed and uttered the words, "Les cochons, les imbéciles." "As to the impeachment," he said, "they could not impeach him, for they had decreed liberty of speech; and for his part, he should move that the *statesmen* should be sent to a lunatic asylum:" this was the name that he gave to the members of the *côté droit*. In the discussion that followed all order and decency were forgotten. Bancal moved that Marat be expelled provisionally, and that he be confined in order to ascertain if he was mad, and that the physician should declare forthwith—that "Bancal is mad," cried out a member. Marat said that the Convention had neither decency nor justice; he urged them to vote his impeachment, that so they might cover themselves with infamy. At last, on the motion of Maulde, it was decreed that the minister of justice should be instructed to prosecute the authors and instigators of the late troubles. The Convention believed, or affected to believe, in counter-revolutionary schemes formed by emigrants and foreigners. Domiciliary visits were ordered to be made all through France; and the law as to passports, which the Convention had decreed, on the 26th, to put in force, was made still more strict.

The furious passions of the opposing parties were now roused to the utmost pitch: menaces were daily heard, many of the deputies went armed, insurrection was talked of, and the Convention, it was said, required purging. The Gironde had no plan, and they had no power; for though opinion in the departments was in their favour, they had no means of resistance at Paris. They had not succeeded in organizing a force from the departments, and many of the federates who had come to Paris had either been gained over to the other side, or had gone to the armies. An attempt to put the armed force of Paris at the disposal of the minister of the interior instead of the Commune, had failed through the opposition of the Mountain. The formation of the new Constitution did not give them much hope, for Condorcet's report had been read, and the Jacobins did not like his work: it savoured of aristocracy.* It seemed as if the Convention would have plenty of work at present in governing France and resisting the enemy, and that the completion of the Constitution must be deferred. The enemies of the Gironde were equally perplexed in their councils. The Jacobins were employed in the month of February in discussing Dubois-Crancés plan for the organization of the army,† Condorcet's "Projet de Constitution," which had been presented to the Convention, and whether the primary assemblies should withdraw their authority from those deputies who had voted for the appeal to the people in the matter of the king. These deputies were now designated by the name of "Appelans." The proposition to expel the "Appelans" from the Convention came from the Jacobins of Marseille, and it was discussed at the Jacobins in Paris. Desfieux said that the majority of the affiliated societies called for the expulsion of the deputies who had been faithless to the cause of the people. Robespierre opposed the proposition only because it was impolitic to engage the citizens in new elections while the country was in danger, and they had to subject to the "crucible of analysis and discussion the Constitution of which the intriguers have sketched an insidious plan."—"Those whom it is proposed to drive from the Convention are known intriguers, and they would be replaced by intriguers covered with the mark of patriotism." Robespierre perhaps feared that a proposal to purify the Convention might lead to a general election, and that the Mountain might lose in the struggle. He hated the Gironde, Roland, Brissot, Guadet, and Vergniaud, but he dared not yet attack the national representation. He could not see his way clearly; he doubted of the safety of the revolution: always suspicious, he was now more suspicious than ever, and he dreamed of nothing but plots against the defenders of liberty.‡

In the mean time the French arms were suffering reverses in the Low Countries. The prince of Saxe-Coburg, who had distinguished himself in the recent campaigns against the Turks, arrived at Cologne and took the command of the Austrian army. Clairfayt, who was with 30,000 men between the Rhine and the Erfft, had pushed forward detachments as far as Jülich, Ruremonde, and Venloo. Beaulieu, with his own force and the remnant of the army of the duke of Saxe-Teschen, was in Luxembourg; and the prince of Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, with a small army, held Trèves. Twenty-five thousand Austrians were advancing to the Rhine between Cologne and Wesel, to co-operate with prince Frederick of Brunswick, who, as already

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxiv., 106—151, 'Projet de Constitution.'

† Printed 'Hist. Parl.,' xxiv., 151.

‡ Garat, in his 'Mémoires,' already cited, draws a curious picture of Robespierre's suspicious disposition. He could tolerate no difference of opinion: he saw only plots and traitors around him: he was timid and suspicious: he possessed the elements of inexorable tyranny. The sincerity of his belief in counter-revolutionary schemes can hardly be doubted. In some things his credulity was unbounded.

stated, had entered the duchy of Clèves with the intention of aiding the Hollanders. On the 1st of March the Austrians fell upon the advanced guard of the French, and carried the entrenchments of Aldenhoven. The French were next driven out of Aix-la-Chapelle, and compelled to retire to Liége. The Imperialists following up their advantages, drove before them successively all the divisions of the French army, from Visé, Maastricht, Liége, Ruremonde, and Tongres, as far as St. Tron, where the French rested on the 6th and 7th of March. On the 8th the French army was at Tirlemont, and on the 9th behind Louvain, in order to cover Belgium. There the troops anxiously waited for the arrival of Dumouriez, who reached the camp on the 13th of March.

The news of this retreat caused great tumult in Paris, and fresh outcries against the traitors and counter-revolutionists. Lacroix, one of the commissioners in Belgium, made a report, to the effect that the French troops being dispersed about Aix-la-Chapelle on a line of too great extent, had not been able to resist: the enemy had penetrated between the different divisions, which were unable to rally without the loss of part of their matériel. Robespierre spoke: he said that their resources were immense; it was true that they had suffered a reverse, but they must purge the armies of the aristocratic spirit which had sought refuge there among the officers; the Convention must elevate itself to the height of the divine character with which it was invested, the divine mission of creating liberty and directing its omnipotent impulse to the overthrow of tyranny and the prosperity of nations; the sword of the law must be always suspended over the head of powerful conspirators and of perfidious generals; the nation would second the zeal of the Convention; one cry, Vengeance for Liberty, would re-echo to the extremities of the Republic; aristocracy would be crushed, and the patriots would again raise their lofty and triumphant head.—The most unwarlike of the members of the Convention breathed into them the spirit of defiance to their enemies, and the Convention commenced its career of terrific energy. It was decreed that every soldier of every rank, volunteer and regular, whether he had leave of absence or not, must immediately rejoin his corps; and the minister of war was to report to the Convention all the officers who had received leave of absence, and the grounds of the absence; also all the officers who were absent without leave, and not at their posts on the day on which the advanced posts of the Belgian army were attacked. On the motion of Danton, commissioners were appointed from the body of the Convention, to visit the forty-eight sections of Paris, to remind them of their oath to maintain liberty and equality, and to urge them in the name of the country to fly to the aid of their brethren in Belgium. It was decreed that commissioners should be sent on the same mission to every part of the Republic.

The mayor of Paris, Pache, closed all the places of amusement, and beat the rappel to summon the citizens to their sections to hear the commissioners of the Convention. A stirring proclamation was published, and the black flag, the signal that the country was in danger, was hoisted at the Hôtel de Ville and on the towers of the metropolitan church. The sections responded to the call of the Convention; and there was no want of men to hurry to the armies. Eighty-two members of the Convention, it was decreed, should set out to rekindle the patriotism of the departments, and push the whole nation to the frontiers. The commissioners who visited the sections of Paris, reported to the Convention (9th March) that they found universal devotion and enthusiasm; but some of the sections complained of the rich, who would neither fight themselves nor contribute to the expenses of the war; they complained of the treatment which the volunteers received from the officers, and that traitors and conspirators were still unpunished. It was the same kind of cry that was heard on the 2nd of September. The sections called for the establishment of a revolutionary tribunal, a tribunal without appeal, to punish the enemies of the public weal. Carrier immediately converted the wishes of the sections into a motion. Lanjuinais proposed as an amendment to the proposal of a court without appeal, that this infliction should be limited to the department of Paris. No discussion was listened to: the Mountain and the galleries carried it by intimidation; and the Convention decreed the "establishment of an extraordinary criminal tribunal, without appeal, and without recourse to the court of cassation, for the trial of all traitors, conspirators, and counter-revolutionists." On the motion of Danton, it was decreed that all persons imprisoned for debt should be set at liberty, "such imprisonment being contrary to sound morality, to the rights of man, and the true principles of liberty." A pressing argument in favour of this measure was, that all the French were arming in the defence of their country, and debtors could fight, if they could not pay. St. André said that Danton's motion did not go far enough; he moved that imprisonment for debt be abolished; and it was done; the excepted cases being left to be provided for by a special law. The Jacobins were encouraged by the day's work and the prospects of the morrow. In the evening a party of armed men paid a visit to Gorsas, broke into his house, and destroyed his printing-presses and his property. Gorsas, with a pistol in his hand, escaped through his presence of mind. The printer of the 'Chronique de Paris' also had his presses broken.

The next day, the 10th, was Sunday. An entertainment was prepared at the wheat-market, for those who had been enrolled to join the army; and the hall of the Convention was also crowded with people who were anxious to hear the debate on the organization of the new tribunal. After some preliminary business, Cambacérès moved that they should forthwith proceed to the important business of the day, for the public safety was at stake, and it was necessary to organize the revolutionary tribunal, and to change the inco-



INTERIOR OF A REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL.



herent ministry, which is constructed as if it were composed of two powers: "all the powers have been entrusted to you, you must exercise them all; there ought to be no separation between the body which deliberates and that which puts in execution: we must not follow the ordinary principles; when you shall construct the Constitution, you will discuss the separation of powers." Buzot opposed this tyrannical measure, amidst the cries of the *côté gauche*: "I see," he said, "that it requires some courage to oppose those ideas which will conduct us to a despotism more horrible than anarchy." He was willing to give up his life to his enemies, if they would only allow him time enough to save his memory from dishonour by voting against the despotism of the National Convention. Lindet read the proposed scheme for the organization of the new tribunal: it was to be composed of nine judges chosen by the Convention, who were not to be bound to observe any form of procedure, and were to satisfy themselves as to facts in any way that they could; the tribunal was to have the power of dividing itself into two sections; and there should always be one member sitting in the court to receive denunciations; the tribunal was to prosecute those who through incivism should have abandoned or neglected their duties; those who by their conduct or opinions should have attempted to mislead the people; those who by their writings, or through the places which they held under the old government, remind people of the usurped prerogatives of despotism. "This," said Vergniaud, "is an inquisition a thousand times more terrible than that of Venice: we will all die rather than consent to it." Amar replied: "It is the only measure that can save the people; if it is not carried, the people must rise, and their enemies must fall." Barrère contended that they could not dispense with a jury, for a jury was the "property of every free man." Billaud-Varennes proposed that the jury should be named, like those of the 17th of August, by the sections. The Convention decreed, by a great majority, that there should be a jury, and that they should be named by the Convention, and taken from all the departments. The Assembly was going to rise, when the genius of Revolution sprung to the tribune, and proclaimed, in a voice of thunder, the inexorable necessity of their situation. "I know," said Danton, "how far it is important to take judicial measures to punish counter-revolutionists: it is for them that this tribunal is necessary; it is for them that this tribunal must supply the supreme tribunal of the vengeance of the people—if it is so difficult to reach a political crime, is it not necessary that extraordinary laws terrify rebels and strike the guilty? The safety of the people requires great means and terrible measures—I see nothing between the ordinary forms and a revolutionary tribunal." He said that the blood of September would never have been shed, if a tribunal had existed then. His principles were compressed in a few words: not to restrain popular fury, but to satisfy it; to shed blood, that the people might not shed it: "let us be terrible, that it may not be necessary for the people to be so; let us organise a tribunal, not well, for that is impossible, but as little ill as it may be, that the sword of the law may hang over the head of all its enemies." The energy of Danton was triumphant, and the revolutionary tribunal was organized.

It was late on the evening of Sunday, the 10th of March, when the Convention passed the decree for the organisation of this terrible tribunal. It was "an extraordinary criminal tribunal," established at Paris, and empowered to take cognizance of every counter-revolutionary attempt, of every offence against liberty, equality, the unity and indivisibility of the Republic, the internal and external security of the state, and of all plots for the re-establishment of royalty, or for the establishment of any authority that was hostile to liberty, equality, and the sovereignty of the people. The tribunal, as organised, consisted of a jury and five judges, three of whom were necessary to pronounce a judgment; and the judges were to be appointed by the Convention. There was to be a public accuser and two substitutes, all appointed by the Convention. The members of the jury were to give their opinion openly and in a loud voice, and a majority was to determine the question of conviction or acquittal: there was to be no appeal to the tribunal de cassation. The judges were to declare the penalties applicable to the facts which the jury found to be true; and the penalties would be those contained in the Penal Code and the laws subsequently enacted; in cases for which there was no legal penalty already provided, the punishment was deportation.*

In the evening of the 10th, and before the decree was passed for the establishment of this extraordinary tribunal, Paris was in a state of the most violent agitation. There was perhaps not a plot, as the Girondins alleged, to purge the Assembly: the day, which was Sunday, and of course an idle day, and the general state of excitement, appear sufficient to account for the movement. The Jacobins were in deliberation, and Bentabole had hurried there to report what was going on in the Convention, and to complain of the drooping energy of the patriots. The council-general of the Commune was also sitting. The sections were in a state of frenzy, directed by all the most turbulent citizens: the council-general published an address, which was intended to calm them, exhorted them to make their sittings permanent, and to keep up a constant communication with the council. The section of the Cité informed the Council that they had declared themselves in a state of "permanent insurrection." This strange communication caused no small surprise, and the section of the Cité, who evidently did not know what they meant, explained that the expression signified that they were "permanently under arms." As usual on such occasions, armed men were hurrying to the barriers to close them, to prevent the escape of unknown enemies. The streets were echoing with

* 'Hist. Parlem.,' xxv., 59, and 145.

furious cries; and the volunteers who had been enrolled, and had dined at the wheat-market, warmed with wine and armed with pistols and sabres, sallied forth and reached the Jacobins just as Bentabole was making his report. They demanded permission to defile before this honourable assembly, which was granted. Their designs were clearly expressed by the spokesman: "The victors of the 10th of August were rising to exterminate their enemies both at home and abroad." "There is only one way to save ourselves," cried another, "and that is to rid ourselves of all these traitors, to place all the Appelans under arrest, and to have new deputies elected by the people." It was proposed that the body should divide into two parts, one of which should go to look for the Cordeliers, and the other should march to the Convention to defile before the Assembly, and let them know what they wanted. While the discussion was going on at the Jacobins, the galleries settled the question by breaking in upon the debaters, and putting out the lights. The armed men now set out, one part to seek the Cordeliers, the other to pay a visit to the Convention.

Louvet and many of his friends had quitted the hall of the Convention, fearing some violence. Louvet's wife or mistress had been attracted from her lodgings in the Rue St. Honoré to the Jacobins, by the noise which issued from this den of anarchy, and she hurried back to tell Louvet what was going on. He ran to look for his friends, and he found some of them at Pétion's, deliberating on what should be done. It rained hard, and Pétion looking out on the troubled heavens, said coolly, "There will be nothing to-night." The ministers, who were assembled at Lebrun's, could take no measures for the defence of the Convention, for they had no force at their disposal. The Convention was every moment expecting an attack: forty members of the *côté droit* were still on their seats, armed and resolved to fall upon the Mountain, if they were attacked from without. A bloody contest within the Assembly itself was imminent. But the Commune was not ready for so audacious an attack on the national representatives; and the affair, as Thiers remarks, was only a preliminary: it was not a 10th of August against the Convention, but a 20th of June; a fright, an alarm, significant of a future attack. The mayor and the council-general checked the movement; even Santerre was active, for he feared an insurrection: there was no knowing now who might be attacked. The minister, Beurnonville, whose hôtel was surrounded, got over his garden-wall, put himself at the head of the Brestois, and intimidated the rioters. The section des Quatre Natio of the most unruly, the Jacobins, the Cordeliers, all retired. At nine in the evening, Pache the mayor told the Convention that Paris was quiet. Santerre assured the Convention that he had taken all precautionary measures. It was after this tumult that the Convention resumed and finished the discussion on the revolutionary tribunal.

On the 13th, Vergniaud said, "I ask permission to speak." "It is only to waste your time," said Marat to the Convention. But Vergniaud spoke at length on the recent disorders, and on the grand conspiracy which accident had brought to light: he believed, or affected to believe, that the aristocrats were the secret promoters of the disorder. All agreed to pretend to believe it; but, except Robespierre and a few others, whose revolutionary faith was strong, it could only be a pretence. "It is known," said Vergniaud, "that former nobles, priests, satellites of despotism, agents of England, have borrowed the mask of patriotism, in order to introduce themselves into a society where patriotism has always found its home; and here they attempt to mislead it by exaggerating its own principles; here they have dared to elevate assassination to the rank of a virtue, and they never cease to disturb this society by movements as dangerous to the country as revolting to humanity.—Unhappy people, will you continue to be the dupes of hypocrites, who would rather gain your applause than merit it, and flatter your passions than do you a service?—The royalists sought to crush you under the word Constitution; the anarchists have deceived you by the abuse of the word Sovereignty: they have nearly overthrown the Republic by making every section believe that the sovereignty resided in it: now, the counter-revolutionists deceive you under the name of Equality and Liberty."

All parties disavowed the movement of the 10th of March, which was attributed to every thing except the true cause. Marat spoke against it; and the Convention ordered the arrest of Fournier, a notorious agitator, and certain petitioners of the section Poissonière, who had called for the impeachment of Dumouriez and his staff, to be brought before the committee of general security to be examined. The minister of justice, Garat, said with respect to the events of the 10th of March, that after all his inquiry he could not find evidence of the existence of a supposed insurrectional committee: he did not believe that the tumult of the 10th of March was the result of any plan.* The Convention, after hearing Fournier, annulled their decree of impeachment, and ordered that he should be examined as a witness before the revolutionary tribunal. On the 13th, the Convention named the judges, public accuser, and jury of the revolutionary tribunal. Of the two substitutes named for the public accuser, one was Fouquier-Tinville.

* He made a formal report on the 19th of March. Hist. Parl., xxv., 124.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

DUMOURIEZ AN EXILE.

On his return from Holland, Dumouriez published an order at Brussels on the 11th of March, 1793, in which he declared that the object of the French nation and of the representatives of the Republic in entering the Low Countries, was not robbery and sacrilege, but that robbery and sacrilege had been committed by the agents of the executive power of the French Republic: they had even seized the plate of the churches, and his order was that it should be restored. A proclamation of the same date invited the Belgians to make a statement, supported by proper evidence, "of the tyrannical vexations of some agents known by the name of commissioners of the executive power;" and their complaints should be listened to. Another proclamation of the same date forbade the patriotic clubs to meddle in any way with public affairs, under pain of having their places of meeting closed. These proclamations were what Marat called "crimes against the State." He also wrote a letter, dated from Louvain, on the 12th of March, and addressed to the Convention, in which he denounced the mal-administration of Pache, as the cause of the disorganization and suffering of the army in Belgium: he said that the Belgians had been subjected to every species of vexation; their liberty had been violated, their religious opinions insulted, and their churches robbed; he said that Cambon might be honest, but he certainly did not merit the confidence of the Assembly as a financier, and he was the author of the decree* of the 15th of December, which the Convention voted collectively, while many who voted for it declared that it was unjust; the executive council, he said, in conformity with the orders of the Assembly, had sent at least thirty commissioners into Belgium, who with few exceptions were fools, tyrants, or men without reflection. This bold letter was not read to the Convention, but it was known because it had been printed and published in Belgium. It reached the committee of general security at a time when many charges were made against Dumouriez, and it required every effort to maintain his declining popularity. Accordingly the letter for the present was kept secret.

Dumouriez collected his forces in front of Louvain. The prince of Coburg had occupied Tirlemont with an advanced guard, which Dumouriez dislodged. He also took the strong position of Goidsenhoven, near Tirlemont, which the enemy had overlooked. On the 16th of March the Imperialists made an effort to recover Goidsenhoven, but were repelled with the loss of several hundred men; and after crossing the little Geete, they took up their position at Neerwindén. The French were between Hackendoven and Goidsenhoven, and the small stream of the Geete separated the two armies. Dumouriez resolved to hazard a battle, though his forces were inferior to those of the enemy; for a victory was necessary both to restore the credit of the French arms, and to satisfy the French people. But the general had greater designs: to restore the Constitution of 1791, and to humble the demagogues and anarchists. On the 18th the French army crossed the Geete, and attacked the Imperialists. The result of this bloody contest was a loss on the French side of four thousand men, the desertion of a large part of the army, and the necessity of re-crossing the Geete, and occupying their former position. The duc de Chartres, who commanded under Dumouriez, showed his talent and courage both in the attack and the retreat.*

Dumouriez was greatly annoyed at this reverse, which he attributed to the disorganization of his army, for which he blamed the Jacobins. He spoke his opinions very freely, and they were no secret to the whole army. In the midst of his difficulties, however, he gave orders for defending the strong places in Belgium, and thus retaining a hold on the country if he should be obliged to evacuate it. His object was to form a line of posts extending from Gertruydenberg to Breda, Antwerp, Courtrai, Tournay, Mons, and Namur, and to wait within this line for reinforcements. On the 22nd there was a skirmish between the retreating French and the Imperialists in front of Louvain, in which the Imperialists sustained some loss. In the evening of this day, colonel Mack, an Austrian officer, had an interview with Dumouriez, in which it was agreed that there should be no more fighting, and that the Imperialists should follow the French slowly in their retreat. Dumouriez was in a violent state of agitation. When he took the command of the Belgian army, a glorious career of victory was opened to his ardent imagination. His designs were perhaps hardly known to himself, for we cannot accept his subsequent statements as conclusive evidence of his former intentions. After losing a battle, and with it his influence and popularity, his views were changed; and that indignation which he had once only feebly expressed against the anarchy of his native country, became stronger and more sincere when his own passions and resentments were interested. It was said and believed that he now wished to raise the house of Orleans to the throne; for if the Constitution of 1791 was maintained, a king was necessary, and there was none to choose except in the family of Orleans.

On the 22nd of March, Danton and Lacroix came to

* See p. 254.

* See the remarks on this battle, and on the faults of Dumouriez, in the 'Tableau Historique,' ii., 254, &c.

Louvain to ask for an explanation of Dumouriez's letter of the 12th, which had been kept secret by the committee of general security. Dumouriez would not retract his letter; and the commissioners left him in a very bad humour. He was still retreating; and to maintain good order, he separated the troops of the line from the volunteers, united them with the artillery, and thus formed a select body of fifteen thousand men, whom he placed in the rear, and commanded himself. He retreated through Brussels on the 25th, and on the 27th he was at Ath. Here he had another interview with Mack, the object of which was to regulate the terms of an armistice. Dumouriez, whose ambitious hopes were now blighted, and who was disgusted with the Convention and the Jacobins, did not disguise his opinions from Mack, and his designs against the Convention; and the negotiation became a traitorous correspondence. It was agreed between Dumouriez and Mack, that there should be a suspension of hostilities, that the Imperialists should not invade France, that Dumouriez should evacuate Belgium, and should advance upon Paris. The strong place of Condé was to be put in the hands of the Austrians, who should aid Dumouriez, if he wanted their assistance. The strong places were to receive garrisons half French and half Austrian, commanded by French officers, and they were to be given up to the French upon the establishment of peace.

After the 10th of March some efforts were made at a reconciliation between the *côté droit* and the least violent members of the *côté gauche;* and Danton himself was inclined to a reconciliation. It was on the 14th that Danton and Lacroix were sent to Dumouriez on the subject of his letter of the 12th to the National Convention, which the Girondins considered as an imprudent letter, and had not thought advisable to communicate to the Assembly. Gensonné was then president. The part which Danton had played in the affair of the Prussian retreat from the Argonne, his intimacy with Dumouriez, and the information which he must have obtained in his capacity of commissioner in Belgium,—all tends to prove that he must have been acquainted with the designs of Dumouriez. So long as Dumouriez had an army at his command, Danton could hope that it might be used to second his views. He was weary of the revolution and its anarchical progress; he was apparently satisfied, for there is reason to suppose that he had acquired wealth; and his sagacity foresaw the terrible tyranny that was approaching, the ruin of the Gironde, and his own. With the knowledge of the letter of the 12th, and such information as he could not fail to possess, he defended Dumouriez as long as he could; while Marat, who read the proclamations of Dumouriez, saw clearly what his plans were, and declared that all the efforts at conciliation between the Mountain and the Gironde had no other object than to give Dumouriez time to accomplish his treasonable designs. "His acts show," said Marat, "that he has seized on the sovereign power in Belgium; he has forbid the clubs to take any part in public affairs; he has arbitrarily imprisoned the commissioners of the executive power; he has seized the chest of the army, and he has announced himself to the Belgian aristocrats as their protector, that is, their master." *

On the 17th and 18th of March the Convention received intelligence of the insurrection of La Vendée. The dearness of bread, and the motion of Cambon not to pay the ministers of religion, appear to have been the immediate cause of these disturbances; but whatever they may have been in their origin, the movements in the West were now counter-revolutionary, and the object was the restoration of the monarchy. This terrible explosion in the West was the Civil War of La Vendée; and the month of March, 1793, was the commencement of a general insurrection. The scene of this civil war lay between 46° 30′ and 47° 20′ N. lat., and comprehended the old province of Poitou, and that part of Bretagne and Anjou which were to the south of the Loire. The departmental division had formed Poitou into the three contiguous departments of La Vendée, Les Deux-Sèvres, and La Vienne. La Vendée takes its name from the river La Vendée, which flows into the Sèvre-Niortaise. It has an area of 2,640 square miles, and it contained, before the war, about 300,000 inhabitants, and only five or six small towns. It was divided into the Bocage or wooded district, which, however, contained no large forests; the Marais or low lands, once covered by the ocean; and the Plaine or district between the Bocage and the southern boundary of La Vendée. In this department there was a great number of small landholders, and the whole population, scattered over an extensive country, lived in a very simple manner. In the few towns there were moderate partizans of the Revolution, and in La Plaine; but the rest of the population was almost a stranger to the stirring events of the great Revolution. Deux-Sèvres contained more large towns than La Vendée, but its area is somewhat less, and its population was less also. The part of Bretagne and Anjou, which was south of the Loire, belonged to the departments of Loire Inférieure and Maine-et-Loire. It was only the part of these two provinces south of the Loire which joined in the insurrection of La Vendée. The limits within which the insurrection was confined were on the north, the Loire from its mouth as far as Saumur; on the east the Thoué, a small branch of the Loire, as far as Thouars; on the south, the road which leads from Thouars to Parthenay, Fontenay, and Aux Sables; on the west, the boundary was the ocean. Within these limits there are few positions high enough to command an extensive view, and the country is ill-adapted for great military movements. Numerous small hills, narrow valleys, well provided with water, and a fertile soil, a large part of which is covered with a natural vegetation, made the country a labyrinth. It was traversed by only one great road, from Nantes to

* Marat's 'Journal,' No. 147, 148.

Rochelle, running past Montaigu. Between this road and the road from Tours to Bordeaux through Poitiers, an interval of more than thirty leagues, there were only cross-roads, generally sunk between hedges, rough and broken in summer, muddy in winter, sometimes following the bed of streams, or cut in the rock, running up hills, or following the slopes. Most of the roads were ten or twelve feet below the level of the land on each side, and a vehicle could with difficulty travel along them three leagues a day. The great road passed over an irregular surface, and was lined with trees, low underwood, and ditches planted with bushes, which made it dangerous for a regular army to traverse. The peasants of this wild country were singularly ignorant and superstitious. Their animating principle was their religion, Roman Catholic in form, but confounded with the antient paganism, which had never been completely eradicated. Their curés were simple men, whose lives were irreproachable, and whose influence over their flocks was unbounded. The revolution disturbed both the political and the moral notions of this people; and the establishment of the Constitutional Church ejected the priests and dispersed them. With the loss of their priests, the peasants thought they had lost their religion; and the disturbances commenced. The execution of the king exasperated the people to madness: they saw no hope but in a general insurrection. The 10th of March, the day fixed for the execution of the law which decreed an extraordinary levy of 300,000 men, was the signal for the rising, and the tocsin was rung in hundreds of villages. Machecoult was attacked by the peasants, the constitutional curé was massacred, and other acts of violence were committed. St. Florent was attacked on the 11th by a body of insurgents, who demanded to be exempt from serving in the army; and the republicans were defeated. On the 15th, Cathelineau, whose name afterwards became celebrated, a man of mean occupation, but of strict piety and austere morals, roused the inhabitants of his district, and attacked the republicans who were posted on the heights of the château of Jallais with a piece of artillery. In ten minutes the place was taken, and the cannon fell into the hands of the royalists. The village of Chemillé was taken by Cathelineau on the 14th, though defended by two hundred republicans; and the royalists got both arms and ammunition. On the 15th, Chollet, which was defended by five hundred men, was taken by Cathelineau and his followers, who found here also munitions of war. The capture of Chollet roused all La Vendée, and the insurgents chose their leaders among the nobles.

The Convention received the first official information of these disorders on the 18th of March. The National Guards of Nantes and Angers displayed great vigour in the midst of these disturbances; but the Republic had no regular troops in La Vendée, except 6,000 men under Labourdonnaye, and 1,200 under general Marcé. On the 19th, Cambacérès read a draft of a decree, which was adopted, for the suppression of counter-revolutionary movements.* On the 21st, Dumouriez by letter informed the Convention that he had sustained a check, and lost 2,000 men and some cannon: this was the affair of Neerwinden. The Convention was active and energetic in the midst of their difficulties: to save France from its internal enemies, they passed a decree for the establishment in every commune of the Republic, and in every section of the communes which were divided into sections, of a committee of twelve citizens, chosen by ballot, but not from ecclesiastics, or former nobles, or seigneurs, or their agents: these committees were to exercise a strict surveillance over all strangers then resident in the commune, or who should come to reside there. On the 22nd, Quinette proposed the establishment of a permanent committee to watch over the public security. Isnard supported the motion, and recommended a Committee of Public Safety (*Comité de Salut Public*): and on the 25th was organized the Committee of General Defence and Public Safety, of twenty-five members, whose duties were to prepare and propose all laws and all measures necessary for the external and internal defence of the Republic; to summon the ministers, who composed the provisional executive council, to their sittings at least twice a week, at which the ministers were to give every information that should be called for; to report to the Convention once in every eight days on the state of the Republic, and such proceedings which should be proper to make public; and to name daily two members of the Committee who should give to the Convention such information as should be called for as to the state of the Republic. Maximilien Robespierre was named one of the members of the Committee, which contained both men of the Mountain and of the Gironde.

The Convention passed a decree for the general disarming of all suspected persons, among whom were included all former nobles. A deputation of the Commune of Paris appeared at the bar of the Convention, to ask their sanction to a resolution of the council-general, that every proprietor, chief tenant, or in default of their doing it, the keepers or porters of every house in Paris should fix up on the outside of such houses, in a conspicuous place and in legible characters, the name, Christian name, age, and profession of all persons who resided in such houses: all hotel-keepers and lodgers were included within the terms of the resolution. The petition was converted into a motion, and by a decree of the Convention was extended to the whole Republic; and the execution of the decree was enforced by a penalty of one to six months imprisonment, and a fine equal to the amount of taxes, or to double the amount paid by the person who came within the terms of the law.† On the 29th of March the Extraordinary tribunal was installed. It was, however, generally called the Revolutionary Tribunal.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxv., 31.

† Ibid., xxv., 150.

Danton made a report to the Jacobins on the 31st of March, of his late mission to Belgium, in which he said that he and his colleagues had now no doubt of the machinations of the general, "who had been drawn into the perfidious measures of a certain party in the National Convention." Marat expressed his surprise that Danton had not made his report to the Convention immediately upon his return; and urged him to do it the next day. Danton replied that he had told every thing to the Committee of General Security, and he promised to do what Marat suggested. Three emissaries, Proly, Dubuisson, and Pericira, a Portuguese Jew, reported to the Assembly, on the 1st of April, the result of an interview with Dumouriez at Tournay. They were sent by the minister of foreign affairs.* They reported that the general made no secret of his opinions: he said the Convention was composed part of brigands and part of fools; he would not allow the Revolutionary Tribunal; he wanted no more volunteers, he would have only troops of the line, and with them he would put an end to the disorders of Paris. Dumouriez had avowed his designs and Lasource, without making a formal accusation against Danton and Lacroix, gave his reasons before the Convention for thinking that Danton and Lacroix were privy to the schemes of Dumouriez. Danton defended himself with energy and impudence, but his defence does not bear the imprint of innocence. At last he said, "I have letters of Dumouriez; they will prove that he has been obliged to do me justice; they will prove that there was no identity between his political system and mine; it is to those who have wished for federalism—— "Name them," cried a number of voices. "Do you wish me," said Danton, "to name those whom I mean?" "Yes," replied a number of voices. "Listen then," said Danton. "Listen," said Marat, turning to the *côté droit*. "Well then," said Danton, "there is no longer any truce between the Mountain, between the patriots who voted for the death of the tyrant, and the cowards who, while they wished to save him, have calumniated us to France." He thus dexterously averted the attack upon himself, and converted it into an assault on the Gironde. His conclusion is characteristic of himself, and of the language of the times: "I have entrenched myself in the citadel of reason; I will sally forth from it with the cannon of truth, and I will pulverize the villains who have dared to accuse me."

On the 30th of March the Convention had sent Camus, Quinette, Lamarque, Bancal, and the elder Carnot, with Beurnonville, the minister of war, to summon Dumouriez to the bar of the Convention, and with power to suspend and arrest all suspected generals. On the same day Dumouriez advanced to the plain of Bruille, a position which enabled him to keep in awe Lille, Condé, and Valenciennes. But though the troops of the line and the artillery seemed to be in his favour, the national volunteers began to murmur against him, and it would have been hazardous to attempt to disarm them. Opinion was also divided in the three towns above mentioned; and the clubs, encouraged by the volunteers, had declared against him and the regular troops. On the 31st six volunteers, with the words "The Republic or Death!" written in chalk on their hats, presented themselves to Dumouriez in his camp, apparently with the intention of making him their prisoner. The general, with Baptiste's help, repulsed the intruders, and delivered them over to the hussars. This affair made a great noise in the army, and produced addresses from the men, which gave Dumouriez some confidence. Accordingly he sent Miaczinsky with a few thousand men to seize Lille; but Miaczinsky incautiously confided his secret to a colonel who commanded one of the regiments in garrison at Lille. This man induced Miaczinsky to enter Lille with a small escort, and made him prisoner, while the unfortunate general's soldiers were wandering without a commander outside of the town. Dumouriez made a like attempt at Valenciennes, where general Ferrand, whom he considered to be well-disposed to him, commanded; but this attempt failed also, owing to the officer, whom he commissioned to surprise the place, betraying his design to Ferrand. On the 1st of April, Dumouriez moved to St. Amand; and on the 2nd the commissioners of the Convention arrived there. The hussars of Bercheny were drawn up in battle order before the general's door, and he was surrounded by his staff. Dumouriez embraced his friend Beurnonville, and asked the commissioners what their business was. They refused to say what it was in the presence of the officers, and they went into another room, but the officers insisted on the door being open. Camus read the decree, and urged Dumouriez to submit to it. The general said that when his army was reorganized, he would consider what was to be done. Camus pressed him strongly; but Dumouriez said that he was not fool enough to surrender himself to the revolutionary tribunal. The commissioners assured him of his personal safety, but the general would not yield, and he left the commissioners and rejoined his staff. The commissioners did not hesitate: they soon followed him. "Will you obey the Convention?" said Camus. "No," replied Dumouriez. "Then," said Camus, "you are suspended, your papers are seized, and you are under arrest." "This is rather too strong," said Dumouriez, and he called out to his Germans, who came to his aid. He told them in German to make the four commissioners prisoners, but to do them no harm. Beurnonville begged that he might share the fate of the commissioners; to which Dumouriez replied, "You shall; and I shall thus save you from the revolutionary tribunal." He sent them all to Tournay, to be kept by the Austrians as hostages for the security of the royal family in the Temple. On the next day he published a proclamation to the army

* 'Procès verbal des trois conférences que les citoyens Proly, Pereyra, and Dubuisson, ont eues avec le général Dumouriez, Mardi 26, Mercredi 27, et la nuit du Jeudi 28, au Vendredi 29 Mars, 1793, à Tournay.' 'Hist. Parl.,' xxvi., 246.

and to France. The troops of the line did not appear to be dissatisfied with what had happened.

On receiving this intelligence, the Convention declared Dumouriez a traitor, out of the protection of the law; and they offered a reward of 300,000 livres to any man who should bring him to Paris, alive or dead. The defection of Dumouriez was a blow to the Gironde, for the Jacobins believed, or affected to believe, that the Gironde was in league with him. 'Citizens," said Robespierre, after the decree was passed for declaring Dumouriez a traitor, "at this moment I owe to myself, I owe to my country a profession of faith." He had been named a member of the Committee of General Defence, but he said that he could not consider himself as forming a part of it. "I will not deliberate with those who have spoken the language of Dumouriez, with those who have calumniated the men against whom Dumouriez now declares implacable war; with those who, like Dumouriez, have calumniated Paris and that portion of the Assembly which really loves liberty." He said that Brissot had been, and was still, the intimate friend of Dumouriez: "Brissot is attached to all the threads of the conspiracy of Dumouriez: I declare that there is not an honest man, who has observed the political life of Brissot, who can remain unconvinced of what I say." He concluded with saying that the first measure of safety to take was to impeach all who were charged as accomplices of Dumouriez, and especially Brissot. Brissot defended himself against the vague charges of Robespierre; he denied his complicity with Dumouriez; he disavowed the execrable declaration of Dumouriez, that he would re-establish the Constitution of 1791; and he asked if he could be accused of loving kings, "he who had devoted himself to republicanism long before his accuser,—he who, even in July, 1791, was the only man, with one other, who dared to propagate republican principles." This was all true, and Robespierre knew it. Yet he may have suspected Brissot, for he always suspicious. Zealous as he now was for republicanism, Robespierr a young republican compared with Brissot.

Dumouriez saw that he had no time to lose. Dampierre and several generals of division were ready t abandon him, and his soldiers were worked up by Jacobin emissaries. The 4th of April was the day on which he was to make his final arrangements with the prince of Coburg near Condé. He set out with Thouvenot, the two sons of the duke of Orleans, and some servants; and on the road to Condé he met two battalions of volunteers, whom he was much surprised to see. He got from his horse to write an order for them to return, when he was interrupted by shouts and discharges of musketry. One part of the volunteers were pursuing him, and another were preparing to cut off his flight. He pushed on with his companions to the border of a ditch, which his horse refused to take, and he threw himself into it and got across amidst a shower of balls. He continued his flight towards Bury, which he reached in the evening, and saw colonel Mack. He was employed all the night in writing and arranging the terms of his alliance with the prince of Coburg, and drawing up a proclamation, in the name of the prince of Saxe-Coburg to the French. It was signed by the prince, and published the next day: it announced the alliance of Dumouriez and the prince to establish in France a constitutional king. At daybreak, on the 5th, Dumouriez mounted his horse, and accompanied by a body of imperial cavalry, rode to the camp at Maulde to rally his army and accomplish his design upon Lille. Some of the troops of the line showed that they were still attached to him; but on approaching St. Amand, he learned that on the news of his flight, the artillery had left the camp, and those who remained were discouraged. Whole divisions were passing over to Dampierre at Valenciennes. The plot had completely failed, and Dumouriez returned to the Austrians at Tournay, accompanied by a numerous staff, among whom were the two young sons of the duke of Orleans, Thouvenot, and the hussars of Bercheny.

It is said that the prince of Coburg proposed to Dumouriez to put himself at the head of a new emigration. But Dumouriez replied, that his plan had been to march against Paris at the head of Frenchmen, and that he had only agreed to accept the help of the Imperialists; that, as a Frenchman, he would not lead foreigners against France. He asked and obtained a passport; he became, and continued during his long life, an exile from France, and died in a foreign land.* Gifted with wonderful versatility of talent, pre-eminent courage, singular dexterity and address, and varied acquirements, he wanted the steadiness of principle and the singleness of purpose which make a great and an honest man. "Thus ended the brill dream of this warrior diplomatist, who, quitting Paris at the end of January, and leaving it a prey to factions and tumult, aimed at conquering Holland, changing the political condition of Belgium, and re-establishing the monarchy, in one campaign." †

* He died in England, at the age of eighty-four, in 1823.

† 'Mémoires d'un homme d'Etat,' ii., p. 162. They contain an account of the negotiations of Dumouriez with the Austrians, founded on the notes of the Austrian negotiators. The coalition had entertained great hopes from the defection of Dumouriez, and expected that the reign of the Convention would be overthrown.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE TRIUMPH OF MARAT.

After the flight of Dumouriez, the command of the army of the North was given to Dampierre. Custine, who had shown his incompetence, but professed great revolutionary zeal, received the command of the armies of the Rhine and the Mosel. Bouchotte was named minister of war in place of Beurnonville.

The Committee of General Defence and of Public Safety proved a failure; and it was necessary, said Marat, (April 3rd), to organize a new committee. Isnard's plan of a Committee of Public Safety was adopted. The Committee consisted of nine members of the Convention: it deliberated in secret; it superintended and accelerated the movements of the provisional executive council, whose resolutions it could suspend, when they were considered by the committee to be against the general interest, but the suspension must be notified to the Convention. The committee was only appointed for a month.* The young duke of Chartres, the eldest son of the duke of Orleans, had gone away with Dumouriez; and the treachery of Dumouriez and the duke of Orleans were associated in the popular opinion. The Jacobins laboured to involve the Gironde in the treason of the general: the Gironde protested that they had quarrelled with Dumouriez, and had never been the friends of the duke of Orleans. Between the two parties the duke of Orleans was sure to fall.

The war between the Jacobins and the Gironde now began to rage with fresh fury. The section of the Halle aux Blés had prepared an address to the Convention, which was circulating in the other sections. On the 10th of April, Pétion spoke with more than his usual energy against the daily outrages to which the national representation was exposed, and he read the intended address. It called for the impeachment of Roland, and of the guilty deputies, and the replacement by other deputies of those who had not the courage to defend the Republic: "Mountain of the Convention," the address concluded, "we apply to you, save the Republic; or, if you feel that you are not strong enough to do it, say so, and we will save it ourselves." This was the beginning of an angry debate, in which Robespierre at last got a hearing, and made his most malicious and artful attack on the Gironde; but though malice and hatred prompted the atrocious calumnies with which his discourse was charged, Robespierre may have believed what he said. His dark, suspicious temper was daily becoming more morbid. "A faction," he said, "conspires with the tyrants of Europe to give us a king, with a species of aristocratical constitution."† This was his text: the faction, he said, was the party of Lafayette, known as the Feuillans and Moderates; it had been continued; some of the personages were changed, but the end was the same, the means the same, with this difference only, that the present leaders had increased means, and more partisans. This party was the party of Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, and "other hypocritical agents of the same coalition." He traced the alleged acts of incivism of this party down to their efforts to save the life of Louis XVI. In this address Robespierre in plain terms defended the massacres of September. He concluded by moving that the member of the house of Orleans, called Egalité, be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, with Sillery and his wife, Valence, and all others who were specially attached to that house; and that the tribunal should institute proceedings against all the other accomplices of Dumouriez. "Shall I here," he said, "venture to name such distinguished patriots as MM. Vergniaud, Guadet, and others? I dare not say that a man who was in daily correspondence with Dumouriez ought to be at least suspected of complicity, for certainly such a man is a model of patriotism; and it would be a kind of sacrilege to ask for the impeachment of M. Gensonné: being convinced of the impotence of my efforts in this matter, I defer in all that concerns these illustrious members, to the wisdom of the Convention."

To this laboured and premeditated attack of Robespierre, Vergniaud, after much opposition, was allowed to reply. He replied without preparation: "He had not," he said, "need of art, like Robespierre; his soul was sufficient." The charge of Robespierre and the answer of Vergniaud are historical documents. Robespierre is convicted of being a liar and a calumniator; Vergniaud is justified against the charges of Robespierre; they are answered severally, clearly, and completely. This reply is an evidence of the ability of Vergniaud, of his readiness and presence of mind as a debater. Panis was troublesome by his interruptions during Vergniaud's reply; but he was silenced by being told that he had no right to speak till he had rendered his accounts. (Page 255.) Robespierre charged the Gironde with trying to prevent the Revolution of the 10th of August; and on the very day of the 10th they attempted, he said, to prevent the late king from being shut up in the Temple. But the reply was, "Where was Robespierre on the 10th of August? He was hid in a cellar." As to being accomplices of Dumouriez, Vergniaud had no particular acquaintance with him: he had no correspondence with any one, and he never wrote letters. But there was a man who had embraced Dumouriez at the Jacobins; and that man was Robespierre. Vergniaud's reply was well received by a large part of the Convention.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxv., 301.

† Ibid., xxv., 337—360.

Guadet, on the 12th of April, also replied to Robespierre's calumnies; and his reply was distinct and satisfactory. Speaking of Brissot, he said, "Brissot was combating for liberty, he was suffering for it, he was writing for it, at the time when Robespierre was saying that he did not know what a Republic was." "In all the public places at Paris," continued Guadet, "who was always by the side of Dumouriez? Your Danton."—"Ah," said Danton, "you accuse me, me! You know not my strength." Guadet declared that Dumouriez was only the instrument of an infamous conspiracy, of which d'Orleans was the soul and the head." He ended his discourse with reading an address from the Society of the Friends of Liberty at Paris to their brethren in the departments, signed by Marat, which called on the citizens to arm, for the counter-revolution was in the government, in the National Convention. When this inflammatory address was read, "It is true," cried Marat, and he sprung to the tribune amidst the applause of the galleries. "Why," said he, "all this idle talk? they are attempting to raise up among you an imaginary conspiracy, in order to stifle one which unhappily is too real: Dumouriez himself has declared that he was marching upon Paris to secure the triumph of the faction, which he calls the sound part of the Assembly, against the patriots of the Mountain." He said that the paper which was denounced had been signed by him during the seven or eight minutes that he happened to be in the chair at the Jacobins; it was presented to him, and he had not read it. Marat was, however arrested, and orders were given for his formal impeachment. Robespierre hurried to the Jacobins, to tell them his sorrows and the wrongs of the patriots. "Guadet," he said, "had breathed forth all the poison of an impure soul; they had called for the impeachment of the warmest patriots: Marat spoke with force, precision, and moderation; he depicted the crimes of our enemies in colours which would have made any man blush who had a sentiment of modesty: Marat has been placed provisionally in arrest." On the 13th, Marat was sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal, only to re-appear with greater influence. On the 15th of April the Commune of Paris, with Pache the mayor at their head, in the name of thirty-five sections out of forty-eight, appeared at the bar of the Convention. The address was read by Rousselin: it was in the style that the Commune had used on previous occasions. "Legislators, kings love not the truth; their reign will pass away: the people wish the truth everywhere and at every time; their rights will not pass away." After designating the various crimes of the Gironde, it concluded with presenting a list of the greater part of the deputies who were guilty of felony towards the sovereign people, "in order that as soon as the majority of the departments shall have manifested their adhesion, they may retire from this chamber." The names denounced were twenty-two: Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Grangeneuve, Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles, Biroteau, Pontécoulant, Pétion, Lanjuinais, Valazé, Hardy, Lehardy, Louvet, Gorsas, Fauchet, Lanthenas, Lasource, Valasdy, Chambon. "If," said Boyer Fonfrède, "modesty was not a duty rather than a virtue in a public man, I should be offended that my name has not been entered on the honourable list which has just been presented to you." Three-fourths of the Convention by acclamation adopted the words of Fonfrède, and the discussion on the petition was deferred.

The Revolutionary Tribunal had began its labours. Rouxel Blanchelande, who was appointed by La Luzerne, governor of the French Windward Islands, was tried for acts done in his capacity of governor, condemned, and executed. He was the third person who was tried by the new tribunal. The fate of the duke of Orleans was already settled, for he was confined at Marseille, where the Convention had decreed that the whole family should be imprisoned, and there only remained the formality of his trial. All the duke's property was sequestered. A few days after the execution of Blanchelande, a woman fifty-five years of age was condemned and executed for having uttered counter-revolutionary language, probably when she was drunk. The case was considered in the Convention, but execution was not stayed. The guillotine was getting ready for its work.

The Commune had long been struggling for authority with the Convention; and the petition of the thirty-five sections was an essay to see how far it could go. For the present it was a failure: the Convention decreed that the petition was calumnious (April 20th); and that the Commune should produce the minutes of their proceedings to the Convention. At this time the *côté droit* and the *plaine* formed a majority. The municipal officers produced their books, which showed what the Commune was doing. The council-general had declared itself in a state of revolution so long as the question of subsistence was uncertain; it had illegally formed a committee of correspondence with all the municipalities of the Republic; it had ordered 12,000 copies of the petition against the two-and-twenty to be printed and distributed; and that the council-general would consider itself attacked, if one of its members, or a president or secretary of a section or club should be prosecuted for their opinions. This last resolution was designed for the protection of Marat, who was now under accusation. Yet the Revolutionary Tribunal was now sending people to the guillotine for their opinions. Two were executed on the 20th, and their goods forfeited to the nation for expressing counter-revolutionary opinions; and a third for having emigrated and returned, was condemned to death pursuant to the law of the 23rd of October and 26th of November, 1792.*

A man of the Mountain moved for the honours of the sitting to be granted to the municipal officers after their minutes had proved that the Commune was in open hostility to the Convention; that it was in fact

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxvi., 88.

"in a state of revolution." After a stormy debate of more than two hours, there were only 143 members to vote to the municipal officers the honours that were seldom refused: six members voted against the motion. The *côté droit* and the *plaine* were not there; the Mountain and the galleries were only just able to save the Commune from disgrace. But the Commune was now engaged in a common cause with those who aimed at destroying the authority of the Convention.

On the 24th, Marat was charged before the Revolutionary Tribunal with having, by his writings, "provoked to pillage, murder, and the dissolution of the National Convention." The papers of the 'Ami du Peuple' and of the 'Publiciste,' on which the charges were founded, were read by the public accuser, and Marat acknowledged them. After some trifling examination of witnesses, Marat made his defence at length. The jury declared that the alleged facts were not proved; and Fouquier-Tinville, now the public accuser, informed Marat that he was acquitted. Thus ended the farce of the trial, and the triumph of Marat begun. The business of the Convention was interrupted by a volunteer citizen announcing to the president that the brave Marat was coming, and those who were bringing him requested that they might be allowed to defile before the Assembly. The prayer was granted; and a crowd of men and women soon filled the hall, which resounded with their shouts. The hero himself made his appearance crowned with laurel, and escorted by commissioners of the municipality and other citizens. He is received into the arms of several of the members, embraced, and carried to the tribune; but the prolonged applause prevents him from being heard. At last there was silence, and Marat spoke: "Legislators of the French people, a citizen is before you who has been accused and completely justified: he offers to you a pure heart; he will continue to defend with all the energy of which he is capable, the rights of man, liberty, and the [illegible]ghts of the people." Danton said, it was a glorious [illegible]cle for every good Frenchman to see that the citi[illegible]f Paris show such respect to the Convention, that the day on which one of their members was acquitted, was a day of rejoicing: the Assembly had decreed that the citizens should defile before them; "Well then, let them defile, and clear the chamber where we are deliberating, that we may resume our busin[illegible] Danton wished to be rid of them. The thing was not to his taste.

At the Jacobins, Marat had another triumph, but he affected disdainfully to refuse the crowns that were offered to him. His weak head was completely turned. After the rejoicings were over, the Jacobins began to consider how the administration should be purged of all traitors. "Let me have a list," said Marat, "of all persons who are employed, and I will show you those who deserve the confidence of the people." Bazire moved that the ministers be fraternally invited to give them a list of all the citizens who were employed in the bureaus. "There are ministers," said Robespierre, "with whom the society ought to have no correspondence, and they ought to address themselves to the Committee of Safety, whose first care ought to be to purify all branches of administration." "This reason," said Marat, "is frivolous; for a pure patriot might communicate with the devil: we will say to the ministers, we ask you for a list of all who are employed, that we may be able to tell you who those are whom the public interest permits you to keep." Robespierre silently submitted to the insult.

Though the provinces had accepted the Revolution, and were favourable to it, they disliked the excesses of Paris, and a great majority were in favour of the moderate party in the Convention. But there were turbulent men in the provinces as well as in Paris, and a turbulent minority is much more active and formidable than a quiet majority. Pursuant to a decree of the Legislative Assembly, after the 10th of August, the municipal authorities had been changed, and the most violent men had been elected; the power of the moderate citizens, of the middle class, was thus limited to giving their votes and to the general exercise of their civic rights. The departmental functions were in the hands of the rich and those who enjoyed most consideration; but this is a class that is never very active. The correspondence of the parent club of the Jacobins with the other clubs in France, formed indirectly a bond of union between the Commune of Paris and the numerous municipalities; for the most active men in the Jacobin clubs were also the men who held functions in the municipalities. A well-united minority of ardent, restless men, was a force which a larger number, ill-united, could not ultimately resist. The common danger from the enemy on the northern frontier prevented any violent explosion of party-spirit there. But there were places where peculiar causes contributed to fan the flame of discord and internal commotion. The origin of the war in La Vendée has been briefly explained. Lyon was another centre of trouble, in a great degree in consequence of its position near the frontiers; and from the time of the first emigration it had been occasionally distracted by counter-revolutionary movements, which roused the spirit of Jacobinism to as exalted a pitch as at Paris. The troubles which at last became a civil war in Lyon during 1793 and 1791, commenced with the domiciliary visits which were made on the nights of the 4th and 5th of Februray, 1793.* The popular clubs at Lyon; a Central Club, which was Jacobin, and the Club de la Grande-Côte, which was Girondin; and in the month of February, 1793, they quarrelled. The Jacobin club had for its leader a violent man named Chalier. The municipality of Lyon became, in the spring of 1793, completely Jacobin, and supported by the central club and Chalier, they called for a revolutionary tribunal like that of Paris. Marseille, always republican, was now moderate, jealous of the supremacy

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxiv., 385, where the authorities for the history of the first disturbances at Lyon are mentioned. Compare Thiers, 'Hist.,' vol. ii., c. 4, Brussels ed.

of Paris, and indignant at the insults put upon its deputy, Barbaroux. The deputy of the Convention, who was sent there, found the people eager enough to volunteer for the general defence, but devoted to the Gironde. Bordeaux was in the same disposition, averse to the Mountain and the revolutionary tribunal, ready to support the deputation of the Gironde, of which it was proud. North of Bordeaux, and along the ocean, as far as the mouth of the Loire, and even the Seine, there was not only moderate republicanism and hostility to the Mountain, but a strong royalist party, of which La Vendée was the centre. Rouen, and other parts of Normandy, had gladly accepted the Constitution of 1791; but since the 10th of August, when royalty was abolished, the disposition of Normandy had been menacing towards the revolution. Its silence condemned the excesses of Paris; and Normandy had not always been silent.* Thus the elements of resistance to the tyranny of the Mountain were scattered over the broad surface of France; and the matter was furnished for many episodes in the Revolution, which in themselves would require a separate history.

* The address of Calvados to the Convention, in October, 1792. 'Hist. Parl.,' xix.

CHAPTER XL.

THE DEFEAT OF THE GIRONDE.

The flight of Dumouriez, and the arrest of the commissioners of the Convention, threw the army of the north into confusion; and on the 9th of April the enemy entered the territory of the republic. On the 20th an English force of ten thousand men landed at Ostend under the duke of York, and joined the Hollanders and the Hanoverians. Dampierre did all that he could to restore order and to check the enemy, whose design was upon the strong post of Condé. On the 30th of March, Custine left Mainz and marched to Worms, whence he retreated to Landau, and finally placed himself behind the lines of the Lauter. In the meantime the Austrian general, Wurmser, crossed the Rhine, posted himself between Spire and Neustadt, and pushed his light troops to within a league of Landau, by which movement he cut off all communication between the French army and Mainz, which the king of Prussia was preparing to besiege. While Kellermann was with the army of the Alps, making preparations to oppose the Austrians and the King of Sardinia, he received an order from the Convention on the 30th of April, to come to Paris to explain his conduct. Luckily for himself he came out pure from his examination before the Committee of Public Safety. Servan was still with the army of the Pyrenees, and hostilities had commenced. The Convention declared war against Spain on the 7th of March, 1793, and on the 23rd the king of Spain replied by a manifesto and a declaration of war.

The dangers which menaced France were met with heroic vigour. The department of Hérault set the example of a forced loan and a new mode of raising men; and the measure was approved by the Convention.* Upon this the Commune of Paris resolved to raise 12,000 men in Paris to march against La Vendée, and after the example of the Convention, to send with it commissaries of their own body.* Santerre, "having heard the voice of his country in danger," proposed to the council of the Commune to set out to fight the rebels, and the council told him to follow "the inclination of his heart, and to return quickly to share with his brethren in arms, the Parisians, the laurels of victory." But men alone were not enough: men must be fed, clothed, and armed. Accordingly the Commune by an order of the 3rd of May laid a tax, or forced loan, on the citizens of Paris. The order fixed what should be considered a necessary income for a father of a family, and how much should be considered necessary for the support of each child: all above this amount was entitled superfluous (*superflu*); and on this superfluous amount a progressive tax was levied. A man whose superfluity was from 1000 to 2000 livres, paid 30 livres. If the superfluity was from 40,000 to 50,000, he paid 20,000 livres. Those whose superfluity exceeded 50,000 livres, were allowed to retain 30,000 livres, and were required to pay the rest into the communal treasury. The property, moveable and immoveable, of those who should not satisfy the patriotic demand, was to be seized and sold by the revolutionary committees, and the defaulters were to be considered suspected. Thus the Commune was exercising sovereignty in Paris, raising an army, and raising money.† But this was not quietly submitted to, and some of the sections resisted the recruiting: clerks, shop-boys, and the old retainers of the aristocracy, all combined, and cried out, Down with the Jacobins! Down with the Mountain! The opponents of these violent measures of the Commune relied on the support of the majority of the Convention, and they were encouraged by articles in the 'Patriote Français.' For several days this party were masters of several sections, set seals on the papers

* "Vues présentées au comité de Salut Public," &c., 'Hist. Parl.,' xxvi, 177.

* "Arrêté sur la levée de douze mille hommes," 1st May. 'Hist. Parl.,' xxvi, 332.

† 'Hist. Parl.,' xxvi., 399.

of the revolutionary committees, and presented petitions to the Convention, praying that the forced recruiting, which the Commune had ordered, might be changed for a voluntary enrolment. The council-general of the Commune sent a deputation to inform the Convention that the 'Patriote Français' was preaching incivism and contempt of the constituted authorities, and that the publication of it ought to be suspended pursuant to the law.

Early in May the Convention removed its sittings to the Tuileries. Roland asked for permission to leave Paris, which was refused until the examination of his accounts. Dampierre, commander of the army of the north, was killed by a ball on the 8th of May, near St. Amand; and Custine was rewarded for his incompetence and Jacobinism with the command of the army of the north. Revolt was spreading in the provinces: all Normandy and Bretagne seemed to be rising. The insurgents of La Vendée had taken Loudun and Montreuil. The flame of foreign war and internal discord was encircling all France; and the measures of the Commune for the levy of the 12,000 men, the forced loan, and the opposition made to the Commune by a large party in Paris, backed by the Gironde, were evidently hurrying on a great catastrophe.

In the midst of the confusion of April and May, the discussion of the Constitution was occasionally resumed. Vergniaud delivered a discourse on the 8th of May. "The most perfect constitution," said Vergniaud, "will be that which will cause both the social body and the individuals who compose it, to enjoy the largest amount of possible happiness;" a proposition which may appear trivial, though true: but the discourse of Vergniaud contains many sound remarks. He was a man of lofty views, and of an enlarged range. "I should wish," he said, "in enumerating the different schemes of a constitution, to distinguish between the organic parts of the government and the moral institutions which make the government beloved, which correct the defects and perfect the qualities of the national character. In all the systems except that of St. Just, I only see the organic part; it seems that they have taken men to be automata, and supposed that they can be governed by mechanical laws." * Vergniaud probably alluded to the discourse of St. Just (24th of April) in which St. Just had said: "In general, order does not result from the movements which are imprinted by force; nothing is well regulated except that which moves itself and obeys its own harmony: this principle is especially applicable to the national constitution of empires: laws only repel evil: innocence and virtue are independent on the earth."† Robespierre read a discourse on the Constitution on the 10th of May.‡ The base of his whole system was that "Government is instituted in order that the general will may be respected; but the men who govern have an individual will, and every will seeks to dominate: if they employ for this purpose the public force with which they are armed, the government is merely the pest of liberty: conclude then that the first object of every constitution ought to be to defend liberty, public and individual, against the government itself." The discussion of general principles is characteristic of the French Revolution. The destruction of a system brings with it the necessity of recurring to fundamental principles; and amidst the anarchy, confusion, and senseless talk of the period, we may find here and there discourses which, if not free from error, contain the elements of great and universal truths. Robespierre always recurred to fundamental principles, and many of his essays have great merit. But his mind was narrow and bigoted. Vergniaud and St. Just were infinitely his superiors in talent, and possessed minds of the highest order. The young Conventionalist might have been in happier times a great and good man.

On the 14th of May a deputation of the citizens of Bordeaux presented an address to the Convention, which expressed in energetic language the fears and the disgust of the Bordelais at the tumult and anarchy of Paris: they declared that they would throw themselves upon Paris, and save their representatives or perish on their tomb. The Convention decreed that the address should be printed and posted up in Paris. A few days after, the unfortunate general Miaczinsky, a Pole by birth, was brought before the revolutionary tribunal on the charge of being an accomplice in the plots of Dumouriez. The jury unanimously convicted him on several articles, one of which was the obeying the order of Dumouriez to march upon Lille with his division, and the execution of this order with criminal and counter-revolutionary intentions. He was condemned to death, and executed on the 22nd. He died with the greatest courage, and on his way to the guillotine, called out, "Vive la Nation, vive la République." When the executioner held up his head to the people, the face was as ruddy as it was before the head was severed from the body: the eyes were open and seemed to gaze upon the countless multitude, which filled the Place de la Revolution. The guillotine had begun to do its work upon the revolutionists themselves; as Vergniaud said, like Saturn they were beginning to devour their own children.

The struggle between the Gironde and their enemies was daily coming to a crisis. Many of the members of the Mountain were absent, having been sent as commissioners to the departments; and the Mountain was in a minority in the Convention. On the 18th of May three of the sections of Paris prayed the Convention to check anarchy and give France a constitution; their addresses were in favour of the Gironde. On the question being proposed, in what cases the appel nominal could be called for, and what number of members should be sufficient to require it, a violent tumult arose. "In England," said Guadet, "when

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxvi., 386—398.

† 'Hist. Parl.,' xxvi., 133—141; and the note at the bottom of p. 141.

‡ 'Hist. Parl.,' xxvi., 432—447.

the dissolution of the Long Parliament was designed the same measures were adopted—to exalt the minority over the majority, to place the power in the hands of the minority; you know what happened; the minority got the means of oppressing the majority: they called to their aid patriots *par excellence*, a misguided multitude, to whom they promised pillage and the division of lands; this brought on the crime which history has transmitted to us under the name of Pride's Purge, a measure of which Pride, once a butcher and then a colonel, was the author and the leader: one hundred and fifty members were driven from the parliament, and the minority consisting of fifty or sixty remained in possession of the government,—you know, citizens, what was the end. These patriots, *par excellence*, instruments of Cromwell, were in their turn driven out by him." On this day Guadet proposed three measures to the Convention: to remove all the authorities of Paris, and to supply the municipality provisionally by the presidents of the sections; that the suppléans of the Assembly should meet at Bourges as soon as possible, but should not enter on their functions until they received certain intelligence of the dissolution of the Convention. The *côté gauche* was violently agitated. "The conspiracy is unveiled at last," said Collot d'Herbois. "I move thirdly," said Guadet, "that this decree be carried by extraordinary couriers to the departments; when these measures have been adopted, we shall labour in that tranquillity of mind that men may feel who have secured the sacred deposit which has been intrusted to them."

Barrère,* the Belial of the Convention, rose to speak and to calm the tumult. He was a member of the Committee of Public Safety, and he spoke with authority. It was true, he said, there did exist at Paris, and by its ramifications there existed all through the Republic, a design against liberty. He went on to consider the propositions of Guadet, and without any reflection on his motives, he gave his reasons for opposing them. He proposed a medium measure, which the opposite parties acquiesced in; the Mountain, for fear of having something that they would like less; the Gironde, in the hope, perchance, that some good might be effected. He proposed a commission, the ordinary proposal when there was a difficulty to be got rid of, a commission of Twelve members to examine all the resolutions made by the Commune during the preceding month. Most of the members of the Twelve who were appointed belonged to the *côté droit*.

Money was wanted for the war; and on the 20th of May a report was made in the name of the Committee of Finance on the War-tax. Cambon proposed to imitate the example of the department of Hérault, and to call for a civic loan of a milliard, to be furnished by the selfish and the indifferent: this loan would cause the assignats to come in, and would attach all the citizens to the Revolution, as the lenders would receive an acknowledgment which would be available for the purchase of the property of the emigrants. He said that the military and naval expenses of the previous month amounted to 270,000,000 livres. Cambon's proposal was adopted.

The establishment of the Commission of Twelve was the signal for insurrection. The section de la Fraternité informed the Convention, on the 23rd, that meetings had been held at the Mairie on Sunday, the 19th, and the following Monday, in which it was proposed to massacre twenty-two members of the Convention. There was such a design, which was prevented partly in consequence of one of the citizens of the section de la Fraternité having been observed by the conspirators to be taking notes. Pache, the mayor, who had been at one of the meetings at the Mairie, and had opposed the violent measures that were proposed, wrote a letter to the Convention, in which he softened down the whole affair as well as he could. Pache was cunning, and did not wish to quarrel with either party. But the designs against certain members of the Convention were no secret. Lasource affirmed in the Assembly that a visit had been paid to his lodgings to arrest him, and his visitors could with difficulty be persuaded that he was gone out. The Jacobins cried out, that the notion of a plot was a pure invention. Probably there was no formal plan, but an outbreak had been imminent, and accident only prevented it. The Twelve presented a draft of a decree for placing the national representation and the public treasury under the safeguard of all good citizens; and special provision was made for the citizens being assembled on the signal of alarm.* Danton opposed the decree as much as he dared: "No doubt," he said, "the national representatives ought to be under the safeguard of the nation; but they were making a law for cases which were already provided for by the law." He admitted that "the aristocrats threatened to overthrow liberty." This was the language of the times. Every movement, however distinct might be its origin and its object, was referred to aristocrats, emigrants, England, Pitt, Coburg,—to anything except the palpable cause, which was before men's eyes. The conventional language of hypocrisy was in every man's mouth. Danton added, "To make such a decree as you propose, is to decree that you are afraid." "Well," said a member, "I am afraid." Vergniaud replied to Danton, and the decree proposed by the Twelve was carried.

The Twelve were emboldened, and they summoned Hébert, the second substitute of the Commune, to appear before them. Hébert was the man who, under the name of Père Duchesne, produced the filthiest and most abominable periodical that ever issued from any press. He was arrested for an article which appeared in the 239th Number,† which contained a tissue of

* The character of this man is drawn by an enemy in the blackest colours, Bertrand de Moleville, 'Annals,' &c., vol. viii. Note relative to Barrère.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxvii., 185.

† This article is printed in 'Hist. Parl.,' xxvii., 208.

lies, and a direct provocation to massacre the traitors who conspired against the Republic; and they were indicated clearly enough. On receiving the summons, Hébert ran to the council-general of the Commune, and reminded them of their resolution to consider an attack on one of their members as an attack on themselves: he was ready to go to the scaffold, but all his anxiety was about his country. Chaumette embraced Hébert: the president gave him the fraternal hug in the name of the council, and their dear friend went much against his will before the Committee of Twelve, who, after an examination, lodged him in the prison of the Abbaye.

On the 25th of May the Convention received an address from a deputation of the Commune of Marseille, which was in substance against the Jacobins: it declared that the two commissioners from the Convention who had been sent to the department of Bouches du Rhône, had on their arrival at Marseille surrounded themselves only with factious men and lovers of disorder. This address produced a violent debate, the result of which was that the Convention annulled the orders of several of the commissioners whom they had sent into the departments, and among them, an order of Moïse Baisse, and Boisset, commissioners in the Bouches du Rhône, as being directed against and destructive of the liberty of the press. A deputation of the Commune of Paris next appeared, to denounce the crime committed against Hébert by the Twelve; they asked for the restoration to his functions of "a magistrate estimable for his civic virtues and his intelligence;" and for his speedy trial. Isnard was president. He replied that justice would be done; but he had some truths to tell the deputation: if the national representation should be violated by any of those insurrections which were constantly threatened, he declared "In the name of France,"—"No, no," cried out the extreme left: "Yes, in the name of France," said the rest of the Assembly, rising simultaneously—"in the name of all France, that Paris shall be annihilated, and men shall look on the banks of the Seine for the place where Paris once stood." The answer of Isnard only served to increase the exasperation of the opposite parties; and all Paris was in a state of the greatest excitement about the arrest of Hébert. A deputation of sixteen sections again demanded Hébert's release on the following day, and they told the Convention "that they had not broken the sceptre of tyranny in order to bend their heads under the yoke of a fresh despotism." Hébert was an object of general interest: he was lying, it was said, on a wretched mattress in a garret; Varlet, an agitator who had been arrested with him, and generals Marcé and Destournelle were lodged in the same garret. Fresh addresses poured into the Convention for the release of Hébert. On the 27th the Twelve, expecting some violence, summoned the armed force of three of the sections which were favourable to the Gironde, and in the evening these sections occupied the courts of the Tuileries with some pieces of cannon. A deputation of the section of the *cité* demanded the release of two citizens of the section whom the Twelve had arrested, and that the Twelve should be sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Isnard, the president, replied, "Citizens, the National Convention pardon your misguided youth." Robespierre demanded to speak in the name of "the Public Safety;" but Robespierre could not get a hearing. Shouts, menaces, and universal uproar filled the chamber of the representatives of France. Garat, now minister of the interior, and Pache, the mayor, appeared and asked to be heard. Garat was in a difficult position between the two parties. He attributed all the disorder to the rumour of a great plot having been formed in a meeting at which it was alleged that the mayor had presided and it had been proposed to arrest twenty-two members of the Convention; the facts, however, had been distorted. As to Hébert, the immediate cause of all the movement, he was informed that he had never made any motions in the Commune which a good citizen could not make: as to the article in the "*Père Duchesne*," for which he was imprisoned, he was not acquainted with it, but he had a horror of all writings which did not enforce reason and morality: the Twelve were excellent men, but labouring under a delusion, for there was really no danger to the members of the Convention. Pache spoke also in a conciliatory tone: he said, however, that the Twelve had no authority to call out the armed force. The right wished to terminate the sitting: the left to continue it and hear several deputations. The sitting was continued; and Hérault-Séchelles took the chair. Fresh deputations appeared; they demanded the immediate suppression of the Twelve; they entreated the deputies of the Mountains to save the country; they called for the release of the "incarcerated patriots," and the trial of the "infamous Roland." The president re-echoed the words of the deputations: "The force of reason," he said, "and the force of the people are the same thing." On the motion of Lacroix this stormy sitting terminated at midnight with the release of the incarcerated citizens and the annulling of the commission of Twelve; but such was the confusion in the chamber where deputies and petitioners were all crowded together, that nobody knew whether the decree was really voted for or not; and some affirmed that the petitioners themselves voted with the members who remained.

The next day Lanjuinais maintained in the Convention that no decree had been passed: and if the decree were passed, he called for its repeal. He said that the decree of the evening before was a conspiracy more attrocious than any which had hitherto been formed: "during the last two months there have been more arbitrary arrests made by order of the deputies sent into the departments, than were made during thirty years under the reign of despotism; for some months men have been preaching anarchy and murder; and they are to remain unpunished." "If Lanjuinais does not stop speaking," cried Legendre, "I will go to the tribune and pitch him down." But on the motion of Lanjuinais, the appel nominal was decreed on the

question of annulling the decree. Robespierre as usual must speak; he complained that the weakness of his voice would not allow him to say all that he felt for the dangers of his country, which was unworthily betrayed: for some days past they had seen a furious band of men arming themselves against patriotism; they had not blushed to name an inquisitorial commission, consisting of men who were notoriously hostile to the patriots; yesterday the conspiracy was frustrated, but during the night perfidy had again woven its web: he left these criminal men to terminate their odious career; he abandoned the tribune to them. The president declared that the result of the votes was a majority of fifty-one in the affirmative. "The commission then remains," said Danton. "We won't have it," cried a great part of the *côté gauche*. "Veil the statue of Liberty," cried Collot d'Herbois. "Your decree of yesterday," said Danton, "was a great act of justice; and I wish to believe that it will be done again before the end of this sitting; but if your commission retains the powers which I know that they wish to exercise over some members of the Assembly, if the magistrates of the people are not restored to their functions, after having proved that we surpass our enemies in prudence, we will prove to them that we surpass them in audacity and revolutionary vigour." Robespierre was evidently frightened; Danton even thought that the Mountain was in danger, and he met it, as he had before, by the cry of "audacity."

The provisional release of the incarcerated patriots was voted without opposition. A deputation of the Gardes Françaises was now admitted to the bar, and made a vigorous attack upon the "villains who put on the mask of patriotism:" they meant the Jacobins. The language of petitioners was daily becoming more violent on the two sides, and a terrible explosion was preparing. "You have only to say the word," said the French Guards, "you have only to summon us, and you shall be surrounded with defenders worthy of the cause which will be intrusted to them: you will then see on one side the courage of good citizens, and on the other the cowardice and the perfidy of a few brigands." These words produced a violent commotion: some of the deputies advanced to the guards and addressed them in angry language; the president covered himself, the usual sign of inability to maintain order. After long tumult the guards concluded their address by calling for the constitution, and assuring the Convention that their deliberations should be protected. The galleries growled their thunder against the men who denounced the agitators. Danton spoke artfully, but boldly; it was a call to insurrection: "Paris will always be the terror of the enemies of liberty, and its sections in the great days when the people shall rise in a mass, will scatter these miserable Feuillans, these cowardly moderates (*modérés*), whose triumph is only for a moment."

Hébert was received by the communal council with loud applause, and locked in the embrace of all his colleagues, of all the citizens who were present. Chaumette presented him with a crown, the offering of the patriots. The modest author of '*Père Duchesne*' put it on the bust of J. J. Rousseau. A woman from the galleries brought a crown, which she wished to be placed on the bust of Brutus. The meeting breathed fierce hostility against the Twelve, and the words of Isnard were quoted, "On the bank of the Seine people shall seek for the place where Paris stood."

The agitation was increasing, the tide of insurrection was rising, when bad news came from the armies. The army of the north had been attacked on all their line between Orchies and Maubeuge, driven from their camp at Famars, and compelled to retreat under shelter of Bouchain. The camp at Anzin was forced, and Valenciennes was invested on the 26th of May. On the 27th, Custine took the command of the army of the north, at a time when all the frontier, from Dunkerque to Givet, was threatened by the allies. On the 5th of May the royalists in La Vendée, headed by Bonchamp, La Rochejaquelein, and Lescure, took Thouars, a town of the department of Deux-Sèvres, situated on the Thoué, and made a great slaughter of the republicans. The royalists sustained a defeat at Fontenay, the chief town of the department of La Vendée, on the 16th of May, left several hundred men on the field, and lost many cannon. But on the 25th the Vendéans, to the number of 35,000, again attacked Fontenay, under Lescure, Bonchamp, Cathelineau, and D'Elbée, and took it. The republicans lost 1,800 men, killed and wounded, forty-two pieces of cannon, all their baggage, and the military chest, with 18,000,000 of assignats in it. Stofflet was named commandant of Fontenay, and the papers of the department were burnt at the foot of the tree of Liberty.*

At the Jacobins, on the 29th, a member said that he had information to give of a conspiracy. He was referred to the club of the Évêché, which had appointed a commission to determine on all the measures of Public Safety. Legendre spoke of trying all the power of reason and justice before they resorted to those means which had always succeeded. Some of the members said that Legendre only wished to cajole them. Robespierre was there. Afraid to preach insurrection directly, he did it indirectly: "If the Commune of Paris does not unite with the people, it violates the first of duties.—I cannot point out to the people the means of safety; that is not given to a single man, nor to me, who am wasted by a slow fever, and above all by the fever of patriotism: I have spoken: at present I have no other duty to perform." A member observed that they understood him.†

The Twelve, and the Committee of Public Safety knew what was preparing. The insurrection began on

* See some curious particulars in the 'Mém. de la Marquise de la Rochejaquelein, c. 7.

† Thiers has collected the evidence of Robespierre's views with respect to the 31st of May, 1793, from his speeches at the Jacobins. He wished for an insurrection: he wished and he feared. Robespierre never took the lead in any of the great movements; but he improved on them.

the 29th of May, and it was over on the 2nd of June. The menace first proceeded from the central revolutionary committee, composed of members of the revolutionary committees of the sections, which met at the Commune for the alleged purpose of making out lists of suspected persons and assessing the forced loan. This was the meeting which the section of La Fraternité denounced to the Convention, and about which the mayor Pache gave such a vague and unsatisfactory explanation. Pache did not really oppose the proscription of the deputies at this meeting, but he objected to its being discussed at the Mairie; and the conspirators taking the hint met there no more, but assembled at the Évêché. The president of the section of La Cité had been arrested by order of the Twelve, for refusing to give up the papers of the revolutionary committee of this section; and upon this the section of La Cité invited the forty-seven other sections to send each two commissioners to the club of the Évêché to deliberate on the means of saving the Republic. Commissioners from thirty-three sections came there with unlimited powers. On the 30th of May all was ready for action; and on the morning of the 31st the action began.

The Commune was sitting on the night of the 30th, and Pache was there, who said that he was informed that they were taking rather active measures at the Évêché. He went there with some members of the council; and on his return he announced that the citizens at the Évêché had declared themselves in a state of insurrection, and were going to close the barriers. The mayor and his colleagues, according to their own report, made all possible representations to these citizens to suspend the execution of their measures; but all in vain. A deputation from the meeting at the Évêché came and informed the council-general of the Commune that by virtue of the unlimited power conferred on them by the sections, they declared Paris in a state of insurrection against the aristocratic factions and the oppressors of liberty, and their first order was to close the barriers. The council-general passed to the order of the day, or rather of the night, for it was three o'clock in the morning, and wished to know the will of the sections. The alarm-bell now began to ring: the council issued a proclamation: tranquillity, said the proclamation, is more necessary than ever at Paris; the department has convoked the constituted authorities and the forty-eight sections this morning for purposes of public safety. On the 31st of May, between six and seven in the morning, the commissioners of the majority of the sections appeared before the council. The president Dobsen spoke, and informed the council that all the constituted authorities had ceased to exist. The answer was, that if the majority of the sections withdrew their powers from the magistrates, they were ready to re-enter the class of citizens; but that if the majority of the people left them to exercise their functions, force alone should wrest them from their hands. This was revolutionary language and well understood. The procureur verified the authority of the commissioners, which showed that thirty-three sections had given to their commissioners unlimited powers. The consequence was clear. The council-general had pointed the way to it: Dobsen declared that the power of the municipality was at an end. The procureur was eager to settle the business; he asked that the will of the majority be proclaimed forthwith, and "that the council-general restore its power to the sovereign people." Thus, as Vergniaud had said, the sovereignty was acknowledged to be in a portion of the people: at present it was in the thirty-three sections, or their representatives, the commissioners with unlimited powers. The next thing was for the members of the council to swear never to separate their interests from those of the public, to remain united with their brethren of the departments, and to maintain with all their power the Republic one and indivisible. And yet by their acts they had just before denied it, and considered thirty-three sections of Paris as the sovereign. The council was broken up, and retired amidst cries of "Vive la République." It was immediately resolved to send a deputation to the mayor, to the procureur, and to all the members of the municipality to invite them to join the meeting; which was done. The president Dobsen declared, in the name of the sovereign people, that the mayor, the vice-president, the procureur and his substitutes, and the council-general, are restored to their functions by the sovereign people, who testify to them their satisfation with their constant and patriotic solicitude for the public weal. The council restored to its functions took the civic oath amidst the applause of the revolutionary committees of the forty-eight sections and the spectators; and from this time it adopted the appropriate title of Revolutionary Council-General. The vice-president, in the name of the forty-eight sections, proclaimed Henriot, a brutal, stupid fellow, commandant of the section of the Sans-culottes, provisional commandant-general of the armed force of Paris. The leaders of the insurrection had got a commander, and they now secured a force. A part of the revolutionary committee proposed, and it was resolved, that forty sous a day should be paid to the citizens who were not in good circumstances, so long as they should remain under arms. On these terms armed citizens were always at command.

The ringing of the tocsin and the beating of the générale had roused the members of the Convention long before daybreak. The deputies of the Gironde took care not to be in their houses, and Roland hid himself in the house of a friend. Louvet, Barbaroux, Guadet, and others, were assembled in a private room, well armed and ready to defend their lives. As soon as it was light, they went to the Hall of the Convention, where they found some of the men of the Mountain who were there before them. Danton was there, cool and collected. At six in the morning about a hundred members were assembled. The minister of the interior appeared: he said that he could not conceal that there was a great agitation in Paris, the cause of which was the re-establishment of the Twelve; and that all the citizens were under arms. The mayor

announced that the municipality had been suspended and restored, and that they had gratefully accepted the restoration of their functions: he was there at the command of the Convention, to receive its orders. The discussion began. Valazé said that Henriot had ordered the alarm-cannon at the Pont Neuf to be fired, which could not be done without an order of the Convention under pain of death; and he moved that the Twelve should make their report on the information which they had acquired about the insurrectionary movement. Thuriot called for the annulling of the commission of Twelve, which he called the curse of France. Vergniaud spoke in a conciliatory tone: if a combat took place, whatever might be the result of it, the Republic would be lost: he moved that Henriot be summoned to the bar. Danton rose to speak. His position was ambiguous: nobody knew whether or not he had stirred up the tempest, but many believed that he had. He said that to summon Henriot would do no good, for they ought not to address themselves to the instrument, but to the cause of the troubles; and the cause was the commission of Twelve: the cannon had sounded, Paris had deserved well of the country, and "if you are wise legislators, instead of blaming this explosion, you will turn it to the public interest, by reforming your errors, by annulling your commission." This was a plain justification of insurrection.

Rabaut St. Etienne rose to defend the Twelve, which was a wise commission, devised to discover the intrigues, the designs, and the object of all the expenditure of Pitt and the Austrians. There was a cry that he should not be allowed to speak. "Let him speak," said Bazire, "he is not dangerous, he is a liar." Rabaut was continually interrupted: at last he said that he moved himself for the suppression of the Twelve, and that the Committee of Public Safety be charged to make all the investigations and receive the full confidence of the Assembly. A deputation of one of the sections appeared to inform the Convention that they had discovered a great plot against liberty and equality; the conspirators would be arrested and put under the sword of the law. Some members asked what the plot was: the answer was that the evidence could not be made public, it could only be given to the committee of surveillance. A man rose, whose presence never stilled a storm, Guadet; but he spoke the truth: "the petitioners have spoken of a great plot; they have only made a mistake in a word: instead of saying that they have discovered a plot, they ought to have said that they designed to execute one." Horrible was the confusion at hearing the truth; and Guadet went on attempting to speak, and now and then getting a few words heard. At last he said, "If there is a plot, why do you not give some information about it? citizens, was an insurrection necessary?" "Yes," was the reply from the galleries. A deputation from the municipality of Paris was introduced, and prayed to have a place assigned to them by means of which the municipality and the Convention could maintain a direct and ready communication; and this was granted.

All the people of Paris were now in arms, traversing the streets; but without any disorder. A great part of them did not know either how so many armed men had been assembled together, nor what the object was. A good part of the day was gone, and nothing was yet done in the Convention. Couthon now proposed that they should pass to the order of the day, the suppression of the Commission of Twelve. Vergniaud made another essay at conciliation. The people, though in arms, were tranquil: it appeared that they might yet be directed. He moved that the Convention decree that the sections of Paris deserved well of their country in maintaining order at such a crisis, and that they be requested to continue the same surveillance until all conspiracies were frustrated. His proposal was adopted by acclamation. Perhaps he still entertained hopes that a great majority might be disposed to maintain law and order. But the wild tumult rose again in the Convention. Camboulas said that the law had been violated by closing the barriers, ringing the tocsin, and firing the cannon of alarm; he moved that the executive council be instructed to discover those who are guilty of these crimes. "It is we," said some voices from the galleries, "we, all of us." Robespierre the younger said, "If you wish to know who caused the tocsin to be rung, I will tell you: it is the conspirators within France, many of whom are in the Convention." He said the truth, but he meant the wrong persons. The motion of Camboulas was adopted.

Deputations were still crowding in. A deputation called for the raising of a central revolutionary army of sans-culottes, with forty sous a day for the men, the impeachment of the twenty-two members who had been denounced by the sections of Paris, and of the Twelve: and the arrest of the ministers Lebrun and Clavière. In the name of the Committee of Public Safety, Barrère asked for a decree which should put the armed force of Paris at the disposal of the Convention, and annul the commission of the Twelve. This was a middle course, and a prudent proposal. But a new deputation appeared, of the members of the departmental administration of Paris with the communal authorities and the commissioners of the sections. The procureur-syndic of the department, L'Huillier, was the spokesman; and the language was fierce and threatening: the "profession of faith" which they made was a declaration of insurrection: they called for vengeance for the atrocious menace of Isnard, to erase Paris from the face of the earth; they called for the impeachment of the enemies of the country, the members of the Committee of Twelve, with Brissot, Guadet, Vergniaud, and others, and all the friends of royalty. The deputation, followed by a crowd of citizens, entered the part of the chamber assigned to the members, amidst the applause of the assembly and of the galleries, and mingled fraternally with the members of the *côté gauche*. "President," said Vergniaud, "consult the Assembly to know if we shall deliberate under these circumstances." A member moved that

the president should invite the petitioners to withdraw. "The Convention is not free," said another. "Let the deputies of the Mountain," said Levasseur, "come over to this side: the petitioners will well fill their places." The Mountain went over to the right, and the benches of the Mountain were filled by the petitioners. "The National Convention cannot deliberate," said Vergniaud, "in these circumstances: I move that we go out to join the armed force and place ourselves under its protection." He went out followed by some members. The movement was an essay to try the temper of the people: it might have succeeded, and then it would have been admired: it failed, and was ridiculous. Vergniaud came back, and found an implacable enemy at the tribune. "I will not," said Robespierre, "take up the time of the Assembly with the flight or the return of those who have deserted its sittings." "I ask for permission to speak," said Vergniaud; but he asked in vain; and Robespierre went on. While he acknowledged the patriotic motives of the Committee of Public Safety, who had proposed to put the armed force at the disposal of the Assembly, he felt bound to oppose the proposition: the citizens were armed to defend their liberty against the villains who were betraying them, and some of the villains were in the Assembly; had he not that very day "heard a motion made to prosecute the prime movers of the insurrection, which had just broken out? there are then men here who would prevent this insurrection? it would be an absurdity to put the armed force at the disposal of such men." "Conclude your speech," said Vergniaud. "Yes," said Robespierre, mustering all his energy, concentrating all his hatred, and giving vent to all the thoughts that had long filled his bosom, "yes, I will conclude, and against you; against you, who after the revolution of the 10th of August, wished to bring those men to the scaffold who directed it; against you who have never ceased to call for the destruction of Paris; against you who wished to save the tyrant; against you who have conspired with Dumouriez; against you who have furiously persecuted the very patriots whose heads Dumouriez calls for; against you whose guilty revenge has provoked these very cries of indignation, which you would impute as a crime to those who are your victims: my conclusion is, a decree for the impeachment of all the accomplices of Dumouriez, and of all those who have been named by the petitioners." Barrère's motion was adopted with some modifications: the public force of the department of Paris was in permanent requisition until fresh orders were given; and the constituted authorities were to report to the Convention daily on the means that they should take to ensure order: the Committee of Public Safety, in concert with the constituted authorities, were to examine the evidence of the alleged plots: the Commission of Twelve was suppressed, and all their papers were to be handed over to the Committee of Public Safety, to report upon them. It was near ten in the evening when the Convention rose.

The Jacobins had not accomplished all that they designed; but they had made a beginning. The Commune ordered an illumination of Paris in the evening. Every thing had hitherto been done with some outward show of respect to the Convention, and though the armed force was not put at its disposal, the Convention made an affectation of enforcing their authority, by requiring the constituted authorities to make reports to them.

About five in the evening of the 31st, while the Convention was still sitting, six armed men presented themselves at the house of Roland, and read to him an order for his arrest from the "Revolutionary Committee;" by which term Madame Roland designated the insurrectional committee of the Commune.* Roland refused to obey the order; and his wife hurried off to the Convention to denounce this violation of law. Vergniaud, who was called out to her, assured her that it would be useless to appear at the bar. "The Convention," he said, "could no longer do anything." She hastened back home. Roland had gone away, and she could not find him. Again she went to the Convention: the sitting was over. Again she returned home, exhausted with fatigue, and had just sat down to write a note to her husband, when a numerous deputation from the Commune came to ask for Roland. It was about midnight. She told them that he was not at home. "But where can he be?" said the chief personage, who wore the costume of an officer, "when will he return?"—"I don't know," said Madame Roland, "if your orders authorize you to put such questions to me; but I know that nothing can compel me to answer them." The deputation went away in very bad humour, leaving a sentinel at her door. She finished the letter, gave it to a faithful servant to take it to Roland in his retreat, and went to bed. She had slept soundly about an hour, when she was roused by a servant informing her that certain messieurs of the section wanted her. She sprung out of bed and dressed herself. "We are come, citizen," said the men, "to arrest you, and to put the seals on the things." "But what is your authority?"—"Here it is," said a man, and took out of his pocket an order of the Insurrectional Committee, which contained no statement of any ground for her arrest, for carrying her to the prison of the Abbaye. Madame Roland replied, that she might refuse to obey the order of an unknown committee, as her husband had done. "But here's another order," said a little man with an ill-favoured countenance; and he read an order of the Commune for the arrest of Roland and his wife: but this order also contained no grounds for the arrest. At last, at seven in the morning of the 1st of June, Madame Roland took leave of her daughter and her servants in the midst of their tears, and was conducted to a coach between two lines of armed men. She was lodged in the Abbaye, late the scene of horrid butcheries. The queen of the Revolution and the queen of France were now both shut up in a gloomy

* 'Mém. de Madame Roland,' ii., 55, par J. Ravenel.

dungeon:* two women cast in heroic mould, both destined to brave and to triumph over the terrors of the scaffold. But a third was yet to appear and lead the way, she with the blood-stained knife, she who carried the "sword of justice" without the authority of the law.

On the 1st of June, Barrère, the prince of hypocrites, presented to the Convention, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, a draft of a proclamation to the French people on the events of the 30th of May. It was a disguising of the truth in the language of the Revolution. A reader who is a stranger to the language might suppose that the Convention was merely protected by the armed citizens of Paris. This cunning man adroitly availed himself of the resolution "that the sections of Paris had deserved well of their country."

The 1st of June was not a quiet day. There was a meeting at the Évêché: the department and the Commune were sitting. Something decisive was to be done the next day. It had been hitherto what they called a moral insurrection. The meeting at the Évêché had the force, the real power: the Committee of Public Safety the legal authority. This committee was sitting all day on the 1st of June, making inquiries as to what the insurrectional committee wanted. What they wanted was clear enough; it was the arrest of the unpopular deputies. Even the members of the committee began to feel some indignation at the audacity of the Commune. The ministers were with the committee, and Garat proposed as a mode of reconciliation that the leaders both of the Mountain and of the *côté droit* should retire from the Convention in equal numbers. This proposal was eagerly adopted. Danton sprung up with tears in his eyes and offered to go as a hostage to Bordeaux. He had great political sagacity and some generous impulses: he saw what was coming. The proposal was imprudently communicated to the Convention, before it was solemnly proposed from the tribune; and it was treated with contempt and ridicule by Robespierre, as a snare against the Mountain, a way of getting rid of the most courageous defenders of liberty. Robespierre was the last man in the world to sacrifice his personal consideration for any public good. The project failed; and "there was," said Garat, "no force in Paris which could prevent the 2nd of June: all the force of Paris was put into requisition to produce it: and it broke out." †

On the evening of the 1st of June there was a fresh alarm: the tocsin sounded through Paris, and armed men assembled round the chamber of the Convention. About a hundred members of the Convention met, but the *côté droit* was not there. The Girondins were dining together for the last time, consulting what they should do, but the alarm bell and the beating of the drums dispersed them before they had adopted any plan. The Convention received a deputation, of which Hanenfrats was the spokesman. The address was an intimation that things must come to a crisis, "that the conspirators must fall beneath the sword of the law without any consideration:" the conspirators named were Pétion, Gaudet, Vergniaud, and others, to the number of twenty-seven.

The tocsin rang all the night of the 1st of June till the morning of Sunday the 2nd: the drums were beating, the cannon was roaring. By daybreak eighty thousand men in arms surrounded the chamber of the Convention, the greater part not disposed to any violence. But there were some thousands ready for any excess. The battalions which were raised for the war of La Vendée, had been purposely kept near Paris, and they were all brought into the city on the morning of the 2nd. Some battalions devoted to the cause of insurrection were with Henriot round the Tuileries: they had an immense quantity of artillery, matches ready lighted, and all the pomp and preparation for a battle. The members met: the Mountain, the Plain, and *côté droit* were in their places. The greater part of the proscribed deputies had passed the night at the house of Meilhan, in the Rue des Moulins, and remained there. Barbaroux was the only one whom they could not keep away from the Convention.

The order of the day was the admission of petitioners. Lanjuinais asked to speak on the subject of the *générale*, which was beating all through Paris. He spoke manfully and fearlessly: "For the last three days you have not been deliberating; you have been governed from within and without; a rival power commands; it surrounds you, within by paid men, without by the cannon—a usurping assembly exists; it deliberates, it acts; this revolted Commune, illegally named, exists still—Paris is pure, Paris is good; Paris is oppressed by tyrants who wish for blood and domination." His words were drowned by shouts and menaces. Drouet, Robespierre the younger, and other members surrounded the tribune. Legendre, it is said, attempted to pull Lanjuinais down. Order was at last restored, and some petitioners appeared. They said: "The torch of liberty is paled; the columns of equality are shaken; the counter-revolutionists raise their insolent heads: let them tremble, the thunder growls and will reduce them to dust." The applause was immense. "The crimes of the faction are known to you: we come for the last time to denounce them to you: decree immediately that they are unworthy of confidence, and put them in a state of provisional arrest. Citizens, the people are weary of continually deferring the moment of their happiness; for an instant they leave it in your hands; save the people, or we declare to you that the people will forthwith save themselves." Billaud-Varennes, and Tallien moved that the petition be referred to the Committee of Public Safety, who should report during the sitting. It was decreed in general terms that it be referred to the committee. The

* Her narrative of her prison residence and occupations is extremely interesting. The minutes of the Commune mention her arrest. 'Hist. Parl.,' xxvii., 353.

† 'Mém. de la Revolution,' par J. D. Garat. These Mémoires contain a great deal of curious matter.

petitioners left the chamber dissatisfied: there was great commotion in the galleries; the cry, "To arms! was heard, and the men left the galleries to the women The Committee of Public Safety was required to re· port immediately what they proposed to be done. Aftei a short time Barrère appeared, and in the name of th· Committee of Public Safety made their report, in con· formity to the order of the Convention, on the twenty two deputies. It was in moderate terms: the com· mittee wished to save them; and they proposed tha the twenty-two deputies should voluntarily give u their functions for a certain time. Isnard, Lanthenas Fauchet consented. Lanjuinais would neither resig his functions, nor consent to suspend them: he coul only be silent. Barbaroux would give up his life, i it was necessary for the security of liberty; if the sacri· fice of his honour was necessary in the same cause, he would say, take it away, and posterity shall judge me; if the Convention suspend my powers, I will obey the decree; but expect no resignation of my powers I have sworn to die at my post, and I will keep my oath.

There was great tumult at the doors of the Assembly Lacroix complained that all the passages were closed Another member said that two soldiers had prevented him from going out. Orders had been given by some-body to allow no deputy to go away; but Gorsas con-trived to make his escape, and told the members who were in the Rue des Moulins what was going on: he advised them to conceal themselves, and not to go to the Assembly as some of them proposed to do.* Ever Barrère was roused, and for a moment acted like an honest man: "We are in danger, for new tyrants are watching over us; we are surrounded by their order, and the national representation is on the point of being subjected to them; this tyranny is in the revolutionary committee of the Commune." On the motion of Lacroix the Convention ordered the armed force to re-move from the place of their sitting, though it was there to protect them. Barrère sprung to the tribune, "Citi-zens, let us prove that we are free; I move that we go and deliberate in the midst of the armed force, which doubt-less will protect us." The Convention sallied forth with Hérault-Séchelles, acting as president, and lead-ing the way. The men of the Mountain were the last to go: the galleries called out to them, "Don't go, let the good men of the Mountain stay;" but they fol-lowed, all except about a score, among whom was Marat. The sentinels at the doors and staircases made no resistance, but all the exterior avenues on the side of the court and the gardens of the Tuileries were blocked up by armed men. The Convention bare-headed, the president alone with his hat on, a signal of the country being in danger, presented themselves at the great gate leading to the Place du Carrousel. The ushers preceded the deputies, and ordered the gate to be opened. Henriot advanced on horseback: he pressed his hat down on his head, drew his sword, and swore that they should give no orders there: "Back to your post, and give up the deputies whom the people call for." The president insisted. Henriot drew back, and cried out, "To arms!" and "To your guns, men." It is said that the cannoniers were ready to fire, that muskets were pointed at the deputies, and sabres drawn. The president and the deputies retired: they tried the other outlets into the court and the garden, but all were closed. They advanced to the Pont-Tournant, in the hope of finding a better reception there, but Marat was close behind them with above a hundred blackguards at his heels. "Long live Marat," was the cry. "I summon you," said Marat, "in the name of the people, to return to your posts, which you have cowardly abandoned." Insulted, humbled, vanquished, and prisoners, the deputies returned to their chamber in obedience to the orders of Henriot. They found in the galleries men armed with muskets, and the doors were again closed upon them. "Citizens," said Couthon, "all the members of the Convention must now feel that they are free;" and he moved the arrest of the members who had been denounced. The following deputies were declared by the Convention to be under arrest: Gensonné, Verg-niaud, Brissot, Guadet, Gorsas, Pétion, Salles, Cham-bon, Barbaroux, Buzot, Biroteau, Rabaut, Lasource, Lanjuinais, Grangeneuve, Lesage (d'Eure et Loir), Louvet (du Loiret), Valazé, Doulcet, Ledon, Lehardi (du Morbihan), and all the members of the commis-sion of Twelve, except Fonfrède and St. Martin. The ministers, Clavière and Lebrun, were among those who were put under arrest in their own houses, and guarded by gens d'armes.

Thus the reign of law and order, which had long been feeble and uncertain, was at last overthrown; and . new period commenced,—the reign of the Committee f Public Safety and of Terror. The Gironde had 'allen in their struggle with the Jacobins, though they had a majority in the Convention, and in the depart-ments. They were not blameless; and their fall hardly claims our sympathy. The Jacobins had audacity and vigour; but audacity and vigour alone do not command respect.*

* 'Précis Rapide des événemens qui ont eu lieu à Paris dans les journées des 30 et 31 Mai, 1 et 2 Juin, 1793, par A. J. Gorsas, député à la Convention Nationale, l'un des trente-quatre proscrits.

* The overthrow of the Gironde is treated at great length y Thiers, in his 'History of the French Revolution;' and lso by Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins.' A complete istory of the struggle between the Jacobins and the Gi-onde, from the 10th of August, would form matter for an .mple volume, and require the labour of many months. This is the apology for the present mode of treating it. .bundant materials are contained in the 'Histoire Parlemen-aire,' vols. xvii.—xxviii., in which many scarce documents re printed. The remarks of the editors of this collection may e read with profit, though they must be read with due egard to the political bias of the editors, which, however, is learly expressed. The documents contained in vol. xxviii., p. 1—140, entitled 'Documens Complémentaires,' furnish aterials for the history of the insurrection of the 2nd of une, 1793.



CHAPTER XLI.

THE DEATH OF MARAT.

Some of the proscribed members submitted to the decree of arrest, and were ready to prove their innocence. Others made their escape from Paris with the intention of raising the departments. Among those who took this resolution were Brissot, Gorsas, Louvet, Lasource, Grangeneuve, and others. Against Lebrun and Clavière, who were deprived of their office after the 2nd of June, an order of arrest was issued by the Commune; but Lebrun contrived to evade it. Roland, who had been in vain asking for the examination of his accounts since the 21st of January, in order that he might leave Paris, now fled to Rouen.

After the 2nd of June the Jacobins took the initiative in all measures, and the discussions in their club were conducted with an order and decency, which might serve as an example to the Convention. They decided on the motions which were to be made in the National Assembly. On the 3rd of June, Robespierre the younger said, that "freedom of the press ought not to be allowed when it compromises public liberty:" and these words sanctioned the acts of the Revolutionary Committee of the Commune, which stopped the journals at the post-office, opened suspected letters, and stamped them with the words "Revolution of the 31st of May."

The Convention resumed their labours after the new Revolution, by renewing all the committees of General Security, finance, war, legislation, and others. The members of the Committee of Public Safety alone were not changed. The place of Lebrun was given to Desforgues, and the ministry of finance to Destournelles. The Committee of Public Safety was instructed to produce a new draft of a Constitution in a few days, and members were added to the committee to push the work on. The completion of the Constitution was thought to be a necessary measure, and if it were soon settled, France might then judge that the Gironde had hitherto been the obstacles to this measure. The mode of raising the forced loan, and of organizing the revolutionary army, was also referred to the Committee of Public Safety.

The measures of the Convention met with no opposition now: the *côté droit* and part of the *plaine* did not vote. The sittings were not disturbed by the tumultuous scenes which preceded the 31st of May. Barrère, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, made a report on the late events, which condemned, in terms as clear as the committee dared to employ, the 2nd of June: it spoke vaguely of the Girondins; but it spoke distinctly against the revolutionary council-general of the Commune, the suppression of which was proposed; and it recommended that the armed force should be at the disposal of the Convention. On the 8th of June the report was discussed, and Ducos called for the immediate discussion of that part which related to the Commune. Robespierre firmly resisted the proposition of Ducos, but he treated the Committee of Public Safety with respect. The Jacobins were not yet quite sure of their victory. Finally, Barrère withdrew the scheme of the committee, and promised to bring forward a new one.

On the 9th, Danton was denounced at the Jacobins. He had not shown his usual revolutionary vigour during the late insurrection; and his real opinions and feelings, which are known from the 'Mémoires of Garat,' had become known or suspected. He had menaced Henriot, the brutal commander of the force of Paris. He was attacked at the Jacobins, and defended by Camille Desmoulins; and the society passed to the order of the day. Danton was too important a personage for the Jacobins to quarrel with. The 'Républicain Français' (No. 207) makes a report of this sitting, in which Danton was attacked, which is characteristic of the Jacobins: "A member said, 'I have strong suspicions about the present opinions of Danton: he is not so revolutionary as he was; he does not come to the Jacobins: he left me the other day to speak to a general.'"

On the 9th, Billaud-Varennes read a discourse at the Jacobins on the measures of Public Safety which circumstances required.* The discourse was ordered to be printed, and sent to the departments, to the affiliated societies, and the armies. The measures which he recommended were prompt and vigorous, the outline of the future energetic and tyrannical administration. "Nothing," he said, "was better adapted to elevate the soul than political explosions." Thus the revolutionary progress was marked out for the advice and direction of the Committee of Public Safety, even to the minutest detail.

In the Convention Doulcet denounced the Insurrectional Committee which still sat at the Évêché: and Fonfrède, who called for the execution of the decree, which ordered that a report should be made within three days upon the case of the arrested deputies, said, "I declare that an armed force from Bordeaux is marching hither to avenge the violence done to my colleagues." The threat was not vain. The deputies who had made their escape were trying to raise the departments. Buzot, Gorsas, Pétion, Louvet, Barbaroux, and Gaudet were in the departments of Eure and Calvados; Meilhan and Duchâtel, who were not placed under arrest, went off to rouse Bretagne; Biroteau and Chasset were at Lyon; Rabant St. Etienne went to Nimes, and Brissot went to Moulins. Brissot was arrested at Moulins, and sent to Paris by an order of the Convention of the 17th of June. Gensonné, Valazé, and Vergniaud refused to quit Paris.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxviii., 160.

The inhabitants of a large number of departments were ready to arm and to march upon Paris. At Marseille the sections had deprived the Jacobin municipality of their powers and given them to a central committee; and they had established a popular tribunal to try persons who were guilty of revolutionary excesses. At Lyon, on the 29th of May, there was a battle, in which the sections were victorious, took the arsenal and Hôtel de Ville, deprived the municipality of their powers, and shut up the Jacobin Club. Some hundreds of men fell in this bloody fray. The events of the 31st of May and the 2nd of June, which reached the departments with great exaggeration, roused the fury of the enemies of the Jacobins to the highest pitch. Bordeaux, Rennes, Evreux, Caen, Limoges, Toulouse, Marseille, Nimes, Grenoble, and Lyon, all showed their zeal in the cause of the Gironde. The municipality of Bordeaux sent to the Convention on the 6th of June to inform them that cries of rage and vengeance were heard in all the public places, and it was impossible to foresee what would be the consequences of the popular indignation.

On the 13th of June the department of Eure decreed that four thousand men should be raised to march upon Paris and release the Convention, which they declared not to be free. The department of Calvados, in their sitting at Caen, arrested the deputies Rome and Prieur de la Côte d'Or, who were sent by the Convention to organize the army of the coast at Cherbourg; and it was agreed that all the departments of Normandy should meet at Caen to form a federation. The departments of Bretagne made a like resolution, and sent deputies to Rennes to form a central authority for Bretagne. Between sixty and seventy of the departments were in a state of insurrection against the Convention, which had only Paris, the departments of the north and those of the basin of the Seine at its command.

About the middle of the month the news reached Paris that the Vendéans had taken the town of Saumur on the 10th of June. General Menou, who commanded the republicans, received two shots, and had his horse killed under him. Santerre fought with rare courage for a man who stood fire for the first time.* The republicans lost above thirty pieces of artillery. The women of Saumur went out to thank the Vendéan chiefs, assisted at the 'Te Deum' in the church, and put on mourning for Louis XVI. Opinion was divided at Paris upon the measures to be taken in the midst of these difficulties. Barrère, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, proposed a conciliatory plan, part of which was to abolish the revolutionary committees all through France, which had arrested a great number of persons, or to limit them to their proper functions, the surveillance of suspected foreigners. But the Mountain was bold and immoveable: it would conciliate nobody. Danton raised his thundering voice, which in the hour of danger had always given confidence and courage. "We are just on the eve of really establishing French Liberty by giving to France a Republican Constitution: it is in the moments of a great birth, that bodies political, like bodies physical, always appear to be threatened with approaching dissolution: we are surrounded by tempests; the thunder growls; let it be so; from the midst of its explosion shall issue the work which will immortalise the French nation—it is said that the insurrection of Paris causes the movement in the departments; I declare in the face of the universe, these events shall be the glory of this superb city; I proclaim before all France, that but for the cannon of the 31st of May, the conspirators would triumph; they would be giving us the law." To settle the question as to the late insurrection, Couthon moved, and Robespierre seconded his motion, that it be declared that "the revolutionary council-general of the Commune of Paris, and the people of Paris, had powerfully contributed to liberty, the unity and the indivisibility of the Republic on the 31st of May, the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of June." The motion was carried in the midst of the murmurs of the right. The forced loan of a milliard was decreed. On the 23rd the Constitution was finished, and when the Declaration of Rights was read, the Girondins took no part in the discussion. Numerous deputations came to congratulate the Convention on the termination of their labours. The day was consecrated, as Billaud-Varennes expressed it, by the repeal of the martial law, and terminated by a fête in the Champs-Elysées and in the Champ-de-Mars. David, one of the commissioners appointed to assist at the fête, made a report on the following day "of the affecting scenes which he had witnessed." On the 24th the Constitution was finally read. As soon as Hérault-Séchelles had finished reading it, a salvo of artillery was heard, and the Convention broke up amidst loud cries of "Vive la République," "Vive la Convention," "Vive la Montagne."

But the constitution was not yet safe. It had to be defended against the Royalists, the Girondins, and the *enragés* (the madmen). On the 27th of May a manifesto had been published and spread about in profusion "in the name of his majesty Louis XVII., king of France and Navarre." Just before Pétion made his escape, and while his friends of the *côté droit* were protesting but not voting against the constitution, he published a violent pamphlet in which he examined the question, whether there was a National Convention or not; and he came to the conclusion that there was not. The manifesto of the *enragés* was the petition of Jacques Roux and Leclerc, which Jacques Roux came to present the same day in which the inhabitants of Paris came to congratulate the Convention on the completion of the constitution. But on the motion of Robespierre, who was afraid that the harmony of the day might be disturbed, Jacques Roux was put off to

* Letter of Tallien read at the Jacobins, 'Hist. Parl.,' xxviii., 193. One would not have expected so much from general Santerre. But a man may be brave in battle, who is not courageous on other occasions.

another day. He came on the 25th, and read his petition. Thuriot said, "You have just heard professed at this bar the monstrous principles of anarchy." He treated the petitioner with the utmost indignity: he called him a vile preacher of anarchy; he said the Convention would be surprised to learn that this man was a priest, a worthy rival of the fanatics of La Vendée. He moved that the president order him to withdraw. Robespierre said that the speaker's perfidious intentions were manifest; he wished to cast over the patriots a calumny of *modérantisme*, to make them lose the confidence of the people. Legendre moved that the man be driven out, which motion was carried, and Jacques Roux withdrew. But he was not a man to be easily beaten, and he carried his grievances to the club of the Cordeliers, who unanimously adopted his principles, and decided that Legendre should be summoned to give them an explanation of his conduct. Legendre was a member of the club. This sitting of the Cordeliers proved that the petition of Jacques Roux expressed the opinion of a great number, and that there were men who intended to make the 31st of May a bloody day, and to massacre the Girondins. The club complained of the waning energy of Legendre and Danton, who "by their culpable resistance reduced them to *modérantisme* on the 31st of May, who opposed the revolutionary means that we had taken on this great day to crush all the aristocrats of Paris." In the late insurrection then the leading Jacobins were the moderate men, and guilty of the crime of "modérantisme."

The principles of Jacques Roux did not go further than Robespierre had preached. This petition was directed against monopolists and accapareurs, against the "selfish rich, who still drink in gilded cups the purest blood of the people." On the 26th some men put the doctrines in practice by attempting a forced sale of a quantity of soap on terms below the market price. The women wanted the soap at twenty sous the pound. The worthy Hébert, who was appointed a commissioner to look after this affair, said to the women, "we have sworn to protect property: if you plunder, nothing will come to Paris; if you give way to such excesses, all is over, the counter-revolution is made, and you will have a king." The women declared that they would not have a king. Hébert replied, "We are assured of the goodness of your intentions; we wish as well as you for things to be cheap—but happiness can only be secured by good laws, wait for the establishment of the new constitution; don't gather the fruit before it is ripe—if you pillage, we will all make a rampart of our bodies to prevent the violation of property." The council of the Commune, upon Hébert reporting this affair to them, placed "under the safe-guard of the people the property which evil-disposed persons might attempt to pillage." "And who was it," say the editors of the 'Histoire Parlementaire,'* "who asked the women to be patient and resigned? men whose fortunes had been made by the revolution, men whose places, acquired by the blood of the people, gave them at present in abundance all the conveniences and all the pleasures of material enjoyment." Fifteen women were imprisoned at La Force for making a disturbance and plundering the soap; while Henriot, who had used violence to the National Assembly, was allowed to resign his usurped functions, and to receive from the president of the Communal Council, the fraternal embrace. Jacques Roux still persisted: he came to read his petition to the Commune on the 28th, and was ill received. At the same moment Robespierre, at the Jacobins, in an artful address crushed Jacques Roux, who was expelled by the Cordeliers with his friend Leclerc. Robespierre said "that the measures to be taken for serving the people were not always the same." Now that his party was victorious, Robespierre was not willing that Jacques Roux should preach the doctrines which he himself had preached before.

The Revolutionary Tribunal sent twelve persons to the guillotine on the 18th of June who had been arrested for a royalist conspiracy in Bretagne. There were two women among the persons who were executed.*

The arms of the Republic were still unsuccessful. The army of the Pyrenées Orientales, under General de Flers, was defeated by the Spaniards, near Perpignan, on the 26th of May. On the 22nd of June, Bellegarde capitulated to the Spaniards. The road on which the fort of Bellegarde was situated was the only way of communication between France and Spain which was practicable for an army with artillery. Nantes was besieged on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of June, by 50,000 Vendéans, and it was only saved by a desperate resistance. Cathelineau received a mortal wound during the attack. On the 1st of July news reached Paris that Corsica was in a state of active counter-revolution, under Paoli, who had been named commander-in-chief. All the patriots, as they were called, were imprisoned by his order, and their property was plundered; the priests were restored to their benefices, the monks to their abbeys, and the emigrants to their fiefs. The Convention made short work with Corsica; they annulled the decrees (*consulta*) of all the primary assemblies of Corsica, and decided that the island should be divided into two departments. Couthon and Lacroix remarked that there was great similarity between the object and the measures of Paoli and those of Brissot's friends. On the 2nd of July the Convention suspended in the rebellious departments all salaries paid to any persons by the Republic, and ordered the gendarmerie of these departments to repair to Versailles, Chartres, and Melun; and that no funds should be sent into the departments of Calvados, Eure, Bouches du Rhône, and others, where the administrators were in open revolt. Early in July Buzot's army had seized Pacy-sur-Eure. All kinds of rumours

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxviii., 226. The remarks are curious, and in the main just.

* The particulars of this conspiracy are given in 'Hist. Parl.,' xxv., 191.

were about; among others, that the son of Louis XVI. had been taken from prison and carried in triumph to St. Cloud. The Committee of General Security appointed commissioners to certify that the child was in the Temple, and on the 7th of July they made a report that they found the "son of Louis Capet quietly playing at draughts with his mentor."

On the 8th of July, St. Just, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, made his report on the Girondins.* The moderate language in which it was expressed surprised the *côté droit*. The conclusion derived from the evidence before the Committee of Public Safety was, that a conspiracy had been formed to prevent the establishment of the Republican Government in France: it recommended that the Convention should declare to be traitors Buzot, Barbaroux, Gorsas, Lanjuinais, Salles, Louvet, Bergoeing, Biroteau, and Pétion, who had evaded the decree passed against them on the 2nd of June, and put themselves in a state of rebellion in the departments; that there was ground of accusation against Gensonné, Guadet, Vergniaud, Molleveau, and Gardien, as accomplices of those who had taken flight and risen in rebellion; that Bertrand, a member of the Twelve, who had courageously opposed their violent measures, should be invited to resume his seat in the Convention; and that the other persons, who were under arrest, should be also invited to resume their seats, as being rather deceived than culpable. The discussion of the report was deferred. On the 11th of July, Cambon made a long report on the state of the Republic, at the close of which he announced the discovery of a new plot to carry off the son of Louis Capet, and to proclaim him Louis XVII., and that to effect it, general Dillon was to be at the head of the army of conspirators, with twelve other general officers; the Committee of Public Safety, on receiving evidence to this effect and of other particulars, had signed an order to separate the son of Louis Capet from his mother. The Convention approved of what had been, and of the arrest of general Arthur Dillon, Castelane, Ernest Buchy, Edme Rameau, and Louis Levasseur, which had been already effected, on the grounds of the denunciation of a plot to restore royalty. The Convention also approved of the arrest of general Miranda. Camille Desmoulins said that it was all an absurd idle fable, and he attempted to speak in defence of Dillon. "I move," said Billaud-Varennes, "that Camille be not permitted to dishonour himself." The day before Desmoulins had been engaged in a quarrel with the Convention about Dillon. The Convention was about to renew the Committee of Public Safety, and Desmoulins had reproached the Committee with making itself into an upper chamber, and he threw upon it the blame of all the reverses of the armies, and especially the capture of the camp of Famars. Desmoulins, who had been roughly handled in the Convention, revenged himself by a pamphlet, in his usual lively manner, in which he ridiculed many of the men of the Mountain. Legendre and his vanity came in for a share of his caustic wit; and St. Just also, "who considered his head as the corner-stone of the Republic, and carried it on his shoulders with respect, like a holy sacrament." *

On the 11th, Couthon communicated to the Convention the news from Lyon, which was in a state of insurrection, and had declared against the insolent minority which had laid sacrilegious hands on thirty-four of their colleagues. On the 27th of June, Sautemouche, a member of the former commune of Lyon, and a Jacobin, was put to death. He had been discharged by the police correctionnelle, but he was discovered in a café and seized. Some were for throwing him into the Saône, others for putting him in prison; but the lantern was thought the best thing for him. Just as the cord was fixing round his neck, a sabre blow was aimed at him, which stretched him dead. His body was thrown into the Saône.† On the 3rd of July the Jacobins of Lyon were disarmed, and on the 4th the departmental commission, which was installed on the 1st of July, declared that the national representation was neither entire nor free; they called for an immediate convocation of a free and entire national representation, and until then they would consider all the decrees of the Convention since the 31st of May as not existing, and take measures for the general security. In their sitting of the 8th, it was resolved that the arms fabricated at St. Etienne should be brought to the arsenal of Lyon every eight days. A decree of the Convention of the 3rd of July was read, which declared in a state of arrest the procureur syndic of the department of Rhône-et-Loire, and the procureur of the commune of Lyon, and that the public authorities of Lyon should be responsible severally for any attacks upon individuals; and for the events of the 29th of May. This did not alarm them: they appointed the citizen Perrin, called Précy, commander-in-chief of the force at Lyon. The Convention responded by two decrees: they declared Lyon to be in a state of rebellion against the Republic; Biroteau, former member of the Convention, now one of the leaders in the conspiracy of Lyon, a traitor; traitors also all the functionaries, who had convoked or allowed the departmental congress of Lyon, or had taken part in its deliberations. The other measures of the Convention were a preparation for compelling Lyon to submit.

The 14th of July was to be a fête. The Commune had made preparations to go in solemn procession to the Convention, to express the opinion of the people of Paris on the Constitution. But an unforeseen

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxviii., 241—271.

* We learn from Camille, that St. Just had published, a few years before, an epic poem, entitled 'Argant,' in twenty-four cantos. But Rivarol and Champcenets, who had discovered even the most insignificant grub in literature, had never seen St. Just's epic poem in twenty-four cantos. "After such an adventure," said Camille, "how can a man show himself?"

† There are two contradictory accounts of the way in which he was killed.



CAMILLE DESMOULINS

event spoiled the rejoicings of the 14th. On the evening of the 13th of July Marat was dead.

There lived at Caen, in the department of Calvados, a young woman named Marie Anne Charlotte Corday.* She was five-and-twenty years of age. Her father, a decayed gentleman, was still living, but she had left him to reside with an aunt at Caen. This young woman was a grand-daughter of the great dramatist, Pierre Corneille, and the spirit of the grandsire lived in his descendant. Her form was tall and graceful, her features regular and beautiful; but there was mingled with a woman's softness of expression something of the resolve which marks a manly face. Her complexion was illuminated by the freshness of youth, beauty, and health; her dress was suited to her moderate means; her habits were temperate and simple. Though brought up in a convent, she was no stranger to the philosophical ideas which were then spreading over France; for even the bars of the convents could not keep out the books which were in vogue. Her early religious impressions were replaced by the philosophy of Jean Jaques Rousseau; and her exalted imagination was raised to the heroic pitch by the ever-living portraits of Plutarch. She embraced the Revolution with ardour; she dreamed, as the wife of Roland had dreamed, of a republic in which simplicity and virtue should reign. But the excesses of the Jacobins had dispelled the pleasing illusion, and the men of the Gironde, who once seem destined to realize her happy visions, were imprisoned or fugitives. Pétion, Louvet, Barbaroux, and other deputies had come to Caen to stir up the departments of the north, and to combine the elements of resistance to the Convention.

The reign of terror had already commenced in Paris; the guillotine was receiving its tribute of victims, and the horrid engine was expected to make the tour of France. One name above all others was associated with the guillotine, the name of him who had for years called for heads, and measured his demands only by thousands. The unquiet mind of Charlotte required action; and she meditated a deed of vengeance against the greatest culprit in France. She resolved to go to Paris. She had two interviews with Barbaroux, and she asked and obtained from him a letter of introduction to a member of the Convention who could introduce her to the minister of the interior. She pretended that she had a petition to present to the government in favour of Mademoiselle Forbin, who had been the friend of her youth. Barbaroux gave her a letter to Duperret, one of the seventy-three deputies of the party of the Gironde.† She went to see her father, and told him that she was going to England. On the 9th of July, early in the morning, she made up a little packet, which she put under her arm, quitted her aunt's house, and journeyed to Paris, in a conveyance which, as she said, contained some "good Montaguards." She reached Paris on the 11th of July, and went to the Hôtel de Providence, in the Rue des Vieux Augustins, where she slept soundly from five in the afternoon till next morning. She called on Duperret the next day, but could not see him till the evening. She asked him to introduce her to Garat, the minister of the interior, but this was only a pretext. In her letter to Barbaroux she said she was sorry that she had called on Duperret, for this very evening, by a decree of the Convention, the seals were placed on all the movables of Duperret, as one of the suspected, and her visit put him in danger. Duperret came the next day, and went with her to Garat, but the minister could not see them, and Duperret took leave of her at the door of her hotel. She had learned that Marat did not now go to the Convention, for her first design was to kill him there; he was suffering from illness, but still scribbling at home with his wonted unwearied diligence. After leaving Duperret, Charlotte found her way to the Palais Royal, not to admire or to be amused. She looked for a cutler's shop, where she bought a strong knife, with an ebony handle, and concealed it under her neckerchief. She returned to her lodgings, and wrote a letter to Marat, in which she told him that she was from Caen, and could give him important information, and she would be with him at one. She went, but could not see him; upon which she left a second letter, well calculated to sharpen the jealous curiosity of the Friend of the People; it was dated the same day: "I wrote to you this morning, Marat, have you received my letter? I cannot believe it, because they refused me your door. I hope you will grant me an interview to-morrow. I repeat it, I am just from Caen; I have to reveal to you secrets of the utmost importance for the safety of the Republic. Besides, I am persecuted for the cause of liberty; I am unfortunate, and that is enough to give me a right to your protection. Charlotte Corday." Charlotte said in her letter to Barbaroux, "I confess that I employed a perfidious artifice to induce him to receive me; all means are good in such circumstances." She left her hotel at seven in the evening, and knocked at Marat's door. The woman who kept the door would hardly let her in, and tried to prevent her from going up stairs. The noise brought Marat's mistress out, who refused to admit her into the apartments. A loud altercation ensued, and Marat, who judged, from what was passing, that the visitor was the writer of the two letters, called out to let her in. Marat, wasted with disease, horrid and disgusting to look at, was in his bath, covered with a dirty piece of linen, all but the upper part of his chest and his right arm. He was writing on a rough plank, which rested on the bath,

* Lamartine has elaborated the story of Charlotte Corday with great skill. 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. xliv. The passage is well translated in Knight's 'Half-Hours with the best Authors,' vol. iv.

† There is no clear evidence that any of the Girondists at Caen knew the real object of Charlotte's journey to Paris. Whether they might not suspect it, may be a question. Charlotte wrote a letter to Barbaroux from her prison after the deed was done; but there is nothing in the letter or her examination which implicates him. Her letters are printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxviii., 327.

a letter of denunciation to the Convention. Marat asked about Normandy, and he took down the names of the deputies there, and of the administrators of Calvados, who were at Evreux. He told Charlotte, by way of consolation, that they should all be guillotined. These words decided his fate.* She drew the knife from her bosom, and with strong arm plunged it to the hilt in his body. He cried out once, and no more. The water was dyed red: Marat was bathed in his own blood.

Marat's mistress ran into the room with a man who was folding the sheets of Marat's Journal. The man closed the door with some chairs, to prevent Charlotte escaping, and dashed one against her head. They cried out for help, and she was soon secured and carried to prison. At her trial she admitted the fact: she said that she had killed one man to save a hundred thousand: she was a republican long before the revolution, and had never wanted energy. She denied that she had any accomplices. She was condemned to the scaffold. Charlotte preserved her gaiety to the last. Before her trial she wrote a farewell letter to her father, and prayed that he would forget her, or rather rejoice at her fate, for the cause was good. She reminded him of this verse of Corneille:

"Le crime fait la honte, et non pas l'échafaud."

When she was asked if she would have a priest, she declined, and said to him, "I beg you will thank the persons who sent you, for their attention to me, but I have no need of your assistance." She was taken to the scaffold on the 17th of July, in a red chemise, the dress then used for those who had committed murder. "In the cart which took her to the place of execution, and even on the scaffold, her movements had that voluptuous and modest ease which is above beauty, and which art can never imitate without being ridiculous: she herself placed her head, which the terrible axe separated: there was profound silence: the executioner, when he showed the head, struck it with his hand, and there was a universal murmur through the crowd: the head was then pale, but of perfect beauty; when the executioner showed it a second time, the extravasated blood had restored its most beautiful colours. Cries of "Vive la Nation," "Vive la Republique," were heard, and all retired with a profound feeling of her horrible crime, and the remembrance of her courage and her beauty."†

The day after Marat's death, several of the sections appeared at the bar of the Convention to sympathize with the Assembly. His body was embalmed, and exposed for public view in the church of the Cordeliers. "I thought," said David, the great master of ceremonies, at the sitting of the 15th of July, "that the best way of doing him honour, was to show him to his fellow-citizens in the same attitude in which I found him on Friday: accordingly I placed him in his bath, with one hand out of the water, holding a pen, and by his side a piece of wood, on which was a sheet of paper." His bloody shirt was shown to the people. The sections came one after another to see his remains up to the time of the interment. The section of the Republic came, and the orator commenced thus: "He is dead, the friend of the people; he is assassinated: let us not pronounce his eulogium over his inanimate remains: his eulogium is his conduct, his writings, his bloody wound, his death.—Ye women, throw flowers on the pale corpse of Marat: he was our friend; he was the friend of the people; for the people he lived, for the people he died." Here the women in silence threw flowers on the body. At the Jacobins, Bentobolle moved that Marat should be interred in the Pantheon, and that the Convention should ascertain the state of his fortune. Robespierre opposed the motion: he foresaw, he said, that the honours of the dagger were in reserve for him also, that the priority had only been determined by chance, and that his fall was rapidly advancing. Here Robespierre betrayed his vanity: he thought that he was a greater man than Marat; he was certainly not sorry to have escaped the knife of Charlotte Corday, but still he felt that Charlotte's selection was an admission of Marat's superiority. Legendre also, who thought himself a great man, would have fain believed that he was worthy of the preference of Charlotte. Robespierre continued: 'The honours of the Pantheon are asked for; and what are these honours? who are the men who lie there? Except Lepelletier, I don't find a single virtuous man: would you place Marat by the side of Mirabeau, that man who only gained a reputation for his villainy? such are the honours which are proposed for the friend of the people." "Yes," said Bentobolle, "and he will have them, in spite of the jealous." "Let us employ ourselves," said Robespierre, "with measures which may yet save the people; let us nullify the effect of Pitt's guineas; and compel the Coburgs and the Brunswicks to retire to their own territories." The club followed Robespierre. On the motion of David, the Convention resolved to attend the funeral of Marat. His bust was placed at the Commune and in the Convention. His name was given to the Rue des Cordeliers; and the Rue de l'Observance was called "La Place de l'Ami du Peuple." When his effects were examined, an assignat of twenty-five sous was all that was found.

The last sittings of the Cordeliers in July were devoted to the deification of Marat. The men who had no other God made one of Marat. The Cordeliers got the heart of Marat, which they suspended from the ceiling of the club with that of Verrière, who was

* So she said herself in the letter to Barbaroux.

† 'Chronique de Paris,' 19th Juillet, 'Hist. Parl.,' xxviii., 355. The remarks of the editors on Charlotte Corday are just, but tinged with their opinions. They affirm that she was a royalist; but she did not say so herself. There was much personal vanity mixed up with her assassination of Marat. Her portrait was sketched during her trial, and finished in her prison. The editors of the 'Hist. Parlem.' maintain the complicity of the Girondins of Calvados in the assassination of Marat, chiefly on the assertion of general Wimpfen. 'Hist. Parl.,' xxviii., 301—334.



ACCEPTATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Marat's advocate in 1791, when he was prosecuted. A member of the club, raising his eyes towards the urn which contained the heart of the friend of the people, exclaimed, "Precious remains of a God: shall we then be perjured to thy manes? Thou callest to us for vengeance, and thy assassins still breathe: awake once more, Cordeliers: it is time: let us hasten to avenge Marat; let us hasten to dry the tears of sorrowing France."

In the Convention the only consequence of Marat's death was to make them act with more vigour against the Girondins. Marat died opportunely for the men of the Mountain, who had now to concentrate their energy and perfect their plans. Such a colleague as Marat would only have been an obstacle to them. His maniacal ravings and his vanity made it impossible for any men to act with him. His mantle fell on the enragés, men who had less sense than Marat, and had none of his sincerity; for this demagogue was a blood-thirsty man in earnest, and he had some tact in denunciation. Jacques Roux and Leclerc of Lyon began a journal in continuance of the Ami du Peuple. They called it the Shade of Marat (Ombre de Marat.)

CHAPTER XLII.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1793.

The party of the Gironde was daily growing weaker. The energy of the Convention terrified the departments; and perhaps many people began to doubt of the goodness of the cause of the Gironde. Evreux had been taken by the republicans, and the rebels were fleeing into Calvados. The Convention decreed that the house of Buzot, at Evreux, should be rased to the ground, and on the site there should be set this inscription, "Here lived Buzot, who conspired the ruin of the French nation."* Most of the addresses against the 31st of May were disavowed by those who had the administration. Cartaux had given the rebels of Marseille a signal defeat, and compelled them to evacuate Avignon and other places. On the 23rd of July the Convention decreed that all the citizens who were in the rebel towns of Lyon, Bordeaux, Caen, and Marseille, and should not quit in three days, should be considered as emigrants. Lyon, however, threatened an obstinate resistance; and the revolutionary tribunal there employed against the Jacobins the same rigour as the tribunal at Paris did against the enemies of the Republic. Chalier was executed on the 16th of July. He walked firmly to the scaffold to the beat of a drum, embraced his confessor, and kissed the crucifix. The axe of the guillotine was ill managed; even the fourth blow did not kill him, and his head was cut off with a knife. He was the first man in Lyon who made the essay of "the holy guillotine," which he had prayed to see permanently established.

On the 29th of July, after fifty days of imprisonment, the deputies, Romme and Prieur, were set at liberty. The public functionaries wished them to quit their prison secretly, but they would not, and they were released with great solemnity, to the roar of the cannon, while all the National Guard was under arms. The constituted authorities of Calvados addressed the following letter to the Convention on the 30th of July: "We have seen our error, and we have sincerely acknowledged it to you: at present order is restored: there is no longer a departmental force: your colleagues have been set at liberty: the primary assemblies are deliberating on the Constitution, which will doubtless be accepted unanimously: all the people breathe love of liberty, and feel the necessity of rallying round the supreme authority of the Convention: led away by the first moment of effervescence, the public functionaries have now confined themselves within the limits of their authority: we hope that these proofs of civism will induce you to receive our retractation favourably." The Convention could not wish for more humble subjects. On the 2nd of August, Carrier, the deputy who had been sent to the army on the coast at Cherbourg, entered Caen, from which Buzot and his friends had already fled.*

In La Vendée, Biron had re-taken Saumur, but the republicans subsequently sustained a total defeat near this town. The soldiers threw away their arms and knapsacks, and half of the artillery fell into the hands of the royalists. With 60,000 men the republicans were nearly always beaten, the consequence of acting without concert, and having no good plan. There were several free corps, which only acknowledged the authority of their commanders; and among them the German legion of Westermann, which paid no attention to any orders except his. Westermann and his men pillaged all before them: and he was

* Buzot was a native of Evreux, where he practised as an advocate. He was a deputy to the States-General in 1789, and was the first man who said "The property of the ecclesiastics belongs to the Nation." (6th of August, 1789.) Madame Roland has drawn Buzot's portrait in her 'Mémoires,' vol. ii. There is a volume of the Mémoires of Buzot, 'Sur la Révolution Française.'

* Felix Wimpfen, general of the rebels in Calvados, who had been impeached by the Convention on the 26th of June, has left a notice on the Girondins, who had sought refuge in Calvados. (Toulongeon, 'Hist.,' ii., 62.) There were twenty-seven of them. His character of the chief of them is a bad one. But it is enough to read what Wimpfen has written, in order to see that he does not deserve full credit.

summoned to the bar of the Convention. On the 30th of July, Julien of Toulouse, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, reported that they had not discovered any open treason in the conduct of Westermann, and he was sent before a court-martial, instead of being handed over to the revolutionary tribunal.

Condé had long been hard pressed by the Austrians. The soldiers of the garrison were reduced to a daily allowance of eleven ounces of bread, two ounces of horse-flesh, an ounce of rice, and two-thirds of an ounce of tallow. On the 12th of July the place capitulated. On the 23rd of July, Mainz capitulated to the king of Prussia: it had been invested since the 6th of April. Before the surrender the place had suffered dreadfully from famine: it is said that a cat sold for six francs, and a pound of horse-flesh for forty sous. Mice and leather were eaten. General Doyré had allowed some of the inhabitants to quit the place, and two thousand old men, women, children, and sick, went through the gates to the besieging camp; but they were not allowed to pass, and had to spend the night between the fire of the city and of the besiegers, and many of them were killed. In the morning the gates were again opened to receive them. The place capitulated when defence was no longer practicable, and the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, with arms, baggage, and other effects belonging to the individuals who composed the garrison, and with provisions for their march; but on the condition that the garrison should not serve against the allied powers for a year.

On the 28th of July, Valenciennes surrendered conformably to the terms of a capitulation made between general Ferrand, the commandant, and the duke of York, commander-in-chief of the combined forces which besieged it. The garrison had been reduced from 9,000 men to 3,500, who were allowed to march out, on condition of not serving for a year against the armies of the coalition. The place did not surrender till the breaches were practicable even for cavalry; and the duke of York had threatened that, if the place was not given up, the garrison and the inhabitants should be put to the sword. Barrère, on the 1st of August, when announcing the surrender of Valenciennes, declared that the Committee of Public Safety was convinced that this event was the result of a vast plot formed by England. Papers had been seized, which showed "that Pitt was maintaining emissaries at Paris and in the departments, to cause conflagrations at Douay, Valenciennes, Lorient, and Bayonne, to cause the patriots to be massacred by the women: the inhabitants of Lyon had received four millions in coin, on the part of Pitt." * At this crisis Custine was the man on whom was poured all the accumulated indignation, that had arisen from the reverses of the French arms. He had been already summoned to Paris, and he promptly obeyed the order. On the 18th of July he wrote to the Convention, "that he did not wish to exist in the place where their sittings were held, without presenting to them the homage of his respect and his obedience to the laws of the Republic." He was soon committed to the Abbaye and impeached; a measure which was hastened by the news of the fall of Mainz, and immediately followed by the adoption of the report of St. Just, of the 8th of July, with respect to the deputies who had fled to Caen. The arrest of Custine caused a great agitation in the army of the north, which was calmed by the deputy Levasseur, who went to review the army at Cambray, and told the soldiers that "he was their chief, and they must pay him blind obedience." On the 23rd, general Alexandre Beauharnais, who had commanded the army of the Rhine since the 1st of May, was executed. He was the husband of Josephine, afterwards the wife of the emperor Napoleon. His crime was his inexcusable delay in going to the aid of Mainz. To make up for their other losses, the French armies obtained several advantages over the Spaniards on the frontier of the Pyrenees.

On the 29th of July, Henriot was elected commandant-général of Paris. His recent services were too great to be overlooked. Robespierre, about the same time, moved that the club of the Jacobins be purified, that they "sweep away all men suspected, feeble and unsteady, all who did not walk with a firm step in the ways of republicanism."

High prices still caused disturbances at Paris, and the washerwomen were most persevering in demanding that soap should be sold cheap. The poor besieged the bakers' doors, and serious accidents occurred. On the 21st of July a citizen was killed while maintaining his possession of a loaf which he had bought for his family; a woman with child was wounded, and a child which she held in her arms was stifled. The distress, it was affirmed, did not come from scarcity, for cart-loads of bread were found thrown into the river; a report which may not be true, but it was believed. Among the instances of villainy recorded in the journals of the day, is that of a woman who sold cheese in the market: she seated herself on her basket, and declared she would not sell it for less than ten sous in coin, when it was not worth more than three. All these facts were considered to be evidence of certain perfidious manœuvres to famish the people.

But in addition to the want of confidence, there was a cause of the high price of everything, which was obvious enough, the depreciation of the assignats, and the operations of the money-dealers, who made their profit of all the bad news. When they had contrived to depress the assignats, they bought them up, and then purchased articles of merchandise, and sold them again. Certain members of the Convention, who had the command of money, carried on a profitable trade in this way; and Julien of Toulouse, Fabre d'Eglantine, Chabot, Danton, and Delaunay of Angers, are mentioned as having engaged in this traffic.* With

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxviii., 382, &c.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxviii., 362. The evidence is not given. As to Danton, some writers say that there is no proof.

his profits, Julien kept the Countess de Beaufort, and Delaunay the actress Descoings. Money-changers, money-dealers, forestallers, and bankers, had become the objects of general detestation. There is no doubt that a class of men speculated in the assignats, and took advantage of their depreciation; and the popular prejudices attributed to them the distress from which they drew a profit, without being the causes of it, or materially increasing it. In the Convention, Chabot was often denouncing the wicked arts of the dealers: this ex-capucin was bad enough for anything. On the 26th of July the Convention passed a decree, which was intended to stop all this jobbing. The preamble was this: "The National Convention, considering all the evils which accapareurs cause to society by pestiferous speculations upon the most necessary commodities of life and on the public misery, decrees as follows: Accaparement is a capital crime." All those were declared to be accapareurs who kept from circulation articles of merchandise or provisions of the first necessity, and shut them up without exposing them to sale daily and publicly; and those who destroyed or voluntarily allowed to perish articles of food or merchandise of the first necessity. The articles of the first necessity were enumerated, such as bread, meat, wine, grain, flour, butter, wood, oil, sugar, and so on: provision was made for ascertaining the amount of a trader's stock, and for securing the articles being offered for sale; and if he was refractory, provision was made for forcing a sale at such a price as should give the owner a profit; but if the cost price was such as not to render a profit possible, then the things were to be sold at the current price; and the produce was to be paid to the owner after the cost of the sale was deducted. The regulations were very minute. Informers under the law were to be rewarded; and "if a man denounced a voluntary destruction of merchandise or provisions, he was to receive a reward in proportion to the gravity of his denunciation." The judgments of the criminal courts under the law were to be without appeal. Jacques Roux did not ask for more than the decree gave: it was enough to satisfy any *enragé*.*

On the 1st of August, after Barrère's report on the capture of Valenciennes, the Convention passed six decrees, which at least showed their energy. They denounced, in the name of outraged humanity, to all people, and even to the English people, the cowardly, perfidious, and atrocious conduct of the British Government, which rewarded assassination, poisoning, and incendiarism; they declared the property of all persons who were out of the protection of the law by the decree of the Convention, to belong to the Republic; Marie-Antoinette was to be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal; the expenses of the two children of Louis Capet were to be reduced to what was necessary for the support of two individuals; and the tombs and mausoleums of the former kings in the church of St. Denis, and in other places in France, were to be demolished on the next 10th of August. The second decree related to the vigorous prosecution of the war in La Vendée. Combustibles were to be sent to burn the woods, the coppice, and the broom; the forests were to be beaten, the haunts of the rebels destroyed; the crops cut and carried to the rear of the armies, and the animals seized; the goods of the rebels were declared to belong to the Republic, and a portion to be set apart for the indemnification of those citizens who should have remained faithful to their country, and should have sustained loss. General Houchard was appointed commander-in-chief of the armies of the North and of the Ardennes, and Ferrière of the army of the Mosel. By the sixth decree, every Frenchman convicted of having refused to take assignats in payment, or of having given or received them at any reduction, was liable, for the first offence, to a fine of 3,000 livres and six months' imprisonment; for a second offence, double the fine, and imprisonment in chains for twenty years. After the fall of the Gironde the Convention acted with vigour and decision.

But the elements of anarchy were still abundant. The enragés were still active, and the Hébertistes, headed by Hébert and Vincent, began their agitation. Jacques Roux and Leclerc attacked the Commune and the department of Paris, and the Convention itself, because none of them secured the subsistence and the happiness of the people. These madmen attacked government for not securing two things which are out of the province of government. Hébert and Vincent, the leaders of the méfians, or the distrustful, attacked everybody except their own friends: they denounced Chabot, Bazire,* and even Danton and this led Danton to join Robespierre in crushing them. Atheism and materialism were the characteristics of all these fanatics. Robespierre resisted all the anarchists: he had his own views, and he would tolerate no other. He had been a member of the Committee of Public Safety since the 27th of July: he had seen what the government was, he knew its weakness, and he wished to give it strength. He was the man who at the Jacobins advised all the measures which should be adopted at the Jacobins, where the real seat of government was. In the last half of August, he was both President of the Convention and of the Jacobin club. He was always complaining of the tardiness of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and he demanded the head of Custine, who, he was afraid, might escape.

On the 2nd of August, Baco, the mayor of Nantes, was at the bar at the head of a deputation from that town. He announced the acceptance of the Constitution by the primary assemblies of Loire-Inférieure; and he invited the Convention to dissolve after the Constitution was accepted by the nation. Thuriot and Chabot said, that to ask for the dissolution of the Convention, was to speak the language of Pitt and Coburg.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxviii., 367—371.

* The name of this man has often occurred. There is some account of him, and some scandal about him, which may be true or false, in the 'Mémoires sur les Prisons,' vol. ii., 62, a great repertory of dubious anecdotes.

Baco protested that he was a patriot; and on a member making a remark to him, the mayor replied that he lied; on which his petition was referred to the Committee of General Security, and he was sent to the Abbaye. The next thing was for Collot d'Herbois to denounce Garat and Champagneux, his first clerk; but Collot failed in his attack. On the 15th of August, Garat resigned on the pretext of bad health, and Paré was appointed his successor.

On the 15th of August, Vincent denounced Danton and Lacroix at the Jacobins; and Robespierre replied "New men, patriots of a day, wish to ruin, in the opinion of the people, their oldest friends. I cite as an instance Danton, who is calumniated; Danton, against whom no one has the right to make the slightest reproach; Danton, whose credit will never be destroyed, till it has been shown that his accusers have more energy, talent, and love for the country." Robespierre was not sparing of his abuse: one of the villainous calumniators, he said, was Jacques Roux, guilty of the horrible crime of exciting to the assassination of shopkeepers, because, as he said, they sold too dear; and the other horrible crime was his advice to the people to reject the Constitution on the pretext that it was defective. The priest, Jacques Roux, was only following out the principles of Robespierre in recommending the murder of the shopkeepers (p. 239). But then, as Robespierre had lately observed, the means of safety are not always the same. Jacques was an impudent fellow for presuming to put another man's doctrine in practice. Leclerc came in for a share of Robespierre's condemnation. No man could denounce with more virulence than Robespierre.

The deputies of the primary assemblies were coming in crowds to Paris for the fête of the 10th of August, which day had been chosen instead of the 14th of July, because it was the real birthday of Liberty. Great preparations were making: a triumphal arch was constructed on the boulevard Italien; the fronts of the houses were decorated with devices after the design of Momoro, and tricoloured flags waved on the roofs. But the Committee of Public Safety were afraid of the federalism which might be imported into the capital, and their agents were sent on all the roads for more than twenty leagues round to open all the packages and letters of those who were on the way to Paris. The federates themselves were the special object of this inquisition. On the 7th of August the news of the conflagration of the arsenal of Huningen confirmed all persons in the notion of Pitt's plots. Garnier said, some man would be found sufficiently the friend of humanity, a new Scævola, to deliver the world from this monster: "I move that you decree that Pitt is the enemy of the human race, and that all the world has a right to assassinate him." This raised some loud murmurs. Couthon would not support the motion to assassinate Pitt, but he moved for and obtained a solemn decree by which Pitt was declared to be the enemy of the human race.

On the 9th of August the Convention heard the report made by Gossuin on the procès verbaux of the acceptance of the Constitutional act, in the presence of the envoys of all the primary assemblies.* It began: "Citizens, the temple of Liberty is completed: raised by the hand of the sovereign people, it will be durable." It would not be easy to compress more ignorance in so few words. The temple of liberty is not yet completed either in France or anywhere else. The foundations are laid: they exist in the constitution of our nature, in all human society; the superstructure has been raised in different forms in different countries: but the completion of the edifice is deferred till mankind shall discover the true features of the goddess whose image is to be placed in the shrine to whom the temple is to be dedicated.

The new Constitution commenced by proclaiming in the presence of the Supreme Being a declaration of the Rights of Man and of the citizen. This profession of faith was contained in Robespierre's declaration of Rights, which was adopted at the Jacobins on the 21st of April, 1793, and read at the Convention in the sitting of the 24th of April, 1793.† The acknowledgment of the existence of God and of the immortality of the soul by the Jacobin leaders, placed them in direct opposition to the Gironde, who had no confession of faith. The political system of the Gironde went no farther than this, that society is a means for the

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxviii., 424. It is worth reading, as an index of the opinions of the time.

† Printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxvi., 93. The words of Robespierre were, "In the face of the universe, and under the eyes of the Immortal Legislator."—"The declaration of Rights," say the editors of the 'Hist. Parl.,' (xxviii., 177,) 'contained an act of faith which it had not been possible to obtain from the Girondins: the French people there spoke in the presence of the Supreme Being." In the institutions of St. Just it is laid down, "The French people acknowledge the Supreme Being and the Immortality of the Soul: the first days of every month are consecrated to the Eternal." ('Hist. Parl.,' xxxv., 306.) The proposal to recognize a Supreme Being in the Constitutional Act came first from a member for Cayenne, whose name is not stated in the debates, ('Hist. Parl.,' xxvi., 42); but it was successfully opposed by Louvet, the author of 'Faublas,' on the ground 'that the existence of God required no recognition of the National Convention of France." The author of this loose novel was of the same mind as Guadet.

The editors of the 'Hist. Parl.' have the following note, which is here inserted, because some persons seem to misapprehend the opinion of the editors: "The author of 'Faublas' was more fitted than any one else to oppose the declaration of the existence of God. Without doubt the Creator had no need to be recognized by the National Convention, but the National Convention had need to recognize him. The jeu de mot of Louvet would have remained without any effect, if the Jacobins had been in earnest about the Constitution which was then discussed; but they thought that the true Constitution could only be founded after the ruin of the Girondins; and this last object was at that time their only thought. It requires no long reflection to convince ourselves that without God there is no morality, that without morality there is no society, and that an act of faith is the indispensable basis of every political constitution."

satisfaction of the wants of the individual; and they assumed certain imaginary natural rights, which it was the object of society to maintain. This is the doctrine of Blackstone; a doctrine which removes God out of the world, though the commentator would no doubt have been grievously shocked, if he had lived to be charged with such a conclusion. The Jacobins set out with the acknowledgment of the Supreme Being as the foundation of a social system: thus they acknowledged a relation of man to God; consequently a relation of all men to God; consequently a relation of all men to one another; and the doctrine of fraternity, with the means of accomplishing this end, self-denial, abnegation of self, so far as to enforce our duties to others. Thus they made the basis of their system the two commandments on which Jesus Christ declared that "all the law and the prophets hang." (Matt. xxii., 40.*) If the Jacobins did not practise this doctrine, the reason may be that they were hypocrites, or that circumstances were too strong for them, or that they did not fully comprehend what they professed; or all these causes were combined. The words liberty, equality, and fraternity, were in all people's mouths at the time, but few comprehended them, and their notions were as different as they were confused. The human mind is slow in attaining a perfect consciousness of a great truth. The Constitution declares that the French people are convinced that the forgetfulness of and the contempt for the natural rights of man are the only causes of misery in the world, and it proclaims that the object of society is the common happiness, and that government is instituted to guarantee to man the enjoyment of his natural and imprescriptible rights. These rights are equality, liberty, security, property; and each of these rights is defined. It would be of no use here to criticise the strange confusion which pervades the Declaration of Rights of 1793. One remark is sufficient. The acknowledgment of the Supreme Being remains altogether unfruitful. It might be omitted without affecting the declaration in any degree. Robespierre's Declaration of Rights, which was approved at the Jacobins, was somewhat better. If it had been declared that Society and Government are of God, and therefore necessary, all notion of natural rights would have been excluded, and love of God and love of our neighbour would have been placed as the foundation of society and of government, and as their objects. It would then only remain to consider the means by which these two objects should be attained, and by ascertaining the means to them, we should secure to every man the attainment of as much happiness as his nature admits. Among the means of obtaining this happiness, liberty is essential, but not viewed as a right of any kind, as a thing capable in itself of a fixed determination, but as resulting from the constraint put upon others; in a word, the foundation of Liberty is not in Right, but in Duty, in obedience. It is therefore quite true that the doctrine of rights, natural, imprescriptible, inalienable, and so forth, as belonging to individuals, is not only false, but is hostile to the law of God as deduced from our observation of the course of human events, and directly opposed to the law of God as known from Revelation.

The Constitution declared that every man born and domiciliated in France, of the age of twenty-one years, and also every male foreigner of the same age, who had been domiciliated a year in France, and had complied with certain conditions, were admitted to the exercise of the rights of a French citizen. The sovereign people was defined to be the "universality of the French citizens." This sovereign elects immediately the deputies: it delegates to electors the choice of administrators, of public arbitrators, of criminal judges, and judges of the court of Cassation: it also deliberates upon laws. In the primary assemblies the votes might be given either by ballot or by oral declaration, at the choice of the voter. A representative was to be chosen for every 40,000 individuals, and every Frenchman who exercised the rights of a citizen, was eligible. The French people were to assemble for the purposes of elections on the 1st of May in every year. The legislative body was one, and renewed

* On this subject, see Bishop Sherlock's 'Discourse on Matthew xxii., 40,' in which is developed the doctrine of love of God and of a man's neighbour. There are two sermons on the same subject, by Bishop J. Butler. Blackstone, if we could suppose that he clearly knew what he meant to say, which however he did not, has declared himself hostile to the doctrine of Christ, though nothing was further from his intention. But a man who does not know his own meaning, makes of all men the most dangerous mistakes. In his chapter "Of the Absolute Rights of Individuals," he says, "*Hence* it follows that the first and primary end of human laws is to maintain and regulate these absolute rights of individuals." And what are these absolute rights? "Such as would belong to their persons merely in a state of nature, and which every man is entitled to enjoy, out of society or in it." He might as well have said, dead or alive. This writer is perpetually in a cloud, preaching obedience to God's law, and arguing against it; contradicting himself, drawing conclusions utterly unconnected with his premises. He even defines what he calls "the right of personal security," to consist in a person's "legal and uninterrupted enjoyment of his life, his limbs, his body, his health, and his reputation." Now every man of the least reflection knows that there are not and cannot be any rules of law which determine a man's enjoyment of life, or limb, or body, or health, or reputation, as a Right, or as comprehending a number of rights; but on every man is imposed the Duty of respecting the life and good name of all others. And if any man violates this moral duty, Law can in certain cases give the injured person a Right to compensation, or it may inflict Punishment on the evil doer; or it may do both. So far as Law does or can do this, and it can only do it to a limited degree—so far law assists morality, though it is not the function of law to execute all the commands of morality. Thus what Blackstone imagines to be a Right, is no right. That which he supposes to be secured by an absolute Right is secured by an universal Duty. The Duty is enjoined by positive law; it has its foundation in society, not out of it: the foundation is the brotherhood of mankind, and the acknowledgment of a Common Parent, of which the existence of society is a standing publication.

annually. The sittings of the National Assembly were public. The Assembly proposes laws and makes decrees; and the meaning of the term laws is defined The drafts of laws (*projets de lois*) are printed and sent to all the communes; and forty days after the proposed law is sent, if in one half of the departments, plus one, the tenth part of the primary assemblies of each has made no protest, the draft is accepted, and becomes law. The executive council is composed of twenty-four members: the electoral assembly of each department names a candidate, and the legislative body chooses from the list. The executive council is renewed in half of the members, in each session of the legislature. Provision is made for the revision alteration of the Constitutional Act. It was declared that the French people are the natural friends and ally of all free peoples; that they do not interfere in the government of other nations, and allow no interference in their own; they give an asylum to strangers banished from their country for the cause of liberty and refuse it to tyrants. The Constitution guaranteed to all Frenchmen equality, liberty, security, property, the public debt, the free exercise of religion, common instruction, public relief, the indefinite freedom of the press, the right of petition, the right of meeting in popular societies, the enjoyment of all the rights of man.*

The fête of the 10th of August, 1793, was a great day. The National Convention, the envoys of the primary assemblies who had been sent to Paris to announce their acceptance of the Constitution, the authorities of Paris, the clubs and the people, met on the spacious site of the Bastille exactly at sunrise on the 10th of August. In the midst of the ruins was erected a colossal statue of Nature, on the base of which was written: "We are all her children." From her breasts, which she pressed with her hands, Nature poured forth into a vast basin two streams of limpid water. There was the roar of cannon, followed by soft music, and the President of the Convention standing in front of the statue, and showing it to the people, made a short address to Nature: "Sovereign of the savage and of enlightened nations." † After the address, the president filled a cup, of antique form, with the water which flowed from Nature's breast, made libations of it round the statue, drank thereof himself, and presented it to those who carried the banners, on which were written the names of the respective departments. One by one the bearers of the banners ascended the steps around the basin, and approached "the holy cup of equality and fraternity," and as each took it from the hands of the president, he gave to him the fraternal embrace. As the cup passed from hand to hand, the rejoicings of those who stood around were mingled with the roar of cannon. From the site of the Bastille the procession moved along the Boulevards. It would be tedious to describe the long train and all the ingenuity of David. It was his happy device that there should be only a regular place and order fixed for the clubs, the Convention, and the envoys from the primary assemblies. After them there was no further division of persons, no order fixed, no rule prescribed for the procession: all classes, ranks, and persons were mingled in confusion, which produced "the spectacle and the sentiment of that sacred equality, eternal imprint of creation, first law of nature, and first law of the Republic."

The dead who had died for the Republic were not forgotten. Eight white horses drew, in a triumphal car, the urn which contained their revered remains. Surrounded by an armed force, there rolled along, with heavy lumbering noise, a tumbril which contained the proscribed attributes of royalty and aristocracy, a tumbril like that in which criminals were conveyed to punishment. An inscription told that this was the stuff which had been the eternal curse of human society. At the triumphal arch, which was erected about the middle of the boulevards, the President halted. "Architecture, painting, and sculpture, had been here combined, to transmit to posterity the remembrance of the heroines of the 5th and 6th of October; and these courageous women themselves figured in the midst of the monuments of their glory, and, as on the road to Versailles, they were seated on the carriages of their cannon."—"What a spectacle!" said the president; "the weakness of the sex, and the heroism of courage. Oh, Liberty, these are thy miracles." He continued; and as he concluded he gave the heroines the fraternal accolade, and placed on the head of each a crown of laurel. The mass moved on to the Place de la Révolution, and halted before the statue of Liberty, which was raised "on the pedestal of the destroyed statue of the vilest and most corrupt of the tyrants of France." Liberty was surrounded with young trees, and the boughs of the poplars were bent under the weight of the tributes offered to the divinity by the love of the French. "The number and choice of the offerings showed that this was not a ceremony, but a worship, and that all hearts had given way to the enthusiasm of their idolatry." An immense combustible pile, near the feet of the statue of Liberty, was composed of all the things which had been employed for the parade and pomp of royalty. "Here," began the president, "the axe of the law struck the tyrant: perish thus these shameful signs of servitude." After his address, he applied a flaming torch to the pile, and in a moment throne, crown, sceptre, escutcheons, and all the livery of despotism, was blazing and crackling amidst the acclamations of countless multitude. Three thousand birds of all kinds, with little tricolour ribands round their necks, and bearing the words "We are free, imitate us," sprung with the sparks from the middle of the flames into the free and boundless expanse of the heavens.

Again the procession halted in front of the Invalides.

* The Constitution of 1793 is printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxi., 400—414.

† It may be read by the curious in the Procès Verbal of this memorable fête, in which Hérault-Séchelles acted as president, and David was "ordonnateur."

On the summit of a rock stood a colossal statue of the French people. With one hand the figure was securing a bundle of rods, which represented the departments while a monster, whose tail was that of a sea-dragon was issuing from the reeds of a fetid marsh and making an effort to crawl up to and break the bundle of rods. The giant, trampling on the breast of the monster, held a club suspended over his head, to strike a mortal wound. "French people," exclaimed the president "here you are represented before your own eyes under an emblem rich in instructive lessons: this giant whose powerful hand unites and fastens in a single bundle the departments in which consists your grandeur and your strength,—this giant is You: this monster, whose criminal hand would break the bundle and separate that which Nature has united—it is Federalism."

The last halt was in the Champ-de-Mars, where the president, in the midst of an assemblage which filled all the place, ascended to the summit of the altar of the country, accompanied by the oldest man among the commissioners from the departments; and "from this elevation, as from the true Holy Mount, published the result of the votes of the primary Assemblies of the Republic, and proclaimed the Constitution." He then deposited the constitutional act and the table of votes in the ark which rested on the altar. The salvos artillery and the shouts of the spectators shook all around: "heaven and earth responded to this proclamation of the only constitution, since man has existed, which has given to a great empire a liberty founded on equality, and which has made of fraternity a political dogma."* During the procession the eighty-seven commissioners of the departments had carried each a pike; they now approached the president, and deposited the pikes in his hand, and the president formed of them one bundle, which he tied together with a riband of the colours of the nation.

Last of all, the due honours were paid to the Frenchmen who had died in fighting for the Republic. The urn which contained these cherished remains was removed to the vestibule of the funeral temple, erected at one end of the Champ-de-Mars. The president, embracing the urn with one hand, while with the other he showed to the people the crown of laurel destined for the martyrs who founded liberty, bade a solemn farewell to their brethren who had fallen in the combats.

Such was the fête in the Champ-de-Mars on the 10th of August, 1793, when a republican constitution was proclaimed for France, and brotherhood was declared to be a political principle. The four years which had passed since the capture of the Bastile had been presented to the eyes of the people by symbols borrowed from the heathenism of Greece and Rome, instead of those which were appropriate to the age and to the Christian principle of brotherhood. But though ill understood, the sentiment was real, or the pomp would have appeared ridiculous; and it was not ridiculous, only because the people were in earnest.*

* The Virginia Declaration of Rights, June 12th, 1776, contains all that the French Declaration does, and it came from the same hand as the Declaration of the American Congress, July 4, 1776. The Virginia Declaration declares, (1) "That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot by any compact deprive or divest posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."

(5) "That no free government or the blessing of liberty, can be preserved to any people, but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles."

(16) "That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, and not by force and violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other."

This goes far beyond the French Declaration, and comes nearer to the true foundations of society. This Declaration was made in a country where slavery existed; and it was retained in the amended Virginia Constitution of 1830, under which slavery still exists.

* After getting so far in the History of the French Revolution, a man may well ask, What was it? There is no answer to the question among the English writers who have treated of the French Revolution; nor is the answer easy. Much of what has been written on the causes of the French Revolution, and its real significance, is too puerile to deserve any notice. Those who wish to see the spirit in which it ought to be considered, may read the 'Explication de la Révolution Française,' prefixed to the two small volumes of Anjoulat's 'Histoire de la Révolution Française,' which will show that the Revolution was a catastrophe, which had been preparing for centuries, and was hastened by the corrupt morals of the upper classes and the state of the finances. The cahiers of 1789 showed what progress the French had made in political knowledge; and the objects of many good men was to make a wise and salutary reform. But there was no clear acknowledgment of Christianity among them: all they possessed of Christian principles was borrowed from Rousseau, who took it from the Gospel. The leading Jacobins maintained the faith which they learned from Rousseau, but without a distinct recognition of its divine origin: and in the tempest of the Revolution the doctrines of Liberty and Equality became a sword, and not peace. Yet their doctrines have not been without effect: and the doctrines of the Jacobins, not their practice, are preferable to the materialism of the Gironde.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE REIGN OF TERROR.

The defeat of the Gironde and the death of Marat left the power of opinion at the disposal of two men, Danton and Robespierre. But Danton had lost his revolutionary energy; Robespierre's was inexhaustible. The fall of the Gironde had been accomplished by an insurrection, like that which drove Louis from the Tuileries on the 10th of August; and this new movement required to be directed. There was a man ready to direct, a man of unwearied industry, of stedfast purpose, who could bear no equal or rival, Robespierre in the Convention, and Robespierre at the Jacobins. Danton has been aptly described as a man of passion, not a man of theory. He had no strong convictions, nor personal animosities; he had not the faith or the fanaticism which overpowers all resistance. The blood of September was on his conscience, and there was remorse in his bosom. His first wife was dead, and he had recently married a young woman, with whom he enjoyed the happiness of domestic life. Hébert had attacked Danton in the Père Duchesne; and on the 26th of August, Danton defended himself at the Jacobins. His defence was not in his usual vigorous style. He replied to certain vague charges against him as to his second marriage and the settlement that he had made on his wife, which was only 40,000 livres, the produce of his indemnification for an office which he had held, and of his labour: "he was proud of having been born a sans-culotte, and having received from nature sufficient strength to provide for his own subsistence." At the urgent entreaty of his wife and her family, he soon retired from Paris to his native place of Arcis-sur-Aube, to seek in this rural retreat the tranquillity which he could not find in the turbulence of the capital. Before leaving Paris he had an interview with Robespierre, who promised to defend him against any attacks upon his patriotism. They parted in appearance good friends: Robespierre glad to be rid of a rival; Danton perhaps in the expectation that Robespierre would be swept away by the tempest which he was attempting to control, and leave the field open to him.

Robespierre had the confidence of the great mass of the people, because he acknowledged their sovereignty in the most unlimited terms. He had declared war against all parties who were obstacles to the consolidation of the Republic. Unlike his rival, he had a character on which there was not even a suspicion of corruption; and his austerity and simple mode of life were in harmony with the doctrines which he professed. On the 17th of July, 1791, after the "massacre in the Champ-de-Mars," the Jacobins in alarm quitted their place of meeting; and Robespierre among them. He was greatly alarmed, and his fears magnified his danger. A carpenter, named Duplay, who lived in the Rue St. Honoré, saw Robespierre as he was coming along, and being anxious for his safety, took him by the hand and forced him into his house. He stayed there that evening, for he was afraid to go to his residence in the quarter called the Marais; and on the morrow his host would not let him go. From this time Robespierre lived with Duplay and his family, which consisted of Duplay's wife, a son and four daughters, of whom the eldest was twenty-five, and the youngest eighteen years of age.* Robespierre's income was derived from the rent of a small property in Artois, which belonged to him, his brother and his sister, and from his pay as a member of the Convention. But his wants were few: he ate at Duplay's table, and lived in the same homely style as the carpenter's family. Between Eleonora, the eldest daughter of Duplay, and Robespierre, an attachment was formed, stronger on her part than his, for it was mingled with admiration. But the intercourse of daily life had established in Robespierre an affection founded on respect, and strengthened by habit; for it cannot be conceived that a man of Robespierre's character, absorbed in the Revolution, could find room in his bosom for the passion of love. Duplay approved of the attachment, and Robespierre and Eleonora, to whom the name of Cornelia had been given, were to be married when the Revolution was terminated and secured. The youngest sister, Elizabeth, married Lebas, one of Robespierre's colleagues. Robespierre had a chamber in Duplay's house, which contained a bed, a table, and four straw chairs. This chamber was both his sleeping and working room. Some pine shelves fixed against the wall contained his papers, reports, and the manuscripts of his numerous discourses, written in a fair hand, with many erasures, the evidence of the care with which he laboured his compositions. A few select books composed his library, and a volume of J. J. Rousseau or of Racine was generally open on his table. Here he spent the greatest part of his time, and he seldom went out except in the morning to the Assembly, and in the evening to the Jacobins. He kept the same kind of dress from first to last, and did not neglect propriety and neatness of costume, when propriety and neatness were no longer the fashion. A small number of select friends visited at Duplay's, who varied however with the times: Merlin de Thionville, and Fouché, who is said to have loved Robespierre's sister, though Robespierre did not love him; Taschereau, Panis, Sergent; among the regular visitors were Lebas, St. Just, Couthon, David, and Camille Desmoulins; and "lastly, Madame de Chalabre, a wealthy lady of noble family,

* Michelet, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' iii., p. 162.

an enthusiastic admirer of Robespierre, who devoted herself to him like the widows of Corinth or Rome to the apostles of the new worship, offering him her fortune to further the popularisation of his ideas, and seeking the friendship of the wife and daughters of Duplay in order to merit a look from Robespierre.*"

On the 11th of August, Lacroix (d'Eure et Loir) moved, and his motion was carried, that the Convention should take the proper measures for electing a new Assembly. But Robespierre, at the Jacobins, declared that nothing could save the Republic, if the Convention should separate, and a legislative assembly should be substituted for it. Called against his inclination to the Committee of Public Safety, he had witnessed things which he could never have suspected —"since he had seen the government nearer than he ever had before, he had been able to discover all the crimes which were daily committed." On the 14th, Robespierre again spoke at the Jacobins on the means of safety, or rather salvation; they were to cashier the generals, and to prevent knaves from being appointed in their places; to turn out all who were employed in administration, and to put honest men in their place; "to fall on all those odious journalists, every stroke of whose pen is an additional crime, and whose existence becomes daily more pernicious to society." One of Robespierre's measures of salvation was to destroy the liberty of the press. He concluded with a recommendation that the forty-eight sections should be requested to send delegates to the Jacobins to concert with them, with the delegates named by the Convention, and the federates, the measures best adapted to operate the great crisis which was to save the State. The meeting took place, an address was agreed upon (16th of August), and immediately presented to the Convention. It called for a general summons for every man to take arms, with the exception of those who were necessary for the cultivation of the earth. The address was referred to the Committee of Public Safety, and Barrère reported upon it in the same sitting; but the final decree was not proposed till the 23rd, when it was adopted. It declared that from that time until the enemy should be driven from the French territory, every Frenchman should be permanently in requisition for the service of the armies: "the young men will go to the field of battle; the married men will make arms and convey provisions; the women will make tents, clothes, and serve in the hospitals; the children will turn the old linen into lint; the old men will be carried to the public places to strengthen the courage of the warriors, hatred of kings, and the unity of the Republic." The national buildings were to be turned into barracks, the public places into workshops for arms, and the earth of the cellars to be lixiviated to extract saltpetre from it: saddle-horses were to be taken for the cavalry; and draft-horses, except those employed in agriculture, for the conveyance of artillery and provisions: the Committee of Public Safety received full powers to cause all kinds of arms to be fabricated; and the representatives of the people, who were sent to execute the law, were to have the same power in their arrondissemens, acting in concert with the Committee of Public Safety: the levy of men was general; and the unmarried men and widowers without children, from eighteen to twenty-five years of age, were to march first, and to repair to the chief place of their district, where they were to be drilled daily until they received the order to set out.* The Convention called all France to arms, men, women, and children. It was not an army that was raised to defend the country: it was a whole nation.

The finances were in a deplorable condition. The decree which declared the property of the princess de Lamballe, who perished in the massacres of September, to belong to the nation, was but a trifle, and merely a sample of the unscrupulous conduct of the Convention. The formation of the Grand Livre is an instance of their vigour and boldness. The public debt was a perfect chaos, consisting of obligations contracted before 1789 and since, of obligations varying in kind and degree; a whole so complicated that it required great skill and experience to understand any part, and left room for jobbing and speculation without end. Cambon's plan was to form a book consisting of one or many volumes, called 'Le Grand Livre de la dette publique,' in which all the obligations to the creditors of the State were to be entered; and the different titles of all the creditors were to be reduced to one uniform title, which would be the entries in the Grand Livre.

The public debt (*la dette publique non viagère*) consisted of the dette constituée, of the debt due at a fixed time, of the debt due and arising from the liquidation, and of the debt arising from the various creations of assignats. An explanation of these different debts could not be made in fewer words than those of Cambon's Report. The annual payments on account of the dette constituée amounted to 89,888,335 livres on the 1st of January, 1793. The debt payable at a fixed time consisted (1) of sums payable at Paris, and (2) of loans raised in foreign countries, the repayment of which was to be made in foreign money:

* Lamartine, 'Hist. des Girondins,' Liv. xxx., 9, &c., has drawn a picture of Robespierre's domestic life. Senart, 'Révélations puisées dans les Cartons des Comités de Salut Public et de Sûreté générale,' calls Madame Chalabre "the infamous Chalabre, the cerberus of Robespierre, a female like a harpy." Between the widows of Corinth and a harpy there is a wondrous difference. Sénart's Mémoires, as the book is sometimes called, contains many curious facts, which he had good means of knowing; but judgment and moderation are totally wanting in it. There are a few letters from Mde. Chalabre to Robespierre in the '*Papiers Inédits*,' &c.; which also contain (i., p. 155) some curious notes on Robespierre, by Fréron. He is charged with drinking wine and liqueurs to excess, except during the last few months of his life, when he drank only water.

* The decree of the 23rd of August consisted of eighteen ticles. 'Hist. Parl.,' xxviii., 469.

"the titles on which the second part of the debt is founded," says the Report, "must be considered sacred: payment must be made in specie, and not in assignats." The debt "due and arising from liquidation" owed its origin to the Revolution, which, while it abolished many privileges and vexatious offices, gave the holders of such offices compensation. The fourth head of debt was the assignats, of which 5,100,000,040 livres had been ordered to be fabricated by the Constituent Assembly, the Legislative, and the Convention. On the 1st of August, 1793, 484,153,987 livres were in the treasury or in course of fabrication. The amount that had been put in circulation was 4,615,846,053 livres, of which there had been paid in or burnt 840,000,000 livres arising from payments made on the purchase of national domains. The assignats in circulation on the 1st of August, 1793, amounted to 3,775,846,053 livres.

The Convention had already diminished, by 558,624,000 livres the amount of assignats which were in circulation as money. This was effected by a decree which declared that all assignats with the king's head upon them, which were for more than 100 livres, should no longer circulate as money, but merely as notes payable to the bearer. Consequently the debt in assignats, which did not circulate as money, was a total of 558,624,000 livres; and that in assignats which circulated as money, was a total of 3,217,222,053 livres.

The assignats which had been deprived of the character of money were receivable either as payment for taxes or as payment for national domains, up to the 1st of January, 1794, after which date they would have no value. The assignats with the royal face upon them were said or supposed to be in the hands of counter-revolutionary speculators; and it was considered to be prudent to adopt a measure which should compel people to pay them into the treasury.

The dette constituée, as already observed, was represented by an annual payment of 89,888,333 livres. The debt due at a fixed time and payable in France, was a principal sum of 415,945,312 livres; and that payable in foreign countries and in foreign money, was a principal sum of 11,956,003 livres. The debt due and arising from the liquidation was a principal sum of 625,706,309 livres. Cambon's plan, which was to change all the titles of the creditors of the State into uniform inscriptions or entries in the Grand Livre, transformed the capital of every debt into a perpetual annual payment or rente. The principal sums due to each person were not entered in the Grand Livre, but only the rente or annual payment; but no rente under 50 livres was entered, in order to avoid increasing the number of creditors. The rentes were to be paid annually at the chief places of the several districts in France, instead of being payable at Paris only as before.

The second part of Cambon's plan was to withdraw the assignats from circulation, and the basis of this part of his scheme was the forced loan of a milliard. The forced loan was only to be repaid in national property which remained on sale, and the loan could only be accepted in payment for national domains until two years after peace was established; this was to make people "abandon their inert resistance, or the causing of internal trouble. The loan was to carry no interest, which would be equivalent to an extraordinary tax during the war, and everybody would thus have an interest in seeing the war ended. The receipts or acknowledgments for the forced loans were not to be transferable: this was to prevent jobbing in them. If the loans were not paid at the times fixed, they were to be converted into a tax, and were not to be repaid. But the opportunity was allowed to good citizens of exempting themselves from the forced loan, by voluntarily lending the assignats which circulated as money, for it was necessary to diminish this enormous amount as much as possible. Accordingly such citizens could exchange their assignats for an inscription in the Grand Livre, which inscription would give them a title to a rente of five livres for every hundred paid into the treasury; but no loan of less than a thousand livres would be taken. The committee thought that voluntary loans would bring a milliard of assignats to the treasury before the 1st of December, 1793, and would thus reduce the circulation to 2,217,222,053. It was estimated that the whole amount of the annual rentes or interest payable upon the inscriptions in the Grand Livre would form a total of 200,000,000 livres; but this amount was to be subject to a deduction of 10,000,000, the amount of tax levied upon it, on the same footing as the tax on immoveable property; and thus the annual payments would be reduced to 160,000,000 livres. This measure had the advantage of bringing the public debt of France from disorder into order, and of simplifying and rendering clear what had been complicated and unintelligible, and required "a science to understand."*

The Jacobins were not satisfied with the Convention: it was not vigorous enough or severe enough for them. The Convention, however, had been pretty active during the month of August, and Robespierre had carried many of his propositions; but he had failed also in many of his proposed measures, and he now remained quiet, and let the Jacobins attack the Convention. There was great indignation against those who had signed the capitulation of Mainz, for it was said that the place had provisions for eight days, and that if it had held out two or three days more, it would have been saved. The Committee of General Security was attacked; but still more the Revolutionary Tribunal. Custine had been charged on the 28th of July: it was now the 26th, and he was not yet condemned. This delay was intolerable. Robespierre could no longer endure it. On the 25th of August he brought certain plans before the Jacobin club, which

* 'Rapport sur la formation d'un grand livre pour inscrire et consolider la dette publique, fait par Cambon, dans la séance du 15 Août, 1793.' 'Hist. Parl.,' xxvi., 446—500.

were adopted, and soon produced a new law for the reorganization of the Revolutionary Tribunal. "From the summit of the Mountain," said Robespierre, "I will give the signal to the people, and I will say to them, there are your enemies; strike." On the 27th of August, Custine was tried before the Revolutionary Tribunal for treason. His alleged treasonable acts consisted in correspondence with the enemies of France, and having by these means facilitated the entrance of the enemy on the territory of the Republic, and of having delivered up to them towns, fortresses, stores, and arsenals belonging to the Republic. The jury found him guilty, and he was condemned to death. After his devotion to the revolutionary cause, he did not expect such a reward. He hoped to escape; and his condemnation utterly confounded him. There was no doubt of his bravery on the field of battle, but to be summoned from the command of an army to march to the scaffold was a reverse that required more fortitude than Custine possessed. On retiring from the court, he threw himself on his knees, and remained in this attitude for two hours. He entreated his confessor to pass the night before the execution with him, and he wrote to his son to enjoin him to defend his father's character and good name. He was attended to the scaffold by a priest, who held a crucifix which Custine embraced. The condemned general gazed on the crowd with strong emotions depicted in his countenance; and the crowd responded by shouts of joy. From earth he turned his eyes to heaven, moistened with tears. He kneeled in prayer at the foot of the ladder, rose and cast a glance on the fatal axe, and ascended the scaffold with firmness *

The Convention was recovering its authority. Bordeaux submitted, and on the 30th of August commissioners from the twenty-four sections of that city appeared at the bar of the Convention, and asked for pardon, and the repeal of the decree which placed out of the pale of the law the members of the popular commission, which, they said, the people themselves had established. Their prayer was not granted. At the Jacobins they were worse received. Robespierre said, "that to be indulgent towards traitors would be to show themselves more cruel, more criminal towards the people than the traitors themselves: the people called for vengeance; and vengeance was due, and the law ought not to refuse it." Marseille was compelled to yield. On the 31st of August news reached Paris that general Cartaux had entered that city, after defeating a body of Marseillais on the 24th of August, and making many prisoners. On the motion of Danton it was decreed that the committees of legislation and of public safety should prepare a report on the mode of making the counter-revolutionists of Marseille pay the expences of the war, and on the mode "of applying the law which was to cause the heads of these villains to fall." † Rebellion, or Federalism, as it was called, was now extinguished, except in Lyon. The siege of Lyon began on the 8th of August, and lasted to the 9th of October. It forms the most striking of all the revolutionary episodes. The town was summoned to surrender unconditionally by Dubois Crancé and Gautier, the representatives of the people with the army of the Alps, and by Kellermann, commander-in-chief of the army. The Lyonnais refused to surrender, and accused the republicans of firing before the time allowed for answering the summons had expired. Kellermann affirmed that the Lyonnais fired first, and that the commandant of the post in advance of the Croix Rousse, who had asked for three hours to reply to the summons, fired grape on Kellermann's men before the time was out. Kellermann may be believed on this point, for he was averse to the attack on Lyon, and deferred it as long as he could.

The war in La Vendée was a succession of bloody combats on a narrow theatre. On the 13th of August the royalists were routed at Luçon. Rossignol, commander-in-chief in La Vendée, had been deprived by Bourdon de l'Oise and Goupilleau, the representatives who were with the army. Tallien said in the Convention, "I shall not inquire if Rossignol drinks, or if he has pillaged, but whether your commissioners had the right to suspend him; and what do I care for a few acts of pillage?" Rossignol was restored to his command, and he appeared at the bar of the Convention. Robespierre, who was president, congratulated him on "having walked in the narrow path of patriotism." Robespierre despised Rossignol, but he looked on him as a useful instrument. On the same day, a deputation of teachers appeared at the bar, praying that national education might be compulsory and gratuitous; and one of the children, who accompanied the deputation, requested that instead of preaching to them in the name of a self-styled God, they would instruct them in the principles of equality, the rights of man, and the constitution. An explosion of indignation from the Convention saved Robespierre the necessity of a reply, which would certainly have been a rebuke.

The Reign of Terror had now commenced: but what was the Reign of Terror in France? The atrocities and butcheries of many innocent persons, and the cruelty of their murderers are the prominent facts. But Terror was not established simply because some sanguinary men wished to overthrow what remained of law and order. Terror was a re-action, which owed its origin to the invasion of enemies from without, and the fear of enemies real and imaginary within. No man felt fear more than Robespierre, and fear is of all passions the most cruel. Fear then begot the system of Terror, and Terror had its terrific agents.* This is

* Procès de Custine, 'Hist. Parl.,' xxix., 253—338.

† The representatives of the people, who were with Cartaux, made a report to the Convention of what took place at Marseille on the 23rd and 24th of August. 'Hist. Parl.,' xxix., 494—497.

* There are some good observations in the 'Mémoires sur la Convention et le Directoire, par A. C Thibaudeau,' (vol. i., chap. 5, *La Terreur.*) Terror was not the device of a single man or of a set of men. It grew up by degrees, and it

no apology for the Reign of Terror, and there is no apology for it; but the Reign of Terror and all its bloody crimes began with fear,—fear real, and fear simulated.

On the 4th of September it was known at Paris that Toulon, the great naval arsenal of France, had been surrendered to the English; and just at the same time the agitation about prices was extreme in Paris. On the 3rd, a decree was passed for fixing a uniform price of grain all through the Republic; but it was not until the 29th of September that the law was put in its complete form, which fixed a maximum for the price of provisions and other articles of merchandise. The people assembled on the 4th at the Hôtel de Ville, which had never witnessed such tumultuous scenes since the time when Foullon was assassinated. From the 1st of September the Jacobins were busy with discussing the law on the maximum, and the establishment of what was called a Revolutionary army, which should scour the country in several flying bodies, accompanied by a revolutionary tribunal and a guillotine "to pluck up all the germs of federalism, royalism, and fanaticism." While Robespierre was speaking at the Jacobins, on the 4th, on the question of subsistence, and saying "if the rich farmers will only be the bloodsuckers of the people, we will deliver them up to the people," a body of workmen went to the Hôtel de Ville to present a petition about bread, the scarcity of which was daily increasing. After some parleying, the municipality and the petitioners adjourned to the great hall, which was immediately crammed with people. The cry was "bread, bread!" Chaumette appeared with a decree from the Convention that the price of all necessaries should be fixed. "We don't want promises," was the cry; "we want bread." Chaumette addressed the people: his talk was all against the rich, whom they must crush. Hébert advised them to surround the Convention, as they had done on the 10th of August, the 2nd of September, and the 31st of May, and not quit until the Convention had adopted the means for saving the people. The petitioners were at the bar of the Convention on the 5th, and Chaumette, the procureur of the commune, was the spokesman: what he demanded was "food," and the means of getting it; "the revolutionary army and the guillotine." The deputation received the honours of the sitting, which were also unceremoniously taken without being granted by a crowd which was at the heels of the deputation. The floor was filled with men and women, who came to support the prayer of the petitioners. A deputation from the Jacobins appeared: they called for the trial of Brissot and his colleagues, and that Terror should be the order of the day; for a revolutionary army, divided into sections, each with a dreaded tribunal and the terrible instrument of the vengeance of the law; that the army and its tribunals should continue active until the soil of the Republic was purged of traitors, and until the death of the last of the conspirators. The president, Thuriot, said, "your wish is crowned: the Convention has already resolved on the formation of a revolutionary army." On this same day, Barrère made a report in the name of the Committee of Public Safety on the petitions which had been presented. Robespierre had defended Barrère on the 4th, at the Jacobins, when he said that Barrère was a weak man, but never an enemy of the public weal. He said that, as the organ of the Committee of Public Safety, Barrère had however discharged his duty with a zeal, an energy, truly worthy of a republican, which would increase in proportion to the dangers of the country. We thus obtain an undoubted measure of Robespierre's disposition at this time: he was ready to shed blood,—the blood of every man whom he believed to be a traitor and a conspirator; and his belief in the existence of traitors and conspirators was as large as had been Marat's demand for heads. Any one who will trace the progress of this man, by his speeches, from the time when he argued against the punishment of death, to the time of his eulogium on Barrère, will see that he had deliberately come to the resolution to accomplish and secure the Revolution by shedding blood. If his own hands were not stained, or if we cannot detect him as the direct author of the atrocities which followed, we do not for that reason impute to him less guilt.

Barrère said in his report, that intercepted letters, whether directed to foreigners or to aristocrats in France, showed the constant efforts of their agents to excite a movement in Paris: "Well then, they shall have this last movement; but they shall have it organized by a revolutionary army, which shall execute these great words of the Commune of Paris—'Let us make Terror the order of the day!' The royalists wish for blood; and they shall have the blood of conspirators, of the Brissots, of the Marie Antoinettes. It is no illegal vengeance; it is the extraordinary tribunals which are going to act: you will not be surprised at the measures which we shall present to you, when you know that from the depths of their prisons these villains still conspire, and are a rallying point for our enemies. The royalists call out for the Republic, one and indivisible; and they wish to destroy it: they engross provisions, they job in assignats, they give up our ports to the English; they make disturbances about Paris; they mislead the poorer citizens, or assume their names and dress, and then they calumniate the sans-culottes and the Convention. What is necessary to put an end to so many crimes and plots? A revolutionary army to sweep away the conspirators." The Convention immediately decreed the formation, in Paris, of a paid force of six thousand men, and twelve hundred cannoneers, whose business should be to check counter-revolutionists, and to execute the revolutionary

acquired strength as it grew. All France was under its influence, and the executioners of Terror were themselves its terrified ministers, and finally its victims. The Committee of Public Safety was the impersonation of the monster. The Romans had a Reign of Terror under Tiberius, of which Tacitus has drawn a picture with a master's hand: "Pavebant terrebantque:" "Fear begat terror."

laws and the measures for the public salvation which the Convention should decree, and to "protect subsistence." The plan of forming this revolutionary army was Carnot's.

The Convention was in a humour for a general purging of counter-revolutionary elements, and on the motion of Jean-Bon-St.-André, it was referred to a committee to consider whether it would not be useful to transport beyond sea women of loose life, and thus to "stifle this germ of counter-revolution." A decree was also passed by which indigent members of the revolutionary committees might claim an indemnity of two livres for each day that they attended the committees; but the meetings were to be only twice a week.

Lastly, the Revolutionary tribunal was re-organized. It was divided into four sections, all of which might be in activity at once. Thus provision was made for getting the work done quicker, and additional persons could be provided with places; judges, jurymen, substitutes of the public accuser and others. The payments of all these functionaries were to be determined by the rates fixed by the previous decrees. A decree of the 2nd of July had fixed the payment of a juryman of the Revolutionary Tribunal at eighteen francs a day.*

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxix., 18.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY.

The Commune of Paris and the Jacobins now directed the general administration. With them originated the plan of the revolutionary army and the proclamation of Terror. Chaumette was continually denouncing. He accused Lebœuf, a professor at the Collége de Mazarin, of criminal conduct during his service at the Temple. Lebœuf replied that he did not like indecent songs, and that he had reproved citizen Simon, who had the care of young Capet, for singing such kinds of songs before the child. Another was accused of holding his hat in his hand respectfully while he stood before the widow Capet.

The Convention were following in the same track. On the petition of the popular society of Tours, the principle was decreed that every public functionary should be bound to render an account of his fortune. A law was passed for the arrest of foreigners belonging to countries which were at war with France, with the exception of certain specified classes of persons. Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Granet, were added to the Committee of Public Safety; and Danton was also named, but he refused to belong to it. He was of opinion that the Committee of Public Safety should be formed into a provisional government. The Convention on the 9th decreed the re-organization of the Committee of Public Security, the whole body of which the Jacobins had denounced as men worn out and good for nothing. There could be no complaint against the new members, who were appointed (14th of September): the names of Panis, Lebon, and Amar, were a guarantee that this committee would stop at nothing. The Committee of General Security had the superintendence of police, which at a time of universal distrust and suspicion was an important function; but it was subordinate to the Committee of Public Safety, whose powers were as unlimited as the name implied. On the 9th, Jean-Bon-Saint André, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, made a report on the surrender of Toulon to the English.*

Toulon had been republican so long as the municipality had maintained its power; and the municipality and the Jacobins of Toulon had made grievous complaints of the aristocracy of the officers in the navy, and of their inactivity. The moderate party defended the conduct of the officers, who, they said, were doing all that they could, and that the old officers were the only men capable of commanding a fleet. As to the complaints of the tardy equipment of the ships, they said that it was going on as fast as it could; and that it would be imprudent for the French fleet to leave the port of Toulon to oppose the combined English and Spanish fleet which was off the coast. The moderate party had the superiority in the sections; and they began by putting to death the president of the Jacobin club, and restoring the refractory priests to their functions. A communication was opened with Admiral Hood, who commanded the English fleet, and the counter-revolutionists were assured that the combined fleets would appear in the roads of Toulon upon a given signal being made. The causes of the surrender of Toulon were a combination of circumstances. There was scarcity there, and the workmen were dissatisfied with the high prices of provisions. There were also the intrigues of the emigrants; and the fears which the moderate party had of the violence of the violent republicans. Trogoff, the commander of the French fleet at Toulon, was a foreigner in th service of France, and he acted the part of a despicable traitor. A negotiation was opened with Admiral Hood, under the pretext of an exchange of prisoners; and just at the time when Cartaux had entered Marseille and reduced it to obedience, the proposal was made to the

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxix., 60—82.

sections of Toulon to receive the English admiral into the place, who should hold it in the name of Louis XVII. The navy was opposed to this treacherous measure, but the counter-revolutionists of Toulon, supported by some of those of Marseille, who had fled there, carried their measure, and on the 29th of August accepted the terms of the English admiral. The signal was given, Trogoff hoisted the white flag, and the English vessels entered the port of Toulon. Rear-admiral St. Julien, who denounced Trogoff as a traitor, attempted some resistance, but being abandoned by the commanders of the ships which were under his orders, and threatened by Fort Lamarque with a shower of red-hot balls, he made his escape to Sague with some officers and a few sailors.

The surrender of Toulon was a heavy blow to the Convention, but they were encouraged by better news from other quarters. Bentabolle, who was on a mission to Lille, sent information that five waggons loaded with gold and silver on the road to Paris. Part of this rich spoil was got from the churches of Belgium. On the 10th, news came of the three battles of the 6th, 7th, and 8th of September, called the battle of Hondtschoote; the first signal advantage which the French arms had gained since the battle of Jemmapes. The plan of the campaign which resulted in these victories was due to Carnot, who was now a member of the Committee of Public Safety. Carnot perfected a system of strategy, the first hint of which had been given by general Grimoard in a memoir addressed to the Committee of General Defence in January, 1793: "The simplest means," he said, "to supply art by numbers, is to make a war of masses, always to direct against the points of attack the greatest number of troops and force of artillery that is possible." After the capture of Valenciennes, it was agreed among the generals of the allied army (Aug. 3) to attack the French camp behind the Schelde, situated between Bouchain and Paillancourt, which was supposed to be the site of one of Julius Cæsar's old encampments. The French were entrenched here under general Kilmaine. The prince of Coburg with the mass of the imperial army advanced upon Cambray and began the siege. The duke of York marched upon the camp of Cæsar, from which Kilmaine effected his retreat. The duke then encamped at Bourlon, a village a little distance west of Cambray. The prince of Coburg met with a vigorous resistance in Cambray, and the siege was abandoned on the 11th. The duke of York now received instructions from London to attack Dunkerque, which was a part of the original plan of the campaign, for the English ministry had set great importance on the capture of this sea-port. Accordingly the duke of York, at the head of the Anglo-Hanoverian army, with a body of Austrians, under field-marshal Alvinzy, set out on the 18th in the direction of Furnes. The mass of the imperial army advanced to besiege Quesnoy, and the prince of Coburg resumed his position at Hérin, leaving his advanced guard at the camp of Cæsar. Carnot's plan was to reinforce the army of the North from the armies of the Rhine and the Mosel; but only 12,000 of these troops actually joined the army of the North. Since the 10th of August, Houchard commanded the army of the North, and he received his instructions from the Committee of Public Safety. Bergues was bombarded by the duke of York on the 20th, and Dunkerque was daily expecting an attack when Houchard received instructions to save Dunkerque. "It is not precisely," said the Committee, "in a military point of view that this place is important, but the honour of the nation is there: Pitt can only support himself by indemnifying the English nation by some great advantage, without which a revolution is inevitable in England: direct enormous forces into Flanders, and let the enemy be driven out." Houchard did not exactly follow his instructions, for he left in the entrenched camps nearly all the men who held them; and after throwing some troops into Dunkerque, he had only about 20,000 men at his command. On the 25th the duke of York had invested Dunkerque, and on the 26th and following days he made several fruitless attempts to storm the place.

The limits within which the military operations of the early part of September took place, form an irregular four-sided figure, at the four angles of which were four strong places: Dunkerque at the north-west, Furnes on the north, Ypres to the south-east, and the elevated position of Cassel on the south. Dunkerque and Furnes, which are in the low country, are separated by a swamp, called the Great Moer, and on the south side of this Moer, between Bergues and Furnes, is the village of Hondtschoote,* where the duke of York had placed marshal Freytag with 18,000 men. The French approached from Cassel and Steenworde, and on the 6th forced all the advanced posts of the army at Hondtschoote. On the 8th the French, after an obstinate combat, drove Freytag from Hondtschoote, and the duke of York, who was sufficiently occupied with Dunkerque, could give him no help. The success of the battle was due to generals Vandamme and Leclerc. The enemy retired to Furnes, and the duke of York on the 8th made his retreat from Dunkerque between the sandhills that line the coast and the Great Moer to Furnes, which he feared would fall into the hands of the French. On the 9th the allies were at Furnes, and Dunkerque was saved. The duke of York left behind him both cannon and baggage. Houchard did not push on to Furnes, and his conduct in the campaign was blamed. He was apparently incapable of commanding in chief; but the generals opposed to him were as incapable as himself. The raising of the siege of Dunkerque produced a considerable effect in Europe. At Paris people paid little attention to it; they were busy with other things. The resolution of the English ministry to attack Dunkerque rendered the operations of this campaign against the French perfectly fruitless.

* The plan of the whole ground is clearly shown in the Map, No. 14, in the 'Tableau Historique de la Guerre,' vol. iii.

The allied forces were divided, when by union under able command they might have driven the French before them. Dunkerque was ill prepared to resist an attack, and if the besieging army had been supported by the English fleet, Dunkerque must have fallen. The conduct of the campaign on both sides was discreditable to the commanders.

The prince of Coburg took Quesnoy on the 9th of September, and all the garrison were made prisoners. Houchard made no attempt on Furnes, but he attacked the prince of Orange, who was at Menin with a Dutch force, and was beaten and compelled to escape to Lille (Sept. 15). This disaster completed his ruin. He was deprived, summoned to Paris, and finally sent to the scaffold. Jourdan was appointed commander of the army of the north.

The sittings at the Jacobins are more important at this period than those of the Convention, for the Jacobins took the initiative. The Jacobins complained of the delay in bringing Marie Antoinette and the Girondins to trial. What was said at the Jacobins roused the activity of the administrators of police, and measures were taken for preventing the widow Capet, who had been removed to the Conciergerie, from communicating with any person. Her rings and jewels were taken from her "in the name of the law." The Jacobins had stormy debates about Rossignol, and Bourdon (de l'Oise) had to explain his conduct in having deprived this general. Bourdon had difficulty in justifying himself: he was accused of not having caused the burnings in La Vendée to be executed according to the law. His defence was that they had burnt seven châteaux, three villages, and twelve mills. Robespierre, who ruled supreme, calmed the storm. He said that Bourdon was guilty of error at least in this affair of Rossignol, but the society must not treat him too rigorously for a fault committed in a moment of aberration. He saved Bourdon from expulsion from the Jacobins; but Bourdon did not forget the humiliation which Robespierre had subjected him to. This sitting is remarkable for a denunciation against Henriot for dining with the deputies who were in prison. The fact may have been true or false; it is immaterial which. It is a material fact to see Danton humbled, this wild beast of the Revolution paying his homage to a man so debased and brutal as Henriot. "On the 2nd and 3rd of June," said Danton, "Henriot saved the lives of thirty thousand souls: his eyes vomited saltpetre upon the conspirators and aristocrats; whoever saw him in this day, must have recognized the friend of liberty." "History," said Robespierre, "will consecrate the glorious epoch in which Henriot served his country and liberty; posterity will do him justice and consecrate its gratitude." And posterity will remember what Robespierre said.

There were complaints about the Muscadins, the exquisites, who refused to comply with the law for the levée en masse, and about the suspects. At the Jacobins it was said that nothing but conspirators were to be seen in the streets of Paris. The Convention (17th September) immediately passed a law about the "suspects," which was precise and particular. The former decrees on this subject had done little more than establish the principle. The law declared that all suspected persons should be immediately placed under arrest. The second article of the law classed the "suspects" under several heads; the first alone of which was comprehensive enough to take in all persons whom a malicious enemy might choose to denounce: "those who by their conduct, by their intercourse with people, their conversation or their writings, had shown themselves to be partisans of tyranny, of federalism, and enemies of liberty."

Jacques Roux had been put in prison, but the enragés were only the madder. They got up a petition against the allowance of two livres a day to the citizens who attended the meetings of the sections, and Varlet presented it to the Convention on the 17th. This petition was a matter important enough to call for the efforts of the Convention: it was a seed of discord. Robespierre said that the petition was not the people's petition: "Why," he said, "should a man be considered degraded because he received an indemnity from the national justice? Are we, the representatives of the people, degraded by receiving an indemnity to supply our wants? No, certainly not; I am proud of the indemnity which I receive, because it is necessary to me, and I declare that on the day on which, by an aristocratic motion, I should be deprived of this indemnity, it would not be possible for me to stay at the post to which the confidence of the people has called me for the conservation of their rights, and from that moment liberty would be destroyed by the National Assembly." Varlet's petition was not received.

The society of revolutionary women, under the direction of the citizen female Lacombe, was strongly in favour of the enragés. The Jacobins devoted a sitting to the case of the women.* The Commune was al o employed in taking measures against the "pretty solicitors:" it was said that the administration of police were too much alive to the solicitations of handsome women who asked for the rele of individuals ade arrest. The council-general decreed, that all the pretty female intriguers should be refused access to the bureaux of police. It is observed by Michelet, that women and love played a great part in the Revolution. The women should have a history of their own. The Commune made an order that all women should wear the national cockade; and the Convention passed a decree to the same effect; and the new committee of General Security made the same order with respect to the "pretty solicitors" that the council-general of the Commune had made. The female society presented a petition to the Convention praying that all women "of bad life" might be removed into national houses, kept to employment, and reformed; the petition said

* The 16th of September. Those who wish to know more of the Revolution than the public acts, should read the sittings of the Jacobins, and the deliberations of the Commune.

"that the heart of such women was often good, and that misery alone had generally reduced them to this deplorable condition." The petition does credit to the generous feelings of the women of the Republican society. It does not appear that the Convention did anything upon this petition.

On the 25th of September an attack was made on the Committee of Public Safety, which began with Goupilleau denouncing Rossignol for not having followed the plan laid down for the campaign in La Vendée. Briez, one of the commissioners of the assembly at the siege of Valenciennes, reproached the committee with their silence, and with not taking the necessary measures. The committee was summoned, and Barrère spoke in its defence; but Robespierre was bolder and more energetic. "He who seeks," he said, "to debase, to divide, to paralyse the Convention, is an enemy to his country." The project existed, he said, even in the clubs, which pretend to be more than patriot. Thus matters were come to that pass that Robespierre had to defend the existing government even against the clubs, which in their nature must at last attack any government of any kind. He declared that the Committee of Public Safety and the Convention were bound together. He spoke twice without preparation, forcibly and well; and his speeches consolidated absolute power in the hands of those who held it. On the 10th of October, St. Just made a report in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, in conformity with which the provisional government of France was declared revolutionary till the peace; and the "executive council, the ministers, the generals, and constituted authorities, are placed under the surveillance of the Committee of Public Safety, who will report every eight days to the Convention." The generals-in-chief were to be named by the Committee of Public Safety, and confirmed by the Convention. The report* of St. Just is in his usual rapid style. It breathes the energy of his invincible will: it is the sword which speaks and declares that it will be obeyed. It exposes the abuses of the government in unmeasured terms: there was as much dishonesty and bad faith as under the old monarchy: "no one is sincere in the public administration; patriotism is lip service; every one sacrifices every other, and sacrifices nothing of his own,"—the assignats should be diminished by burning them,—the Constitution cannot be established: it would kill itself; it would be the safeguard of attacks upon liberty, for it would want the violence necessary to repress them—"those who make revolutions in the world, those who wish to do good, ought to sleep only in the tomb." "Liberty has its infancy; we dare not govern either with vigour or with weakness, because liberty comes by a salutary anarchy, and slavery returns with absolute order,"—we are inundated with papers, the prolixity of the correspondence of government and of its commands is a mark of its inertness; it is impossible to govern except by laconism—"the bureaux have taken the place of monarchism; the dæmon of writing makes war upon us, and there is no government"—"there are few men at the head of our establishments whose views are great and sincere; the public service, as it is conducted, is not virtue—it is a trade." On the 11th of October, Robespierre said at the Jacobins, "to-morrow will be a famous day in the annals of the Republic; to-morrow the forces of liberty measure their strength against those of tyranny; to-morrow there will be a great battle on the frontiers." The predictions of Robespierre were verified. The Committee of Public Safety, invested with absolute power, boldly assumed the responsibility; it promised victories and it gave them. A general now knew that he must conquer or mount the scaffold. The energy of the Mountain made France triumphant over her enemies, and the enthusiasm of the nation responded to the cry from the Mountain. The Jacobins saved France from invasion and dismemberment.* They did what the Gironde never could have done.

* The report of St. Just ('Hist. Parl.,' xxix., 159,) is a memorable document.

* Proclamation of the Prince of Coburg on taking Condé.

CHAPTER XLV.

SIEGE OF LYON.

Gorsas, who had at first fled to Calvados and thence to Finistère with Pétion, Barbaroux, and others, was seized at Paris on the 6th of October. He was one of those who had been proclaimed out of the pale of the law. He was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal; and on his identity being established, he was condemned without being allowed to make any defence, and immediately executed. Biroteau was arrested at Bordeaux, and had the same fate. Early in October a decree was passed by the Convention, by which forty-five members of the *côté droit* were to be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal; and seventy-three others, who had signed protests against the events of the 2nd and 3rd of June, were placed under arrest. The Convention also passed a decree by which all foreigners who were born subjects of those governments which were at war with France, should be detained until the peace. But women who had married Frenchmen before the 18th of October were not comprehended within the law unless they were suspected, or married to men who were suspected.



Chabot, on the 5th of October, announced his intended marriage to the Jacobins. A legislator, he said, ought to set an example of every virtue: he had been reproached with being fond of women, and he thought that the best way of destroying calumny was to take a wife, and he had contracted a marriage engagement with the sister of Junius Frey, a man of letters. Chabot did not tell the Jacobins that Frey was a foreigner and a banker. He read his marriage contract to the Jacobins, which proved that he was worth only 6,000 livres; and he invited the society to name a deputation to be present at his marriage and the civic banquet which would follow. "I give the society notice," said the ex-capucin, "that the presence of no priest shall pollute my nuptials." All was to be over before nine in the morning, because Chabot would not absent himself from the Convention. His betrothed had told him that she would cease to love him, if his marriage should make him neglect a single sitting of the Convention or of the Jacobins. The knave wanted to keep on good terms with his brother Jacobins.

The Convention, after hearing a long report from Barrère on the war of La Vendée, declared that they relied on the courage of the army of the West, and of the generals in command, to finish the war in La Vendée not later than the 20th of October; and their wish was near being accomplished. The Vendéans were beaten at Châtillon on the 9th of October; and subsequently at Tremblay, at Chollet, and at Beaupréau. From Beaupréau they retired in disorder to St. Florent, whence they crossed to the right bank of the Loire on the 19th of October. The republicans, instead of following them quickly from Beaupréau, employed themselves in burning and pillaging pursuant to the decrees of the Convention, and thus the royalists escaped total destruction. D'Elbée, Bonchamp, and Lescure, were mortally wounded. One of the last acts of Bonchamp was to save 5,000 republican prisoners from being massacred by the Vendéans at St. Florent.*

In the North the army was commanded by Jourdan, after Houchard was disgraced and sent to Paris. On the 29th of September the enemy crossed the Sambre, and invested the entrenched camp of Maubeuge. Their army of observation was pushed as far as Avesnes, and Landreciçs, which was blockaded on the 3rd of October. The enemy, 8,000 strong, occupied a position between Maubeuge and Avesnes, and their quarter-general was at Watigneis. On the 15th and 16th an engagement took place, in which the village of Watigneis, after being taken and retaken, remained in the hands of the French after the third attack. The army of the coalition is said by the French authorities to have lost 6,000 men, and the French half the number. On the 17th the French army entered Maubeuge and destroyed three batteries which the Austrians had constructed round the place. Jourdan, however, was afraid to follow up his success.

* 'Mémoires de Mde. la Marquise de la Rochejaquelein,' p. 254.

The operations on the Rhine since the surrender of Mainz find a proper place in a military history. The French were unsuccessful here. During the siege of Lyon, the Piedmontese entered the Tarentaise, and advanced to Bonneville; from which place they threatened Annecy and Chambéry. But at the commencement of October they were driven back beyond the Little St. Bernard and Mont Cenis. This success was due to Kellermann, whose conduct in the siege of Lyon had been complained of, and he had been sent to command the army of the Alps. Kellermann was at last summoned to Paris and placed in the Abbaye, and he was not acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal till the 8th of November, 1794.

Paris was tolerably quiet in October. On the 30th of this month the Convention suppressed all the clubs and popular societies of women, and declared that all the men's popular societies should be public. The Commune took active measures to secure decency, by forbidding all women of "bad life" to appear in the streets and public places, and thus encourage libertinism; they also prohibited the public sale of indecent books and prints. On the 29th of October, on the motion of Billaud Varennes, the Revolutionary Tribunal received this legal appellation. It had hitherto been called by the name, but up to this time its legal title was the Extraordinary Criminal Tribunal. The number who were condemned to death "revolutionally," from the 31st of May, 1793, to the 31st of October, was ninety-eight; and the number from the 26th of August, 1792, to the 31st of May, 1793, was forty-one; which makes a total of 139.

When Kellermann commenced the siege of Lyon, he had only about 6,000 men; a force very insufficient to reduce Lyon, which contained above 20,000 men capable of bearing arms. Lyon is situated at the junction of the Rhône and the Saône. On the north, between the two rivers, the heights of Croix-Rousse, and on the west, on the right bank of the Saône, the hills of Fourvières and Sainte-Foix, had been put in a state of defence by Précy. The armed population also held posts at Oullins, Grange-Blanche, and other places, at the distance of one and two leagues from the city on the chief roads; and detachments were pushed as far as St. Etienne, to communicate with the federalists of Montbrison. Thus, though it was an open place, Lyon was prepared to make a strong resistance. When Kellermann left Lyon to oppose the Piedmontese, general Dumuy took his place; but Dubois-Crancé, a member of the Convention, and a man who possessed considerable military skill, really directed the operations. He got together seven or eight thousand peasants to strengthen his force, and by placing them at the bridge of Oullins, to the north-west of Lyon, he cut off the communication with Forez. He placed another body of men on the heights of the Saône to the north, and thus he began to blockade the place. But the operations were necessarily slow. The fortifications of Croix-Rousse could only be taken by assault; and on the east side, and on the left bank of the Rhone,

the bridge of Morand was defended by a strong redoubt, in the form of a horse-shoe. The heights of Fourvières also could only be taken by a vigorous assault. Dubois-Crancé could do no more at first than intercept provisions and burn the town. The Parisians were impatient, and complained of the delay; but Dubois-Crancé had already done mischief enough to satisfy the most ardent republican. The arsenal was fired, with the quarter of St. Clair, and the Place de Bellecour; and the noble hospital on the banks of the Rhône had been greatly damaged. The inhabitants had promise of assistance from the emigrants, which they would gladly have accepted, though they were really attached to the republican cause; and a Piedmontese army was expected. But no help came. In the mean time the besiegers were increasing their forces. Couthon, though paralysed in his limbs, was active in his energies. He got together 12,000 men, and sent them against Lyon, and set about raising more. The country was roused to a crusade against Lyon, which was represented as a centre of the emigrants and of foreign intriguers. Dubois-Crancé placed his new forces on the west, towards Sainte-Foix; and thus the town was hemmed in. A detachment of the garrison of Valenciennes, who, by the terms of the capitulation, could not at present serve against the enemy, came to fight against Lyon. The whole force now amounted to eight or ten thousand regular troops, and about 25,000 irregulars.

On the 24th, Dubois-Crancé took the redoubt of the bridge of Oullins. Doppet, a Savoyard, came to take Kellerman's place, who had been disgraced and only allowed a little time to complete his operations against the Piedmontese. On the 29th of September attacks were made on various points; but the only attack that was completely successful was that on Sainte-Foix, which was taken: many prisoners were made; and, among them, "Monsieur, the bishop Lamourette." The courage that the inhabitants of Lyon had shown made Dubois-Crancé unwilling to hazard a second attack; and he thought it more prudent to starve Lyon to surrender, for provisions were becoming scarce in the city. Couthon came on the 2nd of October, with above 20,000 peasants from Auvergne. He had no respect for Dubois-Crancé's opinion: he knew nothing, he said, of tactics; they must inundate Lyon with their masses and take it by storm. He had promised his peasants that they should go back in a few days to their vintage. There were now 60,000 men about Lyon, enough to attack it on all points. Couthon wrote to the Committee of Public Safety to recall Dubois-Crancé, and it was resolved to assault the city on the 8th of October. In the mean time, Dubois-Crancé and his colleague, Gautier, were ordered to Paris. On the 7th, Couthon summoned the city for the last time, and the firing was suspended till four in the afternoon, when it commenced again with great fury. Everything was ready for the assault, when a deputation came to treat on the part of the Lyonnais, as some say, to allow Précy, and about 2,000 of the citizens, who were most compromised, to make their escape. In the evening Précy, with about two thousand men and four pieces of cannon, sallied out by the faubourg of Vaize, and advancing up the Saône, drove back the posts of a division; but he was soon overtaken by some detachments which were sent in pursuit of him, and entirely defeated after a bloody combat. His men were dispersed, and sought refuge in the woods, but the inhabitants of the Ain killed them like wild beasts, and Précy, with only about eighty men, made his escape into Switzerland. Virieu, another of the brave defenders of Lyon, escaped with Précy. On the morning of the 9th of October, the republican troops entered Lyon, and offered bread to all the citizens.*

Couthon restored the Jacobin municipality, and gave them instructions to mark out the rebels. On the 12th the minister of war communicated to the Convention a letter from Doppet, in which the general announced the capture of Lyon. The Convention resolved to appoint an extraordinary commission of five, "to punish, in military fashion, and without delay, the counter-revolutionists of Lyon;" further, it was decreed, "that Lyon shall be destroyed; all the houses of the rich shall be demolished; there shall only be left standing the houses of the poor, the dwellings of the patriots who have been massacred or proscribed, the edifices specially devoted to industry, and the buildings consecrated to humanity and to public instruction: the name of Lyon shall be effaced from the list of the cities of the Republic, and the houses which remain shall collectively bear the name of the Liberated City (*Ville affranchie*); there shall be raised on the ruins of Lyon a column which shall testify to posterity the crimes and the punishment of the royalists of this city, with this inscription: "Lyon made war against Liberty—Lyon no longer exists." On the 16th of October the Jacobins received a letter from the representatives of the people at Lyon, Couthon and others, that those who had escaped the sword were daily falling under the axe of the guillotine. On the 30th of October the Convention sent to Lyon, Montaut, Fouché, and Collot d'Herbois; and the Jacobins also sent commissioners there to "form the public opinion."

The queen had been removed on the 2nd of August from the Temple to the Conciergerie, where she was confined in a miserable, ill-lighted room, the furniture of which was a wretched bed without curtains, a small table, and a couple of straw chairs. She was ill provided with articles of dress. Two gendarmes watched her day and night. In the Temple she had found a few to commiserate her fallen state, but every sign of sympathy with the prisoners was dangerous to those who showed it, and Toulan, one of her humane keepers, was afterwards brought to the scaffold for his humanity. Richard, the keeper of the Conciergerie, and his wife, were as kind to their prisoner as they dared to be. Richard used to go to market to provide the queen's

* Report of Dubois-Crancé at the Jacobins, 'Hist. Parl.,' xxix., 194, &c.

dinner, which he prepared himself, and in the evening he amused her by playing piquet. Marie Antoinette was examined on the 12th of October, and on the 14th she was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. She was dressed in mourning, and her attire was that of indigence. Her face bore the marks of sorrow and suffering, but her bearing was calm and dignified. When she was asked her name, she replied, "My name is Marie-Antoinette, of Lorraine and Austria." Your rank? "I am the widow of Louis Capet, once king of the French." Your age? "Thirty-eight." Herman was the president of the judges.* Among the jury were a tailor, a hair-dresser, and a carpenter. The carpenter was Duplay, Rue St. Honoré, No. 366, the host of Robespierre, who thus provided for his friend (p. 301). Fouquier-Tinville was the public accuser. The act of accusation declared that Marie-Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, pursuant to a decree of the Convention of the 1st of August, 1793, on a charge of having conspired against France; that it resulted from the documents furnished by the public accuser, that, "like the Messalinas, Brunehaut, Frédegond and Medicis, formerly entitled queens of France, whose ever detestable names will never be effaced from the annals of history, Marie-Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, has been ever since she resided in France, the pest and the blood-sucker of the French." The specific charges were, that, wickedly and designedly, acting in concert with the brothers of Louis Capet and the infamous ex-minister Calonne, she had wasted the treasures of France, and had sent incalculable sums to the emperor: that by her agents she had kept up a correspondence with the enemies of the Republic, and informed them of the plans of campaign and of attack which had been resolved on in the council: that by her intrigues she had formed plots against the internal and external security of France, excited civil war in various parts of the Republic, armed the citizens one against another, and thus had caused to be shed the blood of an incalculable number of citizens. The first witness against her was Lecointre, of Versailles, who went back as far as 1779 to describe the feasts and orgies of Versailles; and he deposed particularly to the banquet of the 1st of October, 1789, which the queen and the king came to witness, when the air "O, Richard, O mon roi," was played. The witnesses were numerous, and among them was Hébert, the substitute of the procureur of the Commune. He had gone to the Temple, because Simon sent him word that he had important matter to communicate, and he went there with the mayor and the procureur: young Capet, he said, had declared that Lafayette was one of those who assisted in arranging the flight to Varennes. Now everybody knew this to be false, and young Capet's declaration was an invention of Hébert, and a foolish lie. Hébert deposed to other things about the child and the mother too indecent to mention. When a juryman asked why the queen had made no reply to this abominable charge, she answered, "If I have not replied, it is because nature refuses to answer such a charge made against a mother: I appeal to all the mothers who may be here." Simon himself was examined. Simon, formerly a shoemaker, was "at this time employed as the tutor of Charles Louis Capet," and his business was to corrupt the child, now only eight years of age for which we have the evidence of Lebœuf, who had reproved the ex-shoemaker and present tutor for singing indecent songs before Charles Louis Capet. Though Simon was called as a witness, he was not questioned as to the facts which Hébert had stated on the ex-shoemaker's authority. Manuel, once procureur of the Commune, was examined; but he had nothing to say against the queen. The president treated Manuel more like a criminal than a witness, and did not forget to remind him that "he had proposed to give honours to Pétion which were equivalent to those of royalty." Bailly, once mayor of Paris, was examined: he protested that the facts alleged in the act of accusation as resting on the declaration of the child Charles Louis Capet were absolutely false. The president put to him this absurd question in reference to the "massacre" in the Champ-de-Mars: "Did you not receive orders from Antoinette for the massacre of the best patriots?" The answer was, "No; I went to the Champ-de-Mars in obedience to a resolution of the Council-general of the Commune." D'Estaing was examined: he had known the accused ever since her residence in France, and had cause of complaint against her; but he would not the less on that account tell the truth: he had nothing to say that bore upon the act of accusation. Bernier, who had been the physician of the queen's children for fourteen or fifteen years, was asked if he had not heard what was the reason of the extraordinary assemblage of troops at Paris and at Versailles in 1789. His answer was simply "No." He was not asked another question. "At the time of your marriage to Louis Capet," said the sage president to the queen, "had you not a project for re-uniting Lorraine to Austria?" It must be recollected that when the queen was married to Louis, she was a girl of fourteen. "No" was the answer. "You assume the name of Lorraine?" said the president. "A person must bear the name of his country," replied the queen.

The charges were vague as usual in these trials. There was nothing proved against the queen, nothing that could cast the slightest suspicion on her conduct as a wife or a mother. She answered firmly, promptly, and with judgment. Her counsel were Chauveau-Lagarde and Tronçon-Ducoudray. After an hour's deliberation the jury found her guilty on the four questions which were proposed to them, and she was condemned to death. She heard the sentence without any emotion or speaking a word. It was half-past four in the morning of the 16th of October. She had only a few hours to live.

* There is a letter from Herman to Robespierre, printed in the 'Papiers Inédits,' &c., i., 280.

After returning to her prison, the queen wrote a letter to Madame Elizabeth, but it never reached her. It was afterwards found among the papers of Couthon, or of Robespierre, as other accounts say. She gave the letter to a jailor, who gave it to Fouquier-Tinville. This tender and affectionate letter vindicates the memory of the queen of France. Her lofty station, with all its ensnaring allurements, had not destroyed her native goodness of disposition, nor had adversity broken her heroic spirit. "Let my son," she said, "never forget the last words of his father, which I expressly repeat to him: let him never seek to avenge our death."

It was the practice of Fouquier-Tinville to send to Gobel, bishop of Paris, a list of his victims who were going to the scaffold, and priests were ready to give them the consolations of religion. Two constitutional priests presented themselves to the queen, but she refused to confess to them. She said that she would confess to God; she regretted that she had not a priest to whom she could confess; "for," she added, "I am a great sinner." At eleven in the morning the executioners tied her hands and cut her hair. She had only two gowns, a black one which she wore at her trial, and a white one in which she went to execution. Her husband went to the scaffold in a carriage: she was taken in a cart. She was near two hours in going from the prison to the Place de la Révolution. She was accompanied by the abbé Girard, one of the constitutional priests who had visited her in prison, but she spoke little to him. An armed force of more than 30,000 men lined the streets. She showed great indifference to the cries of "Live the Republic," "Down with tyranny," "Make room for the widow Capet," and all the vociferations of the crowd. As she came to the Place de la Révolution, she turned her eyes upon the Tuileries, and her countenance betrayed her emotion. She submitted with firmness to the fatal axe, and when the executioner's assistant took the head and showed it to the people, it was received with shouts of "Live the Republic."

Her body was taken to the cemetery of the Madeleine, where her husband's had been deposited, and thrown into the grave with quicklime. The Republic spent seven francs "for the coffin of the widow Capet." *

* Compare Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. xlvi., 22, and Poujoulat, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' ii., 83. The Procès de la Reine is in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxix., 338—410.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE GIRONDINS.

The trial of the Girondins followed close upon the execution of the queen. Twenty-one* of them were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the 24th of October, from the Conciergerie, the prison which had at the same time within its walls the queen of France and the men who had worked her ruin. They were Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Duperret, Carra, Gardien, Dufriche-Valazé, Duprat, Sillery, Fauchet, bishop of Calvados, Ducos, Boyer-Fonfrède, Lasource, Lesterpt-Beauvais, du Chastel, Mainvielle, Lacaze, Lehardy, Boileau, Antiboul, and Vigée. The act of accusation was presented by Amar, in the name of the Committee of General Security. It was little more than the pamphlet, formerly published by Camille Desmoulins, entitled 'The History of the Faction of the Gironde;' but it was a history which helped to bring the prisoners to the scaffold. It declared that there existed a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic, against the liberty and the security of the French people; and it proceeded to state the evidence for this conspiracy. Pétion and others not enumerated in the above list, were comprehended in the act of accusation. Pache, the mayor of Paris, was the first witness who was examined. His evidence was as vague as it could be; so vague, said Vergniaud, that it was impossible to answer it in a positive manner: but Vergniaud's answer to Pache's evidence was conclusive as to himself. Pache's testimony did not inculpate any one person distinctly. The whole proceeding was irregular, without any regard to the plainest rules of evidence; and the evidence, such as it was, completely cleared some of the accused, for they had never been members of the committees to which certain treasonable designs were imputed. Chaumette, the procureur of the Commune of Paris, gave his evidence at great length; but in the same vague style as Pache. On the 25th of October, the trial was continued, and Destournelles, the minister "des contributions politiques," was examined. He was asked his names. "Is it necessary," he said, "that I must mention the Christian name given to me at my birth?" "Yes," said the president. "It is with regret," said this arch-hypocrite, "that I mention the name: it is Louis: my names and surnames are Descamps Destournelles:" but he protested that there was nothing feudal in the name of Descamps. He accused Carra of having proposed the duke of York at the Jacobins as king of France. Carra admitted the fact, but he made the proposal only in the hope of detaching George,

* This was the number. Their names, age, and profession, are given in the Procès.

king of England, from the coalition. His object was to flatter sometimes the duke of York, and sometimes the duke of Brunswick, and he had thus succeeded in making a rupture between the duke and the house of Austria. Destournelles showed all the good-will in the world to do the accused as much damage as he could; but his evidence only touched a few of them. Among the witnesses of course we find Hébert. Brissot and Vergniaud said most in their defence. One part of Hébert's evidence is worth stating: "I was with Pétion the day after the 10th of August, with a deputation of the Commune of Paris: Brissot, who was there, advanced to meet the deputation, and said, "What is this fury of the people? Will the massacres never end?' I have considered it my duty to state this fact to the jury." Brissot replied, "that the present was the first time that he had ever seen Hébert; and that his statement was false: he had always lauded the 10th of August: if the witness had spoken of the massacres of the 2nd of September, he would have been right." Hébert's veracity was not tested by bringing forward any other witness, though, according to his own statement, a whole deputation must have heard what Brissot said. The trial went on in the same way. The worthy ex-capucin, Chabot, was a witness: he deposed at great length, and went back as far as the Legislative Assembly to complete his proof of the conspiracy of the prisoners: his evidence was a long written invective. He accused Brissot of being guilty of the blood of September, and all the accused of not having prevented the massacres, though they had the power. Brissot defended himself vigorously against Chabot's denunciations. Fabre d'Eglantine, Leonard Bourdon, all the bitterest enemies of the prisoners, were witnesses against them.

On the sixth day of the trial, the foreman of the jury declared that "their consciences were sufficiently enlightened," upon which they retired, and after three hours' deliberation returned to the court. They were all agreed that there was a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic, and against the liberty and security of the French people; and that Brissot and the rest of the prisoners were proved to be the conspirators or accomplices in the conspiracy. The prisoners were called in to hear the verdict, and the sentence of death, which came most unexpectedly upon some of them. Some cried "Live the Republic," others poured their maledictions on the court. One of the prisoners fell down: it was Valazé. He had plunged a dagger into his heart. Upon the demand of the public accuser, the court declared that the corpse of Valazé should be carried in a cart to be interred in the same place as the other condemned prisoners.*

* Procès des Girondins, 'Hist. Parl.,' xxix., 410—478, and xxx., 1—123; and in Lamartine's 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. xlviii. As Lamartine quotes no authorities, it is difficult to say what is the evidence for some of the facts which he mentions. He tells a story of Camille Desmoulins, who was present when the sentence was pronounced, crying out, "Wretch that I am, it is I who am their murderer," &c.

The night of the 31st of October was the last night to the condemned; and it appears that there is little evidence for what took place except the testimony of Riouffe.* The signal which they had promised the other prisoners at the Conciergerie, "was given; the signal was patriotic songs, which burst forth simultaneously, and all their voices were mingled in addressing the last hymns to Liberty; they parodied the Marseillaise in this fashion:

'Contre nous de la tyrannie,
Le couteau sanglant est levé.'

All this horrible night the place re-echoed with their songs, and if they were interrupted, it was only to talk of their country, and sometimes to listen to a sally of Ducos." "Their last night," says Thiers, "was sublime." Some further particulars are recorded by Poujoulat, on the evidence of an eye-witness, the abbé Lambert, now (1848) an old man of four-score and six.†

At four o'clock on the morning of the 31st of October, the abbé entered the Conciergerie. He was very intimate with Brissot, who threw himself into his arms. Brissot was very neatly dressed, as usual, and had on a pair of well-polished boots. Like Robespierre, he carefully avoided the costume of the sans-culottes. The abbé proposed to administer to Brissot the consolations of religion, but Brissot replied, "that he did not believe in all those things, and that he would not confess." Lasource, who was a Protestant minister, said to Brissot, "What, do you refuse the consolations of religion? Do you not believe in God and in the immortality of the soul?" "Yes," said Brissot. "Well then," said Lasource, "why do you not confess? when you are just going to appear before God; have you no faults to reproach yourself with? As for me, who am a Protestant minister, I consider the Catholic priest to be elevated to an incomparable height of dignity when he comes to strengthen and console the dying." All the Girondins confessed to the priest except Brissot and Lasource. "The twelve Girondins," says the abbé, "confessed to me like children who are going to take their first communion; the humility of these men of talent astonished and edified me; I felt ashamed at hearing them address me by the name of father." The executioner came in with cords and scissors, and the prisoners quietly allowed themselves to be bound. The priest gave them his last blessing, and the prisoners set out in five carts to the place of execution, one of which contained the corpse of Valazé. Sillery was the first to mount the scaffold. It is said that the prisoners kept up the song of the Marseillaise as they went to the scaffold, and continued to sing it while the heads of their companions were falling. Vergniaud was the last to ascend the scaffold, and the song only ceased when his head fell. The fate of these men, the mockery of their trial, and their bloody death, have given them a celebrity, which a just estimate of their political conduct as a

* 'Mémoires sur les Prisons,' Paris, 1823, vol. i., p. 52.
† Poujoulat, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' ii., 99.

party does not entitle them to. If they had crushed the Jacobins, they could not have established a settled government in France. Their political system, if they can be said to have had one, was without a basis.*

The duke of Orleans was included in the act of accusation against the Girondins, and after being examined at Marseille, where he was imprisoned with two of his sons, he was removed to Paris, and brought before the Revolutionary tribunal with Coustard, on the 6th of November.† No witnesses were examined against them, and they admitted nothing that could compromise them. They were found guilty of being the originators of the plot against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic, against the liberty and security of the French nation, or of being accomplices in the plot. They were condemned to death, and their property forfeited to the State. The duke was led to the scaffold past the Palais Royal, the scene of his former pleasures. He looked upon it unmoved, and the procession passed on. The abbé Lothringer accompanied him to the place of execution, but he could not induce him to confess, until he was near the scaffold. The duke was elegantly dressed in his usual style. He submitted to his fate with stoical indifference. His age was forty-six. The name of the duke of Orleans makes a great figure in the French revolution, but nobody has yet clearly shown what part he played. His rank and wealth gave him an importance which was not due either to his talents or his acts. He was a tool rather than anything else.

The enemies of the Gironde were not satisfied with men for their victims: they feared and hated Roland's wife, who was brought from her dungeon in the Conciergerie before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the 8th of November. She was dressed in white, with her long black hair hanging down to her waist. She was charged with being an accomplice in the conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic. She began to read a summary of her political conduct since the commencement of the Revolution, but "as it breathed Federalism from one end to the other, the president interrupted her and said that she could not abuse the liberty of speech to make a panegyric on crime, that is to say, on Brissot and his colleagues." She broke out in invectives, and turning to the audience called on them to bear witness to the violence which was done to her; to which the audience replied, "Live the Republic! Down with traitors!" On being condemned to death, she thanked the court. "When she was first brought to the Conciergerie," says Riouffe, "her firmness was not shaken: without being in the flower of her youth (she was now thirty-nine, but looked much younger), her appearance was still charming; she was tall and of a graceful form: the expression of her countenance was very intellectual, but her misfortunes and a long imprisonment had left on her features marks of melancholy, which tempered her vivacity. Something more than is usually observed in women's eyes was seen in her large black eyes, full of expression and sweetness." She went to the scaffold in company with an old man, named Lamarche, whose faltering courage she sustained on the way. On arriving at the scaffold, she said, "Go first, you would not have courage enough to see me die." Lamarche was executed first. Bending before the statue of Liberty, which stood on the site now occupied by the obelisk o. Luxor, Madame Roland exclaimed, "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" She submitted herself to the executioner, and her head fell into the basket.*

When Roland heard of his wife's death, he quitted the house in which he had found refuge for some time. On the 12th of November he was found dead on the road from Rouen to Paris, about five leagues from Rouen, where he had stabbed himself. Legendre, one of the representatives of the people, then at Rouen, went to see the body and recognized it. In their report to the Convention the representatives said that "they easily identified it as the body of the ex-minister Roland, who had done justice on himself to escape the sword of the law." Four pieces of paper were found in his pockets, one of which contained the apology for his life and his death, and the motives for it. The body was ordered to be interred on the spot where it was found. Clavière, the late minister, killed himself in the Conciergerie just before the day appointed for his trial; and his wife on hearing of his death took poison.

Many of the men who had figured in the Revolution, and some of whom had dropped out of notice, appear again, but only to be led to the scaffold. Bailly, the first mayor of Paris, was tried on the 10th of November. His great offence was the affair in the Champ de Mars, of the 17th July, 1791. He was found guilty of being the author of a plot, which resulted in the firing in the Champ de Mars, and of its execution, or

* The facts with respect to the prisoners between their condemnation and death are greatly embellished by some of the French writers. A large part of the details of the French Revolution are mere romance. See 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxi., p. 78, &c.; Lamartine, 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. xlvii.

† His trial is reported in the 'Bulletin du Tribunal Révolutionnaire,' Nos. 73 and 74. As to his alleged schemes, see Sénart, 'Mém.'

* It does not appear that there is any authority for the last words of Madame Roland, except Riouffe. Lamartine makes her go to the scaffold with her hair hanging down to her waist; whereas it was the fashion to cut it off before the execution. Riouffe says that she wore it so on the day on which she was condemned. It is hardly necessary to warn the reader how much of embellishment and of fiction some French historians allow themselves. The editors of the 'Hist. Parl.,' (xxxi., 99) doubt the authenticity of Madame Roland's 'Mémoires: they say that "all the works of this period present such uniformity, that one might suppose them to be the production of one pen: their characteristic, which in fact was their title to celebrity in the midst of the depravity, of which the Directory set the example, is obscenity.—The 'Mémoires' of Madame Roland are a work of this kind: it is a bad book in all the strictness of the term; and she could only be blamed for it, if she had published it herself."



THE GIRONDINS CONDEMNED AND SENT TO PRISON.

an accomplice. He was condemned to be executed on the esplanade between the Champ de Mars and the Seine, and it was ordered that the *drapeau rouge*, which had been produced during the trial, should be fastened behind the cart, and dragged to the place of execution, where it was to be burnt. When the procession arrived at the Champ de la Fédération, the people would not allow that "sacred ground to be polluted by the presence of such a criminal," and in consequence of their opposition the guillotine was taken down and removed to one of the ditches on the bank of the Seine, and Bailly had to wait and look on while the guillotine was set up again. He was taken to the ditch, where the *drapeau rouge* was burnt before his face; after which he mounted the scaffold, and his head fell amidst the joyful acclamations of the spectators.*

Adam Lux, a deputy extraordinary from the Germanic Confederation at Mainz, a wild enthusiast, and a friend of Guadet and Pétion, published a placard in honour of Charlotte Corday, for which he was arrested and brought to the scaffold. Manuel, once procureur of the Commune, was brought before this bloody tribunal. Léonard Bourdon, Bazire, and Fabre d'Eglantine, were witnesses against him. He was reproached with having concerted the massacres of September in concert with Pétion, but the evidence on this point was too weak for his condemnation. It was for his conduct on other occasions that he was condemned; and among the grounds of condemnation was his having facilitated the escape of the Prince de Poix. General Brunet and Manuel went to the scaffold together. The general was immoveable. Manuel was so overpowered that he could scarcely keep his seat in the cart. General Houchard, Barnave, the once distinguished member of the Constituent, and Kersaint, were soon after sent to the scaffold. Rabaut St. Etienne, also a member of the Constituent and a Protestant minister, had been declared out of the pale of the law, by a decree of the 28th July, 1793. Rabaut was one of the commission of Twelve, who imprisoned Hébert on account of his infamous journal. He escaped from Paris after the 2nd of June, but returned about the end of July, and was concealed by M. de Paizac, a Roman Catholic. He was betrayed by Fabre d'Eglantine. This villain, though then in power, foresaw that his time might be short, and he sent for a carpenter to make a hiding-place for him in his house. The carpenter said that he could satisfy him, for he had just made one in the house of M. de Paizac, which nobody could discover. Fabre went and denounced the hiding-place, and Rabaut was thus brought to the scaffold on the 5th of December. Paizac and his wife shared his fate.* Rabaut perished under the short-lived revolutionary reign of terror. His ancestors, and fellow protestants, had suffered under the long monarchical reign of terror, which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October, 1685. The execution of the former minister, Lebrun, followed. He was condemned as an accomplice in the plots of the Girondins.

On the 17th of December, Dubarry, the mistress of Louis XV. in his old age, was placed under the axe of the guillotine. She had a favourite negro to whom she showed great affection, and he had the baseness to betray her. Her name was enough to condemn her. She went to the scaffold amidst the hootings and contempt of the people, who only laughed at her piteous cries. She had known only luxury and pleasure, and death was terrible to her. It is said that she was the only woman who showed cowardice at the scaffold; but this may not be true.

The last victim of the year 1793 was general Biron, who was executed on the 31st of December. He was known at the court of Louis XVI. as the brilliant duke of Lauzun, as a brave soldier and a man of pleasure. He fought with Lafayette in America, and he embraced the popular cause when the revolution commenced. He served with distinction in the army of the North, of the Rhine, of the Alps, and in La Vendée, but he quarrelled with Rossignol, and the former noble was sacrificed to the plebeian Jacobin. Like many others in the prisons, he indulged in the only sensuality that a prisoner could have, the pleasures of the table, and the jailors were his companions. It is said that he was eating oysters and drinking wine when they came to take him to the scaffold.

The proscribed deputies, Buzot, Barbaroux, Pétion, Louvet, Valady, Guadet, and Salles, took shipping in Calvados, and landed at Bec-d'Ambés, in the department of the Gironde, where they found refuge with Guadet's father-in-law. But the commissioners of the Convention, Ysabeau and Tallien, were already at Bordeaux, and had set up the guillotine. Bec-d'Ambés was not safe, and the deputies secretly made their way to the little town of St. Émilion, where Guadet's father lived. They were tracked hither by Tallien's emissaries,

* Procès de Bailly, 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxi., 100—129. The account of the death of Bailly in the 'Histoire des Prisons,' (i., 62, Paris, 1823,) the authority of Thiers and others, is not by an eye-witness. Thiers, whose narrative is solely founded on Riouffe, supposes that the drapeau rouge which was burnt, was that which was hung out at the Hôtel-de-Ville to proclaim martial law; whereas it was a small one, which a man could carry in his pocket without its being seen till he pulled it out. Lamartine's account of Bailly's death contains horrors which ought to be established by indisputable evidence. It appears to be, however, only an exaggeration of Riouffe. The circumstances of Bailly's execution were bad enough; but why should a man, who pretends to write history, make them worse in order to embellish his book?

* There are two volumes of his works, Paris, 1826, among which is a 'Précis de l'Histoire de la Révolution Française,' vol. i., p. 237—433, which, as being the work of a Protestant minister and a zealous reformer of political abuses, is worth reading. The story of Le Vieux Cévénol is a picture of the sufferings of the Protestants of France under the Reign of Terror, which followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The notes contain many particulars of the persecution of the Protestants.

but they escaped their active search by hiding themselves in a cellar which Madame Bouquey had prepared for them. When the rigour of the search abated, they came out of their hole, and in this retreat Barbaroux wrote his Mémoires. But fresh alarms terrified them, and they separated. Valady took the road to the Pyrenees, and at last fell by the guillotine. Guadet, Salles, and Louvet went together, and passed the first night in a quarry. Louvet left them with a desperate resolution to make his way to Paris, which eventually saved him. Pétion, Barbaroux, and Buzot rambled towards the Landes of Bordeaux, but at last they returned to St. Emilion again, where they found Guadet and Salles, and were protected for some time by a barber named Baptiste Troquart. But they had only a few weeks' respite. A fresh search was made at St. Emilion with the assistance of dogs trained for the purpose. Guadet and Salles were caught in their hiding-place, and dragged to Bordeaux. No trial was necessary, for they were out of the pale of the law. They were both guillotined. Barbaroux, Pétion, and Buzot, hearing of the death of their colleagues, left St. Emilion with a few peas in their pockets, and got as far as Castillon, where the inhabitants were preparing to celebrate the village festival. The noise of music and the concourse of people alarmed them. Barbaroux discharged a pistol against his head, and fell, but the shot was not fatal. The peasants attracted by the report of the pistol, went to the spot, and discovered who he was. Barbaroux was taken to Bordeaux, and the guillotine separated his head from his body. Buzot and Pétion made their escape into a pine-wood when Barbaroux fell, and a few days after their bodies were found in a wheat-field, partly devoured by wolves. How they died, nobody knows.*

Condorcet was protected for some months by Madame Vernet at Paris. He afterwards wandered about till he was arrested at a small inn, where he was eating an omelette. A dose of poison which he had about him saved him from the scaffold.

During November and December, 1793, one hundred and twenty-six persons perished by the guillotine in Paris. But these were a small part of the whole number who perished in France. Lyon, Bordeaux, Nantes, and other places, had their victims.

The close of 1793 was signalized by the formation of a new calendar, on which Fabre d'Eglantine made a report on the 6th of October,* which produced the decree of 4 frimaire (24th of November). This decree abolished the vulgar æra, and made the first year of the French Republic commence at midnight on the 22nd of September, 1792, and end at the midnight which separated the 21st and 22nd of September, 1793. The second year commenced on the 22nd of September, 1793, at midnight. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each; and the five days which were added to complete the ordinary year belonged to no month. Each month was divided into three equal parts of ten days each, which were called décades. The names of the days of the décade were, primidi, duodi, tridi, quartidi, quintidi, sextidi, septidi, octidi, nonidi, decadi. The names of the months were, for the autumn, vendémiaire, brumaire, frimaire; for the winter, nivose, pluviose, ventose; for the spring, germinal, floréal, prairial; for the summer, messidor, thermidor, fructidor. The last five days of the year were called "les sansculottides." When the ordinary year received an addition of one day, in order that the civil year might coincide with the movements of the celestial bodies, this day was called the Day of the Revolution, was placed at the end of the year, and named the sixth of the sansculottides. The period of four years, at the end of which this addition of a day is necessary as a general rule, was called La Franciade, in memory of the Revolution which, after four years of struggle, had conducted France to a Republican government. The fourth year of the Franciade was called Sextile. The Republican Calendar existed till Bonaparte sacrificed it to the court of Rome; but its uselessness was a better reason for destroying it. The new system of weights and measures, which was also the work of the Revolution, has been maintained by its utility.

* 'Mém. de Buzot, Vie de Buzot, and Notice,' &c., par M. B. Troquart, p. 252. The story of the last days of these Girondins is somewhat confused, but the main facts are clear enough.

* The report is printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxi., 415—427; which also contains the 'Instruction sur l'ère de la République,' &c., p. 430—446.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE IDOLATRY OF REASON.

Lyon, Marseille, and Bordeaux, the three chief of the federalist towns, as they were called, felt the iron arm of the Convention. Ronsin soon joined the representatives of the people at Lyon with two thousand men belonging to the Revolutionary army, and the horrors began. On the Place de Bellecour, Couthon tapped with a small hammer on a stone of a house which was to be demolished, saying, "In the name of the law, I condemn thee to be demolished;" and the work of demolition began. But Couthon was not the exterminator of Lyon. Collot d'Herbois, once an actor, who, it is said, had been hissed on the stage

there, and Fouché, were the men. The artisans, who had hitherto been employed in producing the beautiful fabrics of Lyon, were compelled to destroy in order to live, and bands of desperate men hurried from all quarters to share the wages of destruction. The fine houses in the Place de Bellecour and on the Quai St. Clair fell to the ground. Gunpowder and cannon were employed as the instruments of desolation. The property of the fugitives and of the victims was seized. The guillotine was daily drenched with blood; but this did not satisfy Collot d'Herbois and Fouché.* They massacred the people in masses at the bridge of Morand, and in a meadow near the city. Fouché sometimes looked on at a distance with a telescope, and at other times he was enjoying himself at table with Jacobins and prostitutes, while his butchers were murdering the people of Lyon. Pelletier, a National Commissioner at Lyon, wrote, on the 12th of December, a letter to the Commune of Paris, in which he said, "The representatives of the people have substituted for the two revolutionary tribunals, a committee of seven judges: this measure was indispensible; the two tribunals, continually embarrassed by forms, did not satisfy the wishes of the people; the prisoners, crowded in the prisons, the partial executions, produced little effect on this people: the Committee of Seven judge summarily, and their justice is as enlightened as it is prompt." This letter states, that on the 4th of December "sixty of these villains suffered the punishment due to their crimes, by being shot; on the 5th, two hundred and eight had the same fate; on the 7th, sixty innocent persons were acquitted with as much éclat, as the guilty were delivered to punishment; on the 11th, fifty were shot in a mass." "In a little time," says the same letter, "the criminals of Lyon will no longer pollute the soil of the Republic: we daily make discoveries of gold and silver; the amount of articles of gold and silver, found in the cellars, gardens, &c., will astonish you when it shall be known to you." But we do not suppose that the amount ever was known: murder and pillage went together, and we may suspect that Fouché's fortune had its foundation in the cellars of Lyon. The letters of Collot d'Herbois and Fouché to the Convention breathe the spirit of slaughter and vengeance: "Citizen colleagues, we pursue our mission with the energy of republicans who have a profound conviction of their character." "We send you the bust of Chalier and his mutilated head, just as it came for the third time from under the axe of his ferocious murderers; when an attempt is made to excite your sensibility, uncover this bloody head before the eyes of the pusillanimous men who look only to individuals; recall them by this energetic language to the severity of duty and the impassibility of the national representation."—"We are daily seizing new treasures."* In a letter to Duplay, the host of Robespierre, Collot says, "Friend and brother,—I have received several good things from you; at the same time, news from you and yours, the discourse of Robespierre, and the assurance that all goes well: all this is good: tell him, I pray you, to write to us: our brother Jacobins are going on wondrous well; a letter from him will give them great pleasure and have a good effect."—"Sixty-four of the conspirators were shot yesterday; two hundred and thirty will fall to-day."—"Present the assurance of my true unalterable friendship to thy republican family: shake Robespierre's hand in my name."—"What a satisfaction to republicans to fulfil their duty; safety, friendship, and fraternity." There is also a letter from Collot to Robespierre. Collot prayed him to write: a letter from him would have great weight with the Jacobins. But Robespierre does not seem to have been very eager to write: he was cautious. "Thou saidst to me," said Collot, "that it required courage for a man to accept this mission; and I must frankly tell thee that thou wast right: I must add, it requires health too; take care of thine; it is precious to republicans, and particularly to thy friend, Collot d'Herbois."

On the 14th of November, David presented to the Convention his picture of the assassination of Marat, and asked for the honours of the Pantheon to be granted to him. There was a decree that the honours of the Pantheon should not be given to a citizen until ten years after his death, but in favour of so distinguished a personage as Marat, they made an exception to the law; and it was resolved that the body of Mirabeau should be removed from the Pantheon on the same day on which that of Marat was taken there. The head of Chalier arrived at Paris, and the Convention decreed a public funeral for him.

In the month of November there was an explosion, which will for ever be the astonishment of the world. Jacques Roux, who had been thrown into prison, was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the 14th of January, 1794, and as soon as his sentence was pronounced, he drew a knife and stabbed himself five times. The hand of Jacques was not firm, for he lived to be carried to the Bicêtre. The party which took the place of that which Jacques Roux and Leclerc headed, had for its leaders Chaumette, Hébert, Vincent, Momoro, and other leaders of the Cordeliers. Jacques Roux and Leclerc were real madmen, ignorant, and fanatical. Hébert and his party were pure villains. They aimed at power, and the overthrow of the Convention. During the struggle, which ended in their overthrow, more persons were sent to the scaffold than at any other time during the Revolution, except the last four décades of Robespierre's existence, during which he stayed away from the Committee of Public Safety. Carrier, Fouché, and the leaders of the revolutionary army, were of this party. In everything they rushed to extremes. To lower the price of leather,

* There is a curious notice on this contemptible fellow, afterwards duke of Otranto, and a tool of Bonaparte, by Earl Stanhope, in Lord Brougham's 'Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III.'

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxx, 398, &c.

they declared that patriots should wear wooden shoes, and they set the example. They professed Atheism, and treated with contempt all the forms and ceremonials of religion. They aimed at destroying religion; but it was not simply an anti-religious movement. The better opinion is, that it was one of the means by which they hoped to seize on power. They feared Robespierre, though Hébert flattered him in his journal. The desperate measures of this party were stimulated by fear: they knew that they must be either victorious or vanquished.

There was a party called the Dantonistes. They were men of loose morals, but not prepared to go along with the Hébertistes. Many of them had got the public money in their pocket, and were afraid of exposure. Camille Desmoulins, giddy and thoughtless, a man of no fixed opinions, ready to dine with anybody where there was good cheer, was alarmed at the austerity of the Committee of Public Safety, and he foresaw that there would be a quarrel with this committee. He was encouraged by Danton and Fabre d'Eglantine to commence his journal called 'Le Vieux Cordelier.'* As he was an old college friend of Robespierre, and had long been his flatterer, it was supposed that he could soften this great incorruptible, who now governed by his influence and his name. Desmoulins showed Robespierre some of the early numbers of the 'Vieux Cordelier,' and he approved of them, even those which were denounced at the Jacobins. On one occasion he suggested the omission of a certain matter, which was promised, but the omission was not made: and this was a great offence.

On the 1st of November a deputation from Nevers, managed by Fouché, brought to the Convention many boxes filled with crosses of gold, mitres, church-plate, and other things, and expressed their wish for the suppression of the ministers of the Catholic worship. On the 6th of November the council of the Commune declared that all its members should wear the bonnet rouge. This was a declaration against the Convention which had already decreed that no person should be compelled to wear any particular dress. On the 7th of November, Gobel, bishop of Paris, who had been in secret conference with Chaumette, Hébert, Anacharsis Cloots, and others of the faction, appeared at the bar of the Convention, and declared that "as the Revolution was hastening with rapid steps to a happy termination, and as there now ought to be no public and national worship except that of Liberty and Equality, since the sovereign wishes it to be so, he henceforward renounced his functions as a Catholic minister; and his vicars, who were present, joined him in this declaration." This declaration, signed by Gobel and his vicars, was deposited on the bureau and entered on the minutes. With the red cap on his head, as some say, Gobel laid down his cross and his ring. 'The day on which Reason resumes her empire," said Chaumette, "merits a place among the brilliant epochs of the French Revolution." He moved that a place be given in the new Calendar to the day of Reason. Laloi, the president of the Convention, congratulated the priests, and said that henceforth Reason should be the national religion; and he embraced Gobel. Great was the applause. Thomas Lindet, once bishop of the department of Eure, also placed his abdication on the bureau. Julien, of Toulouse, who was a Protestant minister, said, "Gobel has given utterance to opinions which were graven on my heart: I follow his example —henceforward I will have no temple except the sanctuary of the laws; no idol but Liberty; no worship but that of my country; no gospel but the Republican Constitution." Other abjurations followed in the midst of applause; and all was going on without opposition, when Grégoire, bishop of Blois, entered. He said, "I have but a very vague notion of what has passed here before I came: they speak to me of sacrifices to my country; I am accustomed to that: Is the question about attachment to the cause of liberty? I have been tried long ago: Is the question about the revenues attached to the office of bishop? I give them up to you without regret: Is the question about religion? that matter is beyond your province, and you have no right to attack it." He professed that he was a Catholic by conviction, a priest by choice, and a bishop against his will: he had been tormented into accepting the episcopacy; now he was tormented to force from him an abdication, which they should never extort from him. The unfrocked priests left the Convention in triumph. Every day brought new abjurations. Siéyes made his on the 10th of November.

The department of Paris and the council-general celebrated their victory on the 10th of November by a festival in the metropolitan church, where a temple was erected, with the inscription "To Philosophy." Momoro was one of the masters of the ceremonies, and he gave an account of it in the Journal of Prudhomme, of which he was then the editor.*

The Temple was on the summit of a mountain: in the middle, on a rock, flamed the torch of Truth; the constituted authorities were in this sanctuary. Musicians at the foot of the mountain performed a hymn in the vulgar language, which the people understood, because it expressed natural truths, and not mystic phrases. The hymn was by Chénier; the music by Gossec. While the music was playing, two rows of young girls, clothed in white and crowned with oak-leaves, descended from the mountain, torch in hand, and ascended again. Liberty, represented by a handsome woman, then came out of the temple of Philosophy, and seating herself on a grassy seat received the homage of Republicans, men and women, who sung a hymn in honour of her. The church of Notre Dame was called the Temple of Reason: the symbols of Catholicism disappeared, and the emblems and statue of Reason took their place. The Convention

* 'Le Vieux Cordelier,' Paris, 1825. This volume contains other matters.

* No. 215 of the 'Révolutions de Paris.'

not having been able to attend this ceremony, it was repeated before them in the evening. The statue of Reason was brought into the Convention to the sound of drums and the cries of "Down with fanaticism." Reason was carried on a seat by four citizens, preceded by young girls clothed in white and crowned with roses. Chaumette was high priest: "To-day," he said, "an immense crowd has assembled under the Gothic vaults which for the first time have heard the echo of truth; there the French have celebrated their true worship, that of Liberty, that of Reason—there we have abandoned inanimate idols for Reason, for this animated image, the masterpiece of Nature." In fact, the statue of Reason was represented by a young woman, clothed in white, half veiled by a sky-blue mantle, with her hair loose, a cap of Liberty on her head, and a pike in her hand. Chaumette asked that the church of Notre-Dame should henceforth be consecrated to the worship of Reason; and ex-capucin Chabot turned his request into a motion, which was carried. Reason descended from her throne, and was conducted to the president Laloi, who gave her the fraternal embrace amidst the shouts of the spectators, who paid their homage to the new divinity. The whole procession returned to the purified Temple, and the Convention followed to chant the hymn to Reason. But all the members did not go. Robespierre, St. Just, and Danton, showed their abhorrence and contempt of these fooleries.

On the same day as the abjuration of the metropolitan clergy, the shrine of Sainte-Geneviève was transferred to the Mint. "It was accomplished," says the 'Moniteur,' "with great tranquillity, and without any miracle." But the Commune took care to secure tranquillity by removing the shrine in the night. The triumph of the Hébertistes was short, but it was a period of sorrow and shame to France. The rage of the faction was not limited to Paris; it spread over all the country. The cross fell from the summits of the churches; the crucifixes and sacred vessels were converted into coin; the relics were treated with contempt, burnt, destroyed, and dispersed;* the bells no longer called the people to worship; they were turned into the instruments of death against the enemies of France. The wild tempest wreaked its force on the buildings themselves, the monuments of the taste and piety of the French. Heathenism avenged itself for the insults once offered to its own monuments, when the pious armies of Theodosius† sallied forth to level to the ground the beautiful temples of the pagan worship. The Virgin and Saints tumbled down from their pedestals, and the venerable sculptures on the churches crumbled beneath the stroke of the hammer. Fouché, who was now on a mission in La Nièvre, ordered a statue of Sleep to be set up in the cemeteries in the place of the Cross. But the whole population of France did not share this frenzy. The mutilation of the churches was not the work of the mass of the people, but of a few fanatics imbued with what is called philosophy, of the class who are called the educated. At Chartres the popular opinion prevailed, and the noble cathedral did not suffer the least damage. At Rouen, the so-called better class had the superiority, and the monuments of religion were not respected: the churches received some damage, though less than they had once sustained from the Protestants.

* "The burnings of legs, and arms, and grinders of saints, male and female, with relics from the wood of the original cross, must have the good effect of undeceiving those who imagined there were miraculous qualities inherent in these crumbling materials." (Letter from Gouverneur Morris to Thomas Jefferson, 'Life of G. Morris,' by J. Sparks, vol. ii., 383.) This is a superficial view of the matter, but worth recording, as the opinion of an American ambassador, then resident at Paris.

† Both Theodosius I. and II.

A decree of the Convention had ordered the destruction of the royal monuments in the church of St. Denis: the Commune of Paris executed it in another fashion than was intended. The bronze gates, the present of Charlemagne, were demolished; the statues and sculptures were crushed to dust; the symbols of royalty and religion, the monuments of history, were trampled under foot. Henry IV., whose body had been carefully embalmed, was dragged from his tomb, and thrown into a hole. Louis XIII. and XIV. had the same fate. Louis XV., the last of the Bourbons, who was torn from his grave, was a mass of wrappings and bandages: he had died of the small-pox. Duguesclin had been honoured with a tomb among the kings of France. He was now ejected with his royal master, Charles V. Turenne, whose memory was dear to France, was saved from the common pit. He was taken to the Cabinet of Natural History in the Jardin des Plantes, and was shown among the stuffed animals until 1796. In 1800, Bonaparte, then first consul, placed the body of this distinguished soldier in a fitting place, beneath the dome of the Invalides, where his own remains were afterwards deposited.

The new Calendar had destroyed the Sunday. Names of streets in Paris were changed; the memorials of former times, of royalty, and of Christianity, were abolished. A senseless imitation of Greek and Roman paganism was the fashion. Some men laid aside their baptismal names for those of Brutus, Aristides, and Scævola. Several communes changed their names, because they reminded people of monarchy, feudality, and saints. The project of giving new names to all the communes, and even to change that of France into Gaul, was discussed in the Committee of Public Instruction. But there was sense enough in the majority to reject this absurd idea.*

Sans-culottism was the order of the day. Elegance and even decency were banished. The assignats sunk in value, in spite of the law, which declared that they should pass for what they affected to be. People were obliged to go about with a civic card: they dressed meanly and lived meanly, to escape suspicion. In Paris, and in many other places, each person's daily

* Thibaudeau, 'Mém. sur la Convention,' i., 65.

allowance of bread was fixed, and people went to get it at their section. The guillotine, it is said, became an object of fashion: there were little guillotines made for children's toys; and ear-ornaments and pendents for the neck, in the form of this new saint.* Politeness was out of fashion. Coarseness and familiarity were liberty and equality.

But this drunken riot could not last. A storm was rising which threatened the anarchists, and they saw with alarm the coming tempest. The Journal of the Mountain attacked the preachers of Atheism early in November. Robespierre made a report to the Convention on the 17th of November, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, on the political situation of the Republic, in which he gave a history of the various factions that had been overthrown;† and pointed to the fate of that faction which was plunging France into anarchy. "Be terrible," he said, "to the bad, and relieve the unfortunate; and avoid both cruel moderantism and the systematic exaggeration of false patriots." Billaud-Varennes also, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, read a report on the provisional and revolutionary government, the basis of which had been laid by St. Just on the 10th of October. The measures proposed by Billaud-Varennes was adopted on the 4th of December (14th Frimaire), and it is an important revolutionary document. The first article ought to be adopted in every country: "The laws which concern the public interest, or which are general, shall be printed separately in a numbered bulletin, which shall serve to notify them to the constituted authorities: this bulletin shall be entitled 'Le Bulletin des Lois de la République.'" ‡

While the Hébertistes were using their anti-religious fooleries for political purposes, there was a scandalous explosion in another part. On the 18th of November the Committee of Public Safety ordered the arrest of four of the *indulgens*, as they were called, because they affected moderate measures in order to screen themselves: they were Chabot, Delaunay of Angers, Bazire, and Julien of Toulouse, who had lately abjured his religion. Julien escaped. Fabre d'Eglantine, who was implicated in this affair, was not arrested till the 12th of January, 1794. Fabre had assisted these men in falsifying a decree relative to the suppression of the Company of the Indies, for which they received, or were to receive, from the directors, a large sum of money. Julien and Delaunay had been connected with the Baron de Batz, a banker, and they had made a business of jobbing in the shares of the Company, by contriving to make the shares fall, and then buying them, and selling them again after they had, by the same tricks, made the market rise. D'Espagnac, an old friend of Dumouriez, who was now engaged in providing waggons for the army, furnished the funds, in return for which Julien gave him his interest in the Convention. When these jobbers could no longer prevent the abolition of the Company, Julien and Delaunay made a bargain with the directors, by which they undertook to arrange matters so that the Company should have the settlement of their affairs in their own hands. To accomplish this they falsified the decree for the abolition of the Company, and Fabre gave them his assistance. Chabot was running riot on his wealth, and his style of living excited suspicion. In his fear he denounced the scheme; and thought to mend his own case by declaring that he had acted as a spy. In the usual style of the times, he connected the affair with the conspiracy of the foreigner. Chabot's information led to the order for the arrest of all the knaves.*

The war against religion was still going on. On the 17th of November the section de l'Homme Armé informed the Commune that they had shut up the shop of lying, hypocrisy, and laziness, and put the curé of St. François under arrest. The Hébertistes had not yet made any move at the Jacobins against religion. A letter came from Lyon announcing a fête in honour of Chalier, in which "the chief personage was an ass, decorated with all the pontifical harness, and with a mitre on his head." This was a strange mode of doing honour to a man who had been accompanied to the scaffold by a priest, and had kissed the crucifix; whose religious faith had given him courage to meet death with heroic resignation. Chaumette said, "I see with delight the blows which fanaticism receives on all sides; but I observe that there is not complete unanimity on this point: the women of the town are become devout, and a few days ago they met in the former church of Saint-Eustache, armed with breviaries and beads: it is true there were among them some of these old women who take a pleasure in breathing the cadaverous odour of the temples of Jesus, but the greater part were girls who sacrifice to other idols." No notice was taken of what Chaumette said. Robespierre was present. On the 20th, the Hébertistes had another triumph. The section of Unity defiled before the Convention, headed by an armed force, followed by drums, sappers and cannoniers, dressed in the robes of priests: a body of women in white followed, and then a long file of men covered with priestly vestments. All the dresses were taken from the church of St. Germain des Près, and were of the richest kind. After the procession there came, carried on a platform, cups, chandeliers, gold and silver plates, a cross of precious stones, and a thousand other "utensils devoted to superstitious practices." The revolutionary hymn was sung, and the citizens in the sacerdotal dresses danced to the airs of 'ça ira' and 'la carmagnole.' They took their seat on the benches of the *côté droit*

* Poujoulat, 'Hist.,' &c., ii.,
† 'Hist. Parl.,' xxx., 224—247.
‡ Ibid., xxx., 254—266.

* This affair is told at length by Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française.' The Revolution is generally represented as an affair of blood; but it was also an affair of money. Many pretended revolutionists sought nothing but their own profit. The industry of the people was what these "bloodsuckers" fed on.

which, a member observed, had never been so well filled. The president, Laloi, said, "In a moment you have annihilated eighteen centuries of errors." The people retired singing a hymn in honour of Marat and Lepelletier.

But Hébert and his crew did not yet feel secure the terrible Committee of Public Safety was still silent. Robespierre was against them, and they could not avoid a conflict with this formidable enemy. The Hébertistes opened their campaign at the Jacobins on the 21st of November, when Clootz was in the chair. But they were afraid: they saw a man there who was invincible. Hébert began with vague talk about rallying the patriots: he flattered, he fawned upon Robespierre. Momoro followed: like Hébert, he was afraid of a conspiracy against the patriots: they would always be under alarm as long as there remained single priest. Robespierre rose, and spoke without preparation. He said that it was not fanaticism which was the cause of their miseries; fanaticism was dead "it is supposed that the Convention, by accepting civic offerings, had proscribed the Catholic worship; no, the Convention has not taken this rash step, and it never will; its intention is to maintain the freedom of religious worship: it will not permit peaceable ministers to be persecuted: priests have been denounced for having said mass; they will only say it the longer, if we try to prevent them; and he who would prevent them is more of a fanatic than he who says mass.—There are men who would go further, who, under the pretext of destroying superstition would make a sort of religion of atheism; every philosopher, every individual, may adopt on these matters what opinion he pleases; whoever would wish to impute such opinion to him as a crime, is a madman; but the public man, but the legislator, would be a hundred times madder, if he should adopt such a system: the National Convention abhors it.—It will perhaps be said that I am narrow-minded, prejudiced, a fanatic: I have already said that I am not speaking as an individual, as a philosopher with a system, but as a representative of the people: atheism is aristocratic; the idea of a Great Being, who watches over oppressed innocence, and who punishes triumphant crime, is altogether popular. (Loud applause.)—Since I was at college, I have been but an indifferent Catholic; but I have never been a cold friend, nor a faithless defender of humanity: I am only the more attached to the moral and political notions which I have expounded to you: if God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him: I speak in a tribune where the shameless Guadet dared to make it a charge against me that I had uttered the word Providence." The speech is long, and worth reading. Robespierre at present went no further than to move that a scrutiny should be made, in order to discover and drive away the agents of foreign powers, who might have got into the society, and to renew the committees of the society: and his motion was carried.

The Hébertistes were disconcerted, but they had still hopes of victory; and on the 23rd of November the Commune ordered all the churches to be closed, and the priests to be under surveillance. On the 21st of November, Romme, who was a religious man, succeeded Laloi as president of the Convention; and the getters up of mummeries had no disposition to appear before him. On the 26th, Danton, who had returned to Paris, moved that there should be no more anti-religious farces before the Convention; and that the Committees of Public Safety and Public Security should speedily report upon what was called the conspiracy of the foreigner, and on the means of giving vigorous action to the provisional government. He said: "If we have not honoured the priest of error and of fanaticism, neither have we intended to honour the priest of incredulity: we wish to serve the people." He also said: "We have not annihilated superstition in order to establish the reign of atheism." Robespierre had given notice of a communication to the Jacobins, which made Chaumette and the Commune in a hurry to repeal their order of the 23rd of November. This was done on the 28th, and Chaumette led the way by a clumsy apology for his proceedings.* Robespierre had beaten Chaumette and his faction.

Robespierre again addressed the Jacobins on the various causes of the disorders in France, and on the means of agitation; one of which, he said, was the intolerance of the so-called philosophical party: "We will not allow," he said, "the standard of persecution to be raised against any form of worship, nor religious quarrels to take the place of the great cause of liberty which we are defending." Hébert was alarmed, and he made his recantation at the Jacobins, in terms that would have suited a good Christian. But the struggle was not yet over. The Commune, led by Chaumette, tried another move. To strengthen themselves against the Convention, under the pretext of supporting it, the Communal council resolved to call together all the members of the revolutionary sections of Paris, except two, who should be left in each section to look after affairs; and that the members should meet the council-general. Hitherto the sections had communicated directly with the Committee of General Security of the Convention; but the Council, seeing that its power was on the wane, was desirous of bringing the sections to act with them. The Convention anticipated the Council, and annulled the order for the meeting of the members of the Revolutionary Committees with the Council of the Commune. On the 4th of December the Revolutionary Committees met at the Hôtel de Ville; and Chaumette was obliged to request them to withdraw.

It was wise policy, it was necessary to put an end to the madness of the atheistic party, or the force of France would have been paralyzed, and the enemy would have triumphed over a people distracted by religious quarrels and political quarrels at the same

* The requisitoire of the procureur is curious. 'Hist. Parl.,' xxx., 287.

time. On the 5th of December, Robespierre proposed in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, th "answer of the National Convention to the manifestos of the kings who were leagued against the Republic;" and it was adopted. The answer is not a piece of any merit; but it declared that the "French people and their representatives respect the liberty of all form of worship, and proscribe none." A few days afte Robespierre spoke again: his object was to obtain a decree from the Convention which should empowe the Committee of Public Safety to protect the freedom of religious worship; and he succeeded. The Hébertistes hated and feared the man who had checked their wild career, and even the tolerant men of the materialistic party were offended; but nobody dared to attack Robespierre. His revolutionary consistency was beyond suspicion; and the influence which he exercised in the purification of the Jacobins showed that his power there was undiminished. Danton was attacked at the Jacobins: Robespierre defended him and the Hébertistes failed here also. But they sunk still lower in opinion, when Hébert, on the 11th o December, being called on to purify himself, denied his atheism, and declared that "in his journal he preached to the country-folks that they should read the Gospel, which he considered to be an excellent book of morals, and that a man should follow all its maxims in order to be a perfect Jacobin; Christ he considered to be the founder of popular societies." Hébert's abjuration was accepted. The ordeal was applied to all the members: every man's conduct was examined. Billaud-Varennes and Robespierre were admitted amidst tumultuous applause. The turn of the Prussian baron, Anacharsis Clootz, came. When he was asked his country, he replied, "I am of Prussia, a future department of the French Republic." Robespierre said, "Can we consider a German baron to be a patriot? Can we consider a man to be a sans-culotte who has an income of more than a hundred thousand livres? Can we consider a man to be a republican who lives only with bankers and the counter-revolutionists, the enemies of France?" Robespierre overwhelmed the poor baron with abuse, reproached him with his extravagant opinions, his notion of a universal Republic: he charged him with having concerted with Gobel the scandalous scene of the abjuration. He ended thus: "Clootz is a Prussian: I have given you a sketch of his political life: Pronounce." This furious assault was followed by a proposal to erase from the lists of the Jacobins all nobles, bankers, and foreigners; which was adopted and executed forthwith, by expelling Baron Anacharsis Clootz, one of the chief pillars of the Hébertistes. Camille Desmoulins was protected by Robespierre and his own submissive explanation. Danton, Panis, and other less-known personages, were admitted.

There was disunion in the Mountain; and the Committee of Public Safety was indirectly attacked. There was a party in the Convention, some of them knaves and afraid of detection; others who regretted the loss of that power which they had put in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety: some might be their honest enemies; but they were few. To anticipate this party, Robespierre formed a plan, which he proposed to the Jacobins on the 14th of December; that the suppléens, as they came to the Convention, should give their opinion on the events of the Revolution, so that their true character might be known. He said that there were men on the Mountain who had ascended its summit only to hold out a hand to the traitors who were plunged in the mire of the Marais. Romme moved on the 15th of December, in the Convention, that every suppléent, who came to replace a deputy, should make a profession of faith on the events of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, and the 21st of June, 1791, the trial of Marat. The measure was carried, but immediately after repealed, on the motion of Thibaudeau. This was a check to the Committee of Public Safety, and to Robespierre and the Jacobins. Robespierre wished to purge the Convention as he was purging the Jacobins, to bring together men of one mind, to secure the Revolution by having one opinion. Bourdon de l'Oise complained of the ministers: he would have no ministers. Robespierre supported the ministers, for they were entirely dependent on the Committee of Public Safety. Bourdon next attacked the department of war for the bad choice of agents of all kinds. Bouchotte, the minister, was the special object of Bourdon's enmity. The Committee of Public Safety was represented as tolerating all the violent measures of the functionaries whom it had named.

The attack on the minister of war was still continued in the Convention, and it was resolved that the Committee of Public Safety should within three days present a report as to the suppression of the executive council. Fabre d'Eglantine roused the indignation of the Convention against Maillard, the murderer of September, "whom the minister of war had contrived to get out of prison, where the Committee of General Security had lodged him, and who at that moment was invested with terrible powers:" he also denounced Vincent, and moved that he be put under arrest. Ronsin was added to the number. All three were arrested. The party in the Convention, whom some have called the Dantonistes, had no general object in thus attacking the Hébertistes, whose atheistic demonstrations they had encouraged. They were either afraid of being attacked themselves, or dreaded the exposure of their own misdeeds. Vincent and the revolutionary army were guilty of even more than Fabre laid to their charge; but Fabre was not the man to accuse them. The Committee of Public Safety defended Vincent, Ronson, and Maillard, and they were finally set at liberty. The Committee was resolved to maintain its power; and in fact there was no other that could maintain itself. The powers of the Committee expired on the 10th of December, and they were not renewed for several days; a fact significant of the opinions of the Convention. The powers of the Committee were continued.

The news of the recovery of Toulon reached Paris on the 24th of December; and this success strengthened the Committee of Public Safety: the power of the Convention was on the eve of passing into other hands. As soon as the surrender of Toulon to the English was known, Barras and Fréron, the representatives with the army of the Alps, had ordered general Brunet to despatch a division to recover the place; but Brunet refused, and this was the chief cause which brought him to the scaffold. Upon Brunet's refusal they got together the garrisons of the coast, to the number of about 4,000 men, under general Lapoype, who posted himself at Sollies, north-east of Toulon. Cartaux dislodged the English from the gorges of Ollioules, on the north-west of Toulon, the only point by which the place can be approached from the interior. The heights of Malbousquet, of Cape Brun, and of Cape Eguillette, which is at the entrance of the smaller roadstead, were strongly fortified, and in possession of the enemy. During September and October, Toulon was kept in a kind of blockade on the land side, but no vigorous measures were taken. At the end of November, general Dugommier took the command in chief of the besieging forces, and he had about 30,000 men, of whom a third were recruits. It was resolved to attack Malbousquet, the English redoubts on the heights to the west of Eguillette, and the hill of Faron, while a demonstration was to be made against Cape Brun: and in order to be protected against all sallies from the place, the valleys which lie between the hills of Piécagas, Arènes, the Gaux, and La Goubran, were closed by a line of circumvallation. A young officer, named Bonaparte, who had been recommended by Salicetti, and made chef de bataillon, fixed a battery on the hill of Arènes, and began firing on fort Malbousquet. On the 30th of November a body of troops, chiefly English, made a sally: one division took the hill of Arènes, and spiked the guns; and another advanced towards Ollioules; but they were finally beaten off, and general O'Hara was taken prisoner. On the arrival of general Laharpe with reinforcements, the republicans attacked the redoubt on the high ground of Eguillette, which the English called Little Gibraltar, on the night of the 16th of December, in the midst of a violent storm. The commissioners of the Convention, Salicetti, Robespierre the younger, Ricord, and Fréron, animated the soldiers by their presence. The redoubt was scaled, in spite of a murderous discharge of artillery, and after an obstinate resistance the place was taken. The next day the republicans were in possession of the forts of Eguillette and Balaguier. On the 18th, Malbousquet and other forts were evacuated. The enemy now resolved to retire from Toulon, though the place had not yet been bombarded, and the Toulonnais alone might have made a formidable resistance. On the night of the 18th, pursuant to the instructions of Lord Hood, as it is said, the arsenal of Toulon was set on fire, the mast-house, the stores, and some of the French vessels. There were thirty-one French vessels of the line in Toulon when it was surrendered to the English, and twenty-five frigates. Of these, sixteen ships of the line and five frigates were entirely burnt or greatly damaged. Three ships of the line and six frigates were carried off by the English; three frigates fell to the share of the Sardinians, Spaniards, and Neapolitans; five ships of the line were sent on a mission to the French ports in the Atlantic; seven ships of the line and eleven frigates remained untouched. While their allies were deserting them, and the army of the Republicans was ready to enter the city, thousands of the wretched inhabitants crowded to the water-side to take refuge in the ships of the foreigners. Many perished in the sea, but a great number were conveyed by boats to the vessels. It was a night of darkness, of conflagration, and horror; a warning to all nations not to admit a foreigner to interfere in their quarrels. On the 19th of December the republican army entered Toulon with the guillotine; and the representatives of the people, in spite of the entreaties of Dugommier, began their sanguinary executions.* When the courier passed through Lyon on his way to Paris, with the news of the capture of Toulon, Fouché sent a letter by him to Collot d'Herbois, who was now at Paris; and this letter was read to the Convention by Barrère. It is undoubted evidence, in addition to abundant other evidence, that the Convention permitted the massacres to go on: and it is a complete answer to Fouché's subsequent assertion, that he was an unwilling agent of their atrocities. "We too, my friend, have contributed to the capture of Toulon, by carrying consternation among the cowards who have entered there, by showing to them thousands of the carcases of their accomplices.—Adieu, my friend; tears of joy fill my eyes; they inundate my soul.—P.S. We have only one way of celebrating the victory; we send this evening two hundred and thirteen rebels under the fire of the lightning." The Convention changed the name of Toulon into Port de la Montagne, and declared that nothing should be left standing except the buildings necessary for the service of the army and the navy.†

During the months of November and December there were no decisive operations in the North. The prince of Coburg had his head-quarters at Mons; the prince of Hohenlohe at Condé; and Clairfayt at Tournay. Generals Colloredo and Beaulieu held the frontiers of Luxembourg. The English and Hanoverian armies had their head-quarters at Gand; and the Hollanders were in Liége. Jourdan's army was in three divisions; one near Lille, another between Bouchain and Cambrai, and a third held the camp of Rosendal in front of Dunkerque, and that of Hondtschoote. Pichegru commanded the army of the

* "All the officers of the marine are exterminated." Letter of Salicetti, Ricord, Robespierre the younger, Fréron, and Barras, of the 20th of December, to the Committee of Public Safety.

† There are many particulars about the capture of Toulon in a work entitled 'Essais Historiques, &c., sur l'état de la France au 14 Juillet, 1804,' p. 161, &c., by M. de Fonvielle.

Rhine, and Hoche that of the Mosel. The operations of these two armies are matter for a military history. At the close of December the allies were driven from the French territory, and the French again occupied part of the Palatinate. The capture of Lyon and Toulon, and the defeat of the Austrians at Castel Gineste (24th of November) by Masséna, gave the Republic security on the side of the Alps. On the Western Pyrenees the French occupied a position near the river Bidasoa. On the Eastern Pyrenees, they found an obstinate resistance from the Spaniards. and the close of the campaign was unfavourable to the Republic. The French retired to their camp of Union occupying a line which extended from Cabestani to Perpignan, Toulouges, and Thuir.

The Vendéans, after crossing the Loire on the 19th of October, were in a strange country, and ill-provided Henri Larochejacquelein was their commander. Stil they were in considerable force, and they seized several places on the right bank of the Loire. On the 22nd of October they took Laval; and, as the Republican accounts say, shot all the patriots whom they could seize. This success induced some thousands of Bretons to join the Vendéans; and early in November, Fougères, Dol, and Avranches, were in the possession of the rebels. This was their last success. Their design was to secure a place on the coast, and thus to open a communication with England and the emigrants. Ten officers of the navy, who had been parties to the surrender of Toulon to the English, landed from a French frigate at Rochefort, in November, to concert a traitorous scheme; but they were seized and handed over to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Just at this time the Vendéans attacked Granville on the 14th of November, but they were obliged to raise the siege. If they had taken Granville, they would probably have had the support of the English ships which were cruising off Jersey. After a battle at Dol, the Vendéans determined to recross the Loire. But after first making a fruitless attack on Angers, they retired by La Flèche to Mans, of which they took possession. Here they were fallen upon by the Republicans, both in the town and outside, and also hemmed in by Westermann, who had been restored to his command. The Vendéan army was entirely dispersed. Soldiers, men, women, and children, were massacred: the number is unknown. "The route of Mans," says Madame de la Rochejacquelein, who had a narrow escape, "cost fifteen thousand persons their lives: it was not in the battle that most of them died: many were crushed to death in the streets of Mans; others, sick and wounded, remained in the houses, and were massacred; some died in the ditches and in the fields; a considerable number followed the road to Alençon, where they were taken and led to the scaffold.—Such was the deplorable affair of Mans, where the Vendéan army received a mortal blow; it was inevitable: the day on which they quitted the left bank of the Loire with a whole people of women, children, and old men, to seek an asylum in an unknown country, without knowing which road to take, and at the beginning of winter, it was easy to see that we should end with this terrible catastrophe."* Larochejacquelein crossed the Loire at Ancénis with some of his men, but the rest were attacked and fled to Savenay, where they were cut to pieces on the 22nd of December. The isle of Noirmoutier, to which Charrette and D'Elbée escaped, was taken on the 3rd of January, 1794. D'Elbée, who was dying, was carried to the place of execution, and shot in a chair. The war might be considered at an end, but the "infernal columns" and Carrier still carried death and destruction through the miserable country, which had been the scene of insurrection.

Carrier, a native of Auvergne, and a member of the Convention, had been sent to Nantes to restore the patriotism of the West; and after the overthrow of the royalists, he commenced a career of slaughter to which there is no parallel in history. Hundreds of the royalists, men, women, and children, had been shot, or perished in other ways, after the complete rout of the Vendéans; but this did not satisfy Carrier. He formed a body of villains under the name of the Company of Marat, who were his guards, for he was coward, and his executioners. Carrier often kept out of the way himself, surrounded by women and parasites. A man named Lambertye, whom he created adjutant-general, was his willing tool, and emptied the prisons by a general massacre, while the agents of Carrier filled them again. All commerce was suspended; merchants and traders were imprisoned, and their property seized. "We must do this justice to 'arrier," said Jullien (the son) in a letter to Robespierre, "that he has crushed négociantisme, and thundered with energy against the mercantile, aristocratic, and federalist spirit;† but since this he has made error the order of the day even against the patriots themselves, and seems to have designedly set about naking himself dreaded by them.—By an unheard-of proceeding he closed for three days the sittings of a Montagnard Society; and commissioned an insolent secretary to receive the deputations of the popular society." Hundreds of priests were put to death, many of whom were guilty of no other crime than wearing the priestly dress. But the ordinary means of destruction were not rapid enough. Carrier had the bottoms of boats fitted with trap-doors, which could be opened downwards, and he placed his victims in them under pretence of transporting them to another place; when the treacherous doors were opened, the prisoners were plunged into the water. The following is one of Carrier's letters to the Convention, dated the 8th of November, 1793: "The apostolate of reason, enlightening, electrifying every mind, raises it to the level of the revolution; prejudices, superstition, fanaticism, everything is dispersed before the torch of philosophy: Minée, late bishop, now president of the

* 'Mém. de Mde. de la Rochejacquelein,' p. 339.

† 'Papiers Inédits,' &c., iii., 46.

department, has attacked, in a very eloquent discourse the errors and the crimes of the priesthood, and h abjured his office; five curés have followed his exampl and have paid the same homage to reason: an even of another kind seems to be adapted to diminish thei number; ninety of those whom we call refractory were shut up in a boat on the Loire; I have just learned, and the news is quite correct, that they hav all perished in the river." He treated that as accident which was done by his own order. But h soon threw off all disguise, and went himself to be th spectator of these drownings (noyades). These atro cious crimes were committed for many weeks. Some times a male and female, stripped of their cloth a priest and a nun, were tied together face to face, suspended by ropes under the arms, and finally plunge into the river. All this was known to the Convention but they did not interfere. Jullien (the son) wrote several letters to Robespierre and his father, in whic he exposed the infamous proceedings of Carrier. I a letter to Robespierre, dated from Tours, Jullien says "I promised thee some details, my dear friend, abou Carrier and Nantes: I shall inform the Committe of the evil which I have seen: the Committee will be eager to remedy it: three plagues, pestilence, famine, and war, threaten Nantes: there have been shot nea the town a countless number of royalist soldiers; an this mass of dead bodies piled together, added to th pestilential exhalations from the Loire all-polluted with blood, has corrupted the air." He urged tha Carrier should be recalled, and he was recalled by the Committee of Public Safety, but not punished. His just judgment was deferred. On the 21st of February, Carrier presented himself at the Jacobins to underg the scrutiny. Collot d'Herbois was his sponsor, and passed an eulogium on the courage and patriotism of Carrier. Robespierre and the Mountain have been reproached for not punishing Carrier, but Robespierre was not strong enough to send Carrier to the scaffold. That he had the good-will to make short work with him and Collot d'Herbois, is probable enough.

To omit all mention of the atrocities committed by the representatives from the Convention in various parts of France, might be interpreted into a design to disguise them; and yet in fact they are matters of less historical importance than many others which the limits of this work exclude. The particular description of such atrocities might gratify the taste of those who delight in a tale of blood, true or false; and many of the incidents in the French Revolution, which those who read only to pass time, devour so greedily, are only the embellishments of writers of Mémoires, which appear again in writers of history fresh gilt and coloured. The mission of Tallien to Bordeaux is the subject of a chapter by Senart. Some of the facts, he says, are derived from the letters of Tallien: others he must have got from hearsay. Tallien, one of the very worst men that the Revolution vomited forth, played the tyrant in Bordeaux, like Verres in Sicily. He exacted money to a large amount from persons who were in prison: he destroyed commerce; he arrested in one night all the principal merchants in Bordeaux, and sequestrated their goods, books, and correspondence. He lived in luxury while the people were starving: he shut up the clubs when he was not pleased with them. He had the guillotine set up opposite to his own window, from which he witnessed the execution of Biroteau, and many others of his victims. The following picture is exaggerated: "By the side of the dead, and even over their bodies, and also over those of men suffering and expiring from want, rolled the car of Tallien, in which Cabarus, called Donna Theresia, rode with her lover in pompous state, courier before, courier behind: Cabarus wore a red cap: Tallien often rode in an open carriage, and Cabarus, known as a prostitute, appeared as a goddess; in one hand she held a pike, and the other she laid on the shoulder of the representocrat Tallien." (Senart.) This woman, Cabarus, was the daughter of a Frenchman who had settled in Spain. She was married to Monsieur Fontenay, who was under arrest. Tallien found her at Bordeaux, and, like a new Antonius, he was enslaved by the beauty and the charms of the young Spaniard. Senart accuses her of keeping a regular office for selling pardons. It is not charged against her that she was cruel. She afterwards became the wife of Tallien, and assembled around her a brilliant society in the "gilded saloons" of Paris.*

Maignet drenched with blood the valley of the Rhone. In a letter to Couthon he said, "I make he number of those who have been arrested amount o twelve or fifteen thousand." He asked permission to establish a revolutionary tribunal; for if he must send all the prisoners to Paris, in obedience to the ecree of the Convention, it would require an army o convoy them. "Besides," he said, "we must trike terror, and the blow in fact only strikes terror hen it is inflicted before the eyes of those who have ved with the guilty.—Thy sugar, thy coffee, thy live oil," he continues, "are on the road: thou wilt eceive all in a few days—remember me to thy dear alf; a kiss for thy little Hippolyte." † In a letter Payan, then a national agent, Maignet writes like man deeply impressed with the importance of his ission, and anxious to discharge his duty,—"by atisfying the vengeance of the people." He begged ayan to name to him "a dozen true republicans, men f morals and probity." He wanted some of them for is revolutionary tribunal, and to employ others, in

* Thibaudeau, 'Mém.,' i., 131. Tallien says, in a letter Robespierre, June 13, 1794: "Ask of those who know Bordeaux, what my conduct has been in this commune: hey will tell thee that energy, prudence, and justice, have esided over all my operations." The hypocrisy of this tter is disgusting. Tallien attempted to throw the blame the atrocities of Bordeaux on young Jullien; and Louvet's orthless 'Mémoires' have perpetuated this absurd falsehood. See the letter of Jullien at the end of the 'Mémoires Louvet,' Paris, 1823.

† 'Papiers Inédits,' &c., ii., p. 338.



THE NOYADES.

case of need, as national agents. "The courier who carries this letter will wait for thy answer." * Maignet wished to "purge the soil and the constituted authorities, of the federalists, of the knaves who dishonour them." So earnest was he, that he sent his secretary, Lavigne, to Paris; who addressed a letter to Robespierre, written in a tone of adulation, and pressing him to attend the Committee of Public Safety, where this matter of the revolutionary tribunal was to be discussed. Two days afterwards, Lavigne wrote to Couthon, to urge for a decision, and he said that "he would wait at the door to learn from him when he came out, if any decision had been made." The inference is, that the Committee were not very eager about this matter, and particularly Robespierre. At last all seems to have been settled to Maignet's satisfaction, and a letter from Juge, member of the Committee of Surveillance of Valréas, to Payan, informed him, "that the holy guillotine was going daily." In another letter he says that Maignet "had done the greatest good." In a third he says, "Maignet works day and night to improve the department; and when he goes he will carry with him the regret of all who know him: to all appearances, more than three thousand heads will fall in this department."

The minister of death in the north was a priest, Joseph Lebon, a native of Arras, the birth-place of Robespierre, and once vicar of Vernoi, near Beaune, where he is said to have had the character of a man of piety and strict morals. He became an ardent revolutionist, took the constitutional oath, and finally abdicated his ecclesiastical functions, and married. Being elected to the Convention, and known for his republican sentiments, he was sent by the Committee of Public Safety to purge the frontier departments of Nord and Pas de Calais. His measures were so mild that he was denounced at the Jacobins, recalled to Paris, and reproved. One reproof was enough for him. He returned to his mission a furious and insatiable murderer. He was apparently a man with a weak head, made still weaker by a wild fanaticism; but fear, the great moving principle of the Reign of Terror, may have worked on a disposition which was naturally sanguinary, and might never have been developed if he had continued in his function of an humble priest. So true it is that few men's true character is well known: it is opportunity which shows what men really are. Elevation to high rank and station bring out the insolence that lurked beneath the obscurity of a low condition. Wealth and the means of indulgence do not so much corrupt, as show that he who knows not how to use them well, was temperate and frugal, only because he was poor. Power, the most intoxicating, the most trying of the gifts of fortune, revealed under the garb of this austere priest the native ferocity of his savage temper. Nobody believes that the truly humane and sincere minister

* The answer is in the 'Papiers Inédits,' &c., ii., p. 354, and a letter from Payan to Robespierre about this matter, p. 352. There are other letters on the subject in the collection.

of religion can be changed into a wild beast, because he has given to him the power to destroy. The executions during Lebon's mission at Arras and Cambray were made the more revolting by his brutal behaviour, his disregard of decency, his hypocrisy, his studied cruelty. An order of the Committee of Public Safety (30th Germinal, An 2) declared that "the Committee of Public Safety being informed by the representative of the people, Lebon, of the important circumstances which render necessary the tribunal which had been established to repress conspirators, resolved that the said tribunal shall continue the exercise of its functions." This was signed by C. A. Prieur, Robespierre, B. Barrère, and Billaud-Varennes. Thus Robespierre is convicted of being directly an accomplice in the crimes of Lebon. The answer of Lebon to the Committee of Public Safety begins thus: "Your resolution to continue the functions of the Revolutionary Tribunal sitting in this commune (Arras) has been a thunderbolt to intrigue, moderantism, and aristocracy: the general law for sending the conspirators from all parts of the Republic to Paris, had been interpreted by some villains here as a disapproval of the proceedings of the Tribunal and the rapidity of its judgments, but the courier, the happy courier is come: everybody was impatiently expecting him: I open the paquet, I read the resolution: a thousand cries of joy are raised, and patriotism resúmes new strength." *

* This correspondence of Lebon, and other letters, are in the 'Papiers Inédits,' &c., iii., 242.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE HÉBERTISTES AND DANTONISTES.

The Jacobins have left no history behind them, and they have had no historian. Those who destroyed Robespierre and his adherents, attempted to throw on them the whole odium of the Reign of Terror; and the trick of these notorious scoundrels has so far succeeded as to make Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, appear guilty of all the excesses of the Revolution. St. Just and Lebas were sent on an extraordinary mission t Alsace, which is comprehended in the department of Bas-Rhin, where the frontier was exposed after the loss of the lines of Weissembourg. There were already other representatives of the people there. During the mission of St. Just and Lebas no blood was shed. There had been two executions at Strassburg before they came, and there were none after their arrival. Their conduct was resolute and arbitrary. Their words were few: they gave their orders, and they were obeyed.* They arrested and sent to Paris eight-and-twenty of the administrators of Bas Rhin upon a suspicion of their communicating with the enemy; and it is probable that their suspicions were ill-founded. They ordered the destruction of all the stone statues which were about the 'Temple of Reason;' but Monet the mayor covered them with boards, on which he fixed the public notices; and St. Just and Lebas winked at this evasion of their order, which "was only a concession made to the demands of Hébertism." They ordered the provisional establishment, in every canton or commune of Bas Rhin, of a school for gratuitous instruction in the French language: the department was ordered to supply the necessary money out of the forced loan on the rich, and to account to the Convention. St. Just and Lebas are charged with having caused the emigrations from Alsace, but unjustly. Another matter for which they were blamed, was the disgrace and imprisonment of Hoche, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the North and of the Mosel on the 4th of December, 1793. Hoche had succeeded in raising the blockade of Landau, and had taken Germersheim, Spires, and Worms; but he had not followed the orders of the Committee of Public Safety. Complaints were made in the Convention of the arrest of the administrators of Bas Rhin, a measure which was executed with the view of preventing suspected treason; but there was no complaint against Carrier, Fouché, Collot d'Herbois, and André Dumont, who informed the Convention, by a letter dated 1st January, 1794, that in the departments of Somme, Pas de Calais, L'Oise, "the villains had mounted the cart, that saints had been burnt, and that at Boulogne the celebrated, most incomprehensible, and holy black Virgin had been reduced to ashes without any miracle." On the 1st of January, 1791, old Marshal Luckner and the son of Custine were brought to the scaffold.

The anti-religious mummeries were not yet finished. Towards the close of 1793 a stupid piece was produced at the Opera, in which a grand mass was sung for the purpose of ridicule; but this profanation was stopped by an order of the Committee of Public Safety, signed by Robespierre, Barrère, A. Prieur, Billaud-Varennes, R. Lindet, and Collot d'Herbois. The Dantonistes, as they are called, resumed their attacks in the Convention against the agents of the executive; and the bad state of the supplies for the army was the first ground of attack. Bourdon de l'Oise next proposed that a check should be laid on the employment of the public money: he affirmed that Bouchotte, the minister of war, had taken 120,000 francs from the national

* A collection of the orders arrêtés of St. Just and Lebas was given to the editors of the 'Hist. Parlem.' by a son of Lebas, and is printed in vol. xxxi., 34, &c.

treasury "to support a journalist whose name should not pollute that place." He meant Hébert. Danton supported Bourdon, and it was decreed that "no minister should take any money from the public treasury except by virtue of a decree made on the report of a committee." Robespierre remarked on this decree, in his discourse upon Fabre d'Eglantine, that the armies would have wanted their proper supplies, if the Committee of Public Safety had not violated the decree in order to save the Republic.* After this, Philippeaux denounced Ronsin, Rossignol, and other agents of the ministry, for the conduct of the war in La Vendée. His accusation was referred to the Committees of Public Safety and General Security; a measure which greatly dissatisfied Robespierre.

The Jacobins were busy with Camille Desmoulins and his 'Vieux Cordelier.' Robespierre said that he had formerly defended Camille, and friendship allowed him to do so; but he must now hold a different language: Camille had promised to abjure the political heresies, the erroneous propositions, which covered the pages of the 'Vieux Cordelier.' He said that Cami was a spoiled child, with a good disposition perverted by bad company: they should be severe against his numbers, which were such as even Brissot would not have avowed, and keep Desmoulins among them: but he moved that the numbers of Camille should be burnt before the society as an example. "That is well said, Robespierre," replied Camille, "but I will reply to thee in Rousseau's words: to burn is not to answer." On this Robespierre read Camille a severe lesson. Camille said that Robespierre had seen the numbers, and that he had asked Robespierre's advice as to the way in which he should go. Robespierre affirmed that he had only seen one or two numbers. Danton said a word for Camille, and it was agreed that numbers 4 and 3 should be read before the society. The Jacobins might have found more amusement and instruction in those numbers than in their own debates. The tenor of number 3 was to stop the guillotine, and it recommended a Committee of Clemency. The fourth number contains a lively picture, chiefly from Tacitus, of the reigns of Terror at Rome. Robespierre said that it was useless to read the fifth number, "for opinion could not fail to be fixed as to Camille: you see in his works the most revolutionary principles by the side of maxims of the most pernicious moderantism." The fifth number professes to state the sums that Hébert had received from the minister Bouchotte;* and it contains Camille's defence of his political conduct. On the 10th of January he was expelled from the Jacobins. But Robespierre still defended him, while he blamed him. He did not wish to part with his old friend, and Camille was restored to the Jacobins.

The 21st of January was a festival: it was the anniversary of the day on which the "tyrant" was beheaded, and was kept with due solemnity. The Convention accompanied a deputation of the Jacobins to the Place de la Révolution, just at the moment when four persons were mounting the scaffold. Bourdon de l'Oise complained of this the next day in the Convention, as a system devised to make the national representation appear like cannibals; and he moved, and it was carried, that the authors of this system should be sought after and punished. But the coincidence was accidental: executions were a daily occurrence, and it was a sudden resolve of the Convention to pay a visit to the Place de la Révolution. Bourdon was evidently aiming to bring the Committee of Public Safety into discredit. He carried a motion which required the Committee of Public Safety to examine the conduct of the minister of war. This encouraged the Hébertistes to try to induce the Jacobins to interfere in favour of Vincent and Ronsin, but Robespierre opposed them; and he got a hearing for one of his discourses, which was against the British Government. The Hébertistes now presented a petition to the Convention in favour of Ronsin and Vincent, who, upon the report of the Committee of General Security, were released. Fabre d'Eglantine, upon whose motion they had been arrested, was in prison. Bourdon de l'Oise, Philippeaux, and Legendre, opposed the release of the prisoners; but Danton got up and recommended oblivion, and thus smoothed the way for a settlement of this question.

The Convention were not solely occupied in quarrelling. They passed a decree for establishing a system of primary instruction, which contained many excellent provisions; another decree, on the proposal of Grégoire, for the composition of useful elementary books; and a third for the establishment of a public library in every district, a measure which had been called for by the addresses of a great number of popular societies.

On the 4th of February the Convention abolished slavery in all the French colonies: they declared that all men, without distinction of colour, who were domiciliated in the colonies, were French citizens, and should enjoy all the rights secured by the Constitution. Great Britain had not yet even abolished the slave-trade. In the midst of foreign war and domestic broils, the Committee of Public Instruction were obscurely pursuing their useful labours. Among the members were David, the painter, who was dictator in the arts, and Fourcroy. The Committee was in daily

* Printed 'Hist. Parl.,' xxx., 157. This discourse was written, but never delivered. It explains Robespierre's views of the position of the Committee of Public Safety, and the two parties opposed to it, "one of which appeared inclined to an excess of energy, the other to weakness; factions in appearance opposed, but in reality united by a tacit pact, the heads of which parties possessed the secret of directing them by the influence of foreign tyrants; factions which, by their mutual crimes, were reciprocally an excuse and a support to one another, and by opposite roads tended to the same end, the destruction of the Republic and the ruin of Liberty."

* Bouchotte's reply and criticism of Thiers' account of this affair is printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxi., 234.

communication with Daubenton, Lagrange, Monge, Prony, Corvisart, and other distinguished men. The school for the deaf and dumb was under the care of Sicard; and Daubenton superintended the Jardin des Plantes. The brothers Thouin looked after the plants Jussieu, Lamarck, and Fourcroy, taught there.*

On the 5th of February, Robespierre, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, read a report on the principles of political morality which ought to guide the National Convention in the internal administration of the Republic. It will be judged by many people according to their passions and their prejudices: the selfish man will ridicule it; the fastidious man will sneer at some of the exaggerations; the honest and reflecting man will give it a careful perusal and its just censure and praise. In this memorable document the ultra-revolutionists and the moderates might read their doom: Hébert's was clearly shown, and Camille Desmoulins might see that the system of clemency which he was preaching in the 'Vieux Cordelier,' would leave no clemency for him. Bishop Gobel, who had made a fool of himself, might see that he must pay the penalty on the scaffold; and Fouché, Tallien, Collot d'Herbois, and Carrier, that their punishment was only deferred. Robespierre's own fate was in it: he must exterminate the ultra-revolutionists, or perish himself. Robespierre defended the Convention, the Committee of Public Safety, and the system of Terror: "Terror is nothing but justice, prompt, severe, inflexible.—Indulgence for the royalists! say some; mercy for villains! no! Mercy for innocence, mercy for the weak, mercy for the unfortunate, mercy for humanity."—"What," he said in the beginning of the report, "is the end at which we are aiming The peaceable enjoyment of Liberty and Equality, the reign of that eternal justice whose laws are graven, not on marble and on stone, but in the hearts of all men, even in the heart of the slave who forgets them, and of the tyrant who denies them."—"The citizen must submit to the magistrate, the magistrate to the people, and the people to justice; the principle of justice is Equality and Fraternity." The doctrine of Fraternity or brotherhood is only founded on Duty, which is therefore here implied. "Here is the first manifestation of duty: everything is Christian in the ideas, though the word is not the —There is no doubt a great distance between the conceptions of the Jacobin leader on morality and that which is the base of our doctrine, of us Frenchmen in the nineteenth century, which defines it as the sovereign and absolute criterion in all things, which acknowledges and teaches that it is the law of God revealed by his son Jesus Christ; but there is nothing affirmed in any part of Robespierre's report which is opposed to the Christian doctrine." † This may be true, but there is no recognition of the Christian doctrine. Robespierre was simply a deist.

The prisons of France were crowded with the suspected: the recommendation of Camille Desmoulins, in the 'Vieux Cordelier,' was to open them: "Open the prisons to those two hundred thousand citizens whom you call suspected, for in the Declaration of Rights there is no prison for suspicion; there are only prisons for those who are under arrest: suspicion has no prisons, but the public accuser has; there are no suspected persons, there are only persons accused of crimes fixed by the law." In a note Desmoulins added, that he did not propose that the doors should be thrown wide open, but that the four or six secret examiners, decreed by the Convention, should examine the suspected one by one, and restore them to liberty, if their release did not endanger the Republic. On the report of St. Just, made on the 26th of February, 1794, the Convention decreed that the Committee of General Security should have power to release patriots who were confined, upon their giving a satisfactory account of their conduct since the 1st of May, 1789; the property of persons who were proved to be enemies of the Revolution was forfeited to the Republic, and they were to be confined until the peace, and then banished for ever. This report is directed against the faction of the *indulgens*, against the preachers of clemency. "Revolutions," says St. Just, "proceed from weakness to audacity, and from crime to virtue: we must not flatter ourselves that we can establish a solid empire without difficulties; we must carry on a long war against all pretensions; and as human interest is invincible, it is only by the sword that the liberty of a people is established."—"You must acknowledge this principle, that he alone has rights in our country who has assisted in liberating it." This was an attack on the doctrine of rights natural, inalienable, and imprescriptible. There was, he said, a revolutionary tribunal for the factious, prompt and speedy in its judgments; "the system of the Republic is bound to the destruction of aristocracy." The report of St. Just, which was adopted by the Convention, is a declaration of pitiless severity against the enemies of "liberty." He said that he spoke in the sincerity of his heart; but mercy had no place in it.

The late discourse of Robespierre emboldened the Lyonnais to denounce, at the bar of the Convention, Lapallu, one of the leaders of the Revolutionary army, an aide-de-camp of the representative Javogues, who recruited victims round Lyon, and sent them to Fouché. When Collot d'Herbois left Lyon, his agents continued to follow his example; and such were the atrocities committed, that the troops of the line in garrison at Lyon quarrelled with the revolutionary army. The Committee of Public Safety suspended Javogues, but he continued to act in spite of their order, until the Convention summoned him to Paris, and sent him to account to the Committee of Public Safety. But the Committee did not send him to the Revolutionary Tribunal: they must have sent Carrier, Fouché, and Collot d'Herbois too. The affair was overlooked; but Lapallu was sent to prison, and in

* Thibaudeau, 'Mém. sur la Convention,' &c., i., 73.
† 'Hist. Parlem.,' xxxi., p. 267.

a few months executed, with Chaumette and bishop Gobel for his companions. The greater criminals escaped. Collot d'Herbois, on the evening of the 26th of February, gave his own interpretation at the Jacobins to the measure of St. Just for releasing the patriots: "This," he said, "would give strength to the friends of liberty, who would be restored to their true element; they would plunge again into the revolution, to come out of it with new vigour." This meant that such fellows as Lapallu should again commence their bloody career. Robespierre was ill, and not at the sittings of the Jacobins at the close of February, when Carrier underwent the scrutiny. His illness might be simulated to avoid a contest on the admission of Carrier. Whatever may be the cause, the Hébertistes made use of the opportunity to attempt an insurrection, and the club of the Cordeliers was the centre of the movement. Carrier and Collot d'Herbois were ready to join Hébert and his party; but they soon saw that the Hébertistes had no power; and they withdrew in time, and left Hébert and his friends to their fate. In vain Hébert declaimed at the Cordeliers, on the 9th of March, against "the audacity of certain writers who had dared to publish that the society aimed at a dissolution of the National Assembly, creating a schism between it and the Jacobins, and thus overthrowing the basis of government." The hand of power was upon him. St. Just, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, made his report, on the 13th of March, "on the factions of the foreigner, and on the conspiracy formed by them in the French Republic to destroy the Republican government by corruption, and to famish Paris." Hébert and his crew were thrown into prison, and brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. They were twenty, and among them were Ronsin, Hébert, Vincent, Momoro, Kock a banquer and a Dutchman, Pereyra, Anacharsis Clootz, Proly, and a woman named Quetineau. Their trial was in the usual fashion, and the evidence as vague as usual. They were found guilty, all except a man named Laboureau, of a conspiracy to dissolve the National Convention, assassinate the members, seize the sovereignty of the people, and destroy the Republican government, in order to substitute for it a tyrannical power. There seems no reason to doubt that Hébert and his men were attempting an insurrection; but the evidence proves nothing at all as to the charges on which they were convicted. Laboureau was merely a spy of the Committee of Public Safety, and was implicated in the charge that he might inform them of any communication between the prisoners in their prison. He addressed a report on these matters to the Committee, which was found among Robespierre's papers.

The arrest of Hébert, Vincent, and others, was joyful news to the prisoners in Paris. Père Duchesne came bound hand and foot. Ronsin, who commenced his career by writing bad tragedies, was suspected by the prisoners of having had a design to clear the prisons by a tragedy like that of September. Momoro's wife, who had acted the goddess of Reason on one occasion, sorrowed in prison for her husband's fate. Clootz consoled his companions, and preached his doctrines to the last. Père Duchesne went to the scaffold amidst the curses of the crowd, and their contempt for his pusillanimity. (24th of March.)

The winter of 1793 and 1794 was a time of severe suffering for the poor. Perhaps there was not so much scarcity as want of the means to purchase necessaries. There was enough for those who had money; and even in the prisons the rich could get what they wanted. The prison life is one of the characteristics of the period. A prison is essentially demoralizing, when it is merely a place of confinement in which people are shut up together with nothing to do. Yet many contrived to pass the time innocently, and to alleviate their sorrows by mutual sympathy and kind attention to the wants of others. Political prisoners were sometimes mingled with thieves, robbers, and forgers. New prisoners daily came; and daily were the old ones summoned before the Revolutionary Tribunal, which was the short road to the scaffold. Young and old, rich and poor, nobles and men of mean estate—the prisons received all. There was no respect to persons. An old lady of eighty-four, her female companion, and her gardener, came in one company. The prisoners often found their numbers increased by the very men to whose denunciations they owed their arrest. The journal of what daily occurred in the prisons presents a better picture than any generalization.* Some prisons were much better than others, both as for air and other conveniences. The Maison d'arrêt des Carmes was ill-lighted: the windows were closed in the lower part, and the upper part had strong iron bars. The corridors had no ventilation, and were filled with the pestiferous smell of the privies. The men were generally without cravats, with shirts and trowsers only, dirty, bare-legged, a handkerchief round their head, hair uncombed, and beard unshorn. The women wore a small wrapper. This dirty prison at one time contained the future empress of the French, the widow of general Beauharnais, afterwards the wife of Bonaparte.

The scarcity was met by putting in execution the law of the maximum, which was passed on the 29th of September, 1793. On the 22nd of February, 1794, the Convention published a table of the maximum prices, which contains many curious regulations, and shows the rise in prices since 1790. As a statistical monument it is instructive. As an attack on liberty, in a matter which of all others should be left free, it has not the demerit of originality; for the emperor Diocletian established a maximum for all the Roman empire. To diminish the price of provisions, Legendre, though he was a butcher, proposed that the Convention should decree a civic fast. There was no decree, but there was a general abstinence observed

* Maison d'arrêt de Port-Libre, commonly called La Bourbe, in the 'Mém. sur les Prisons,' vol. ii., p. 1, &c.

voluntarily. The patriots of the capital had set the example of eating no meat.

The arrest and condemnation of the ultra-revolutionists, of Hébert and his faction, brought on the ruin of the Dantonistes. Robespierre denounced the Hébertistes as having conspired to destroy liberty, and he added, "All the factions must perish by the same blow." He made himself guilty of all the innocent blood that had been shed by the Revolutionary Tribunal by this declaration (15th March, 1794): "The justice of the Revolutionary Tribunal, of this tribunal which hitherto has been as inexorable as impartial which has distinguished the guilty, and punished only the guilty, terrifies these conspirators who call the people to rise against the Convention." Couthon said that the evidence of a conspiracy was accumulating in the hands of the Committee of General Security. Robespierre prepared a report on the affair of Chabot but like his report on the faction of Fabre d'Eglantine it was not accepted by his colleagues, which seems to show that he was not yet all-powerful in the Committee of Public Safety. While this Committee was discussing a new list of conspirators to succeed Hébert and his faction before the Revolutionary Tribunal there was nothing but denunciation going on in the Convention. Those who feared to be attacked tried to save themselves by attacking others. Robespierre's party was not inactive. On the 17th of March, St Just announced the arrest of Hérault Séchelles and Simond, who were accused of complicity with the enemies of the Republic, and the Convention sanctioned the arrest by a decree. On the 20th of March, while there was no member of the Committee of Public Safety in the Convention, a decree was passed for the arrest of Héron, the principal agent of the Committee of General Security, which was a direct attack on the Committee. The Committee of General Security ran to the Committee of Public Safety to aid in the rescue, and Couthon and Robespierre were forthwith before the Convention. "I know not Héron," said Couthon, "I have never seen him—but the Committee of General Security has informed the Committee of Public Safety that the Republic was indebted to Héron for having detected and reached the greatest conspirators, and specially those whom their fortune made dangerous; and it was because he had shown so much vigour in executing the decrees of the Convention and the orders of the Committee of General Security, that his arrest has been called for." Robespierre said that he would not speak of Héron personally: he always affected to disregard individuals, and to look only to the general interest. As to Héron, the two committees had inquired of the public accuser, and ascertained that he had no charge to make against Héron; and Robespierre proceeded in his usual way to treat the general question of the danger of liberty and the conspiracies of factions. He may have believed what he said: "It is true that a faction which aimed at tearing in pieces the country, is near expiring; but the other is not struck down; and this faction would seek in the fall of the first a kind of triumph, in all which the Republic goes for nothing." If Robespierre was sincere, he believed in the existence of another faction, which it was necessary to destroy. If he was not, no hypocrisy is comparable to his.

The disbanding of the Revolutionary army on the 27th of March, upon the report of Barrère, is evidence that the Committee of Public Safety was now opposed to some of the excesses that had disgraced their sanguinary administration. It might be too, that they were afraid of it.

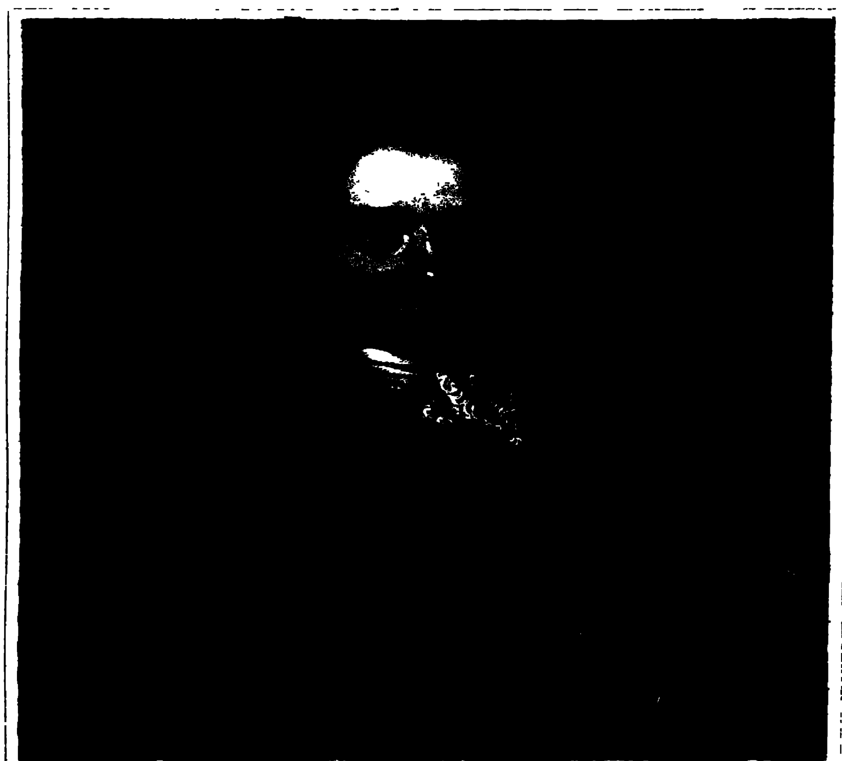
On the 31st of March, Tallien was president of the Convention. "Citizens," said Legendre, "four members of this Assembly were arrested last night: I know that Danton is one of them; I know not the names of the rest: what matters it who they are, if they are guilty? but I move that they be brought before the bar, where you will hear them, and where they will be accused or acquitted by you—I believe that Danton is as pure as myself, and I do not think that any man can reproach me with any act which is contrary to the most scrupulous probity—I do not address any member of the Committees of Public Safety and General Security, but I have reason to fear that private hatred and individual passions are depriving of their liberty men who have rendered it the greatest, the most useful services." "By the trouble, long unknown, which reigns in this Assembly," said Robespierre, "by the agitation produced by the words of him who has just spoken, it is easy to see that a great interest is in question; that the question is, whether certain men shall to-day prevail over our country: what then is this change in the principles of the members of this Assembly, which appears to show itself to-day, in the principles of those, above all, who sit on a side which is proud of having always been the asylum of the most intrepid defenders of liberty? Why is a doctrine which a short time ago was considered criminal and contemptible, reproduced to-day? Why was this motion, when it was made by Danton in favour of Bazire, Chabot, Fabre d'Eglantine, and rejected, why has it just now been favourably received by a part of the members of this Assembly? Why? Because the question to-day is, whether the interest of certain ambitious hypocrites shall prevail over the interest of the French nation.—Legendre appears not to know the names of those who have been arrested: all the Convention knows them: his friend Lacroix is among the prisoners. Why does he pretend to be ignorant of it? Because he knows that he cannot defend Lacroix without shame. He has spoken of Danton, doubtless because he thinks that a privilege is attached to this name: no, we will have no privilege; no, we will have no idols: we shall see to-day whether the Convention will break a false idol, long since rotten, or whether in its fall it will crush the Convention and the French people.—I say whoever now trembles is guilty, for never does innocence dread public surveillance.—Me too, me they have tried to alarm; it has been attempted to make me believe that the danger

which threatens Danton might reach me.—I have been written to: the friends of Danton have sent me letters, have besieged me with their importunities: they have thought that the remembrance of a former acquaintance, that a past belief in false virtues might determine me to relax in my zeal and my passion for liberty. Well then: I declare that none of these motives has touched my soul with the slightest impression—my life is for my country, my heart is exempt from fear; and if I die, it shall be without reproach and without ignominy. I have seen in the flattery which has been addressed to me, in the concern of those who surrounded Danton, only signs of the terror which they felt, even before they were threatened. And I too, I have been the friend of Pétion: as soon as he was unmasked, I abandoned him: I have also been acquainted with Roland: he became a traitor, and I denounced him. Danton would take their place, and in my eyes he is but an enemy to his country." Legendre shrunk with terror before Robespierre: his own life hung on a thread: he said that Robespierre little knew him, if he did not think him capable of sacrificing an individual to liberty. Legendre's proposal was dropped; and St. Just walked into the hall, and read a long report, in the name of the two Committees, after which the Convention passed a decree of impeachment against Camille Desmoulins, Hérault, Danton, Philippeaux, and Lacroix, who were charged with being accomplices of the duke of Orleans and Dumouriez, of Fabre d'Eglantine, and the enemies of the Republic, of being parties to the conspiracy for the restoration of the monarchy and the destruction of the national representation and the Republican government. The report of St. Just is full of vague declamation. The charges against Danton are such as a man might collect from the whole course of his revolutionary life, but in the particulars all is vague. It is not very easy to follow this man's career, for with a great affectation of openness, and much good nature, he joined a large share of cunning, and much less courage than he has had credit for. He cared not for the revolution except as a thing to work for his advantage: he loved pleasure and enjoyment, had no personal animosities, and was not cruel, though he was one of the men of September. The direct evidence of his dishonesty is perhaps less than will satisfy the most rigid rules of proof; but a conviction of his venality, of his want of all integrity, is irresistible, if any one will take the pains to track his tortuous course. The charges against him in the report may be true or false, his trial a mockery, and his condemnation and execution merely the vengeance of his implacable enemies: but his punishment was a just retribution.*

Danton and fourteen others were be[fore] the Revolutionary Tribunal on the 2nd of April, [1]794, and the three following days. Ex-capucin Chabot, and the Freys, Basire, Fabre d'Eglantine, Lacroix, Delaunay of Angers, Hérault Séchelles, Camille Desmoulins, Philippeaux, and Westermann, were among the number. When Danton was asked his domicile, he said: "It will soon be nowhere, and my name in the Pantheon." To the question, What was his age? Desmoulins is said to have replied, "I am thirty-three, (but he was thirty-four), the age of the sans-culotte Jesus, an age dangerous to revolutionists."* It is impossible to form any conclusion from the trials before a Revolutionary Tribunal. There is neither precise charge, nor precise evidence: all is confusion. Danton was violent: he was like a wild beast caught in a trap. In his defence he lied on many points. There was an immense crowd in and round the court, and in all the adjoining streets. The windows were open, and Danton's loudest sallies were heard even to the opposite side of the Seine. What he said was transmitted from one to another, and speedily circulated among the people outside. It was the last effort of a man struggling for his life, with some hope of exciting the populace. But his violence prejudiced his cause, and his enemies cut off all chance of a popular reaction by announcing the discovery of a conspiracy in the prisons to save the Dantonistes and overthrow the Committee of Public Safety. "At the commencement of the third day's sitting," says the report of the trial, "Danton and Lacroix renewed their shame-

* The evidence of Danton's venality to the court, in Bertrand de Moleville's 'Mém.' (iii., 183,) is not conclusive, simply because Bertrand cannot be entirely trusted. The nature of this evidence has been sometimes mis-stated. If Bertrand told the truth, the evidence is complete. There is nothing more improbable in Danton being purchased than in Mirabeau. Lafayette's evidence on Danton's selling himself to the court is clear and precise. Danton and Lacroix are charged with forging assignats, and Senart (p. 96) affirms that there was proof of it. It is said that Danton died poor. Let the evidence go for what it is worth. But a man may die poor, either because he never had anything, or because he spent much, and Danton was fond of luxury. Danton played a great part in a revolution, in which the number of honest men was not great; and he is not one of the number. To make a great personage of him, a kind of hero, is ludicrous. After the 10th of August he displayed vigour on a few occasions, but his step is unsteady, his course wavering, because he had no end to aim at. The crime of moderantism, for which he really suffered, is the evidence of the natural humanity of his disposition and of his want of steady purpose. If he had overthrown Robespierre in a struggle for clemency, he might have merited some respect. But he tamely allowed the Committee of Public Safety to lay their hand upon him, and forewarned of his danger from Robespierre, all he could say in his coarse way was, "If I could believe it, I would eat his bowels out."—"Five or six days after, this man so terrible, let himself be arrested like a child, and killed like a lamb." (Thibaudeau, 'Mém.,' , 60.)

* 'Aperçus Historiques, &c. sur Cam. Desmoulins,' prefixed to the edition of the 'Vieux Cordelier,' Paris, 1825. The editors of the 'Vieux Cordelier' have suppressed a passage in one of the numbers, which was too offensive to religion to be printed; and those who wish to see it must consult the original edition. If Desmoulins did not make the answer contained in the text, it was just the kind of answer that he would have prided himself on.



Engraved by J. Mollison

VOLTAIRE.

From an original Picture by Largil[illegible]
in the collection of the Institute of [illegible]

[illegible] Ludgate Street

less behaviour, and demanded, in terms far from respectful, that their witnesses should be heard: it was obvious that their object was to rouse the audience and to excite some movement in their favour." To silence the accused, a decree of the Convention was read to them, which had been passed during the trial upon the report of St. Just. It declared that every person accused of a conspiracy, who should resist or insult the national justice, should forthwith be put *hors des debats;* he should no longer be heard. The public accuser told Danton and Lacroix that there was a crowd of witnesses against them, but conformably to the orders of the Convention he should not call them, and that the accused must not reckon on having their witnesses heard; they would be tried on the written evidence only, and to this only they must confine their defence. They were all found guilty, and sentenced to die.

Camille took with him to prison 'Young's Night Thoughts' and 'Hervey's Meditations,' for which he was reproved by a fellow-prisoner, who was studying Voltaire's 'Pucelle.' Hérault Séchelles read Rousseau. Danton talked to be heard. He had no true elevation of character. He raved incoherently on all subjects. Like Falstaff, he babbled about green fields. He found Thomas Paine* in prison, and wished him good-day in English. "What you hav done," he said, "for the happiness and liberty of your country, I have in vain attempted to do for mine; I have been less fortunate, but I am not guilty.— They will send me to the scaffold; well, my friends, I shall go merrily." Chabot took a dose of poison; but his pains made him cry out, and the aid that he received only prolonged them. The condemned went to execution in one cart. Camille was so violent, that when he got to the scaffold he had torn nearly all his clothes off his back. "Be quiet," said Danton, "and don't trouble yourself about the vile rabble." Desmoulins recovered his courage before he submitted to the axe. "This is the recompense," he said, "of the first apostle of liberty: the monsters who assassinate me, will not survive long."

Camille had a young and affectionate wife, to whom he wrote several most tender letters from his prison. Robespierre was present at Camille's marriage, and had always shown some liking for him: even up to the time of his arrest he was on friendly terms with him. Camille gave the signal for insurrection in Paris in 1789. He had much to answer for. His pamphlets encouraged the violence of the people, and he received the name of Procureur de la Lanterne, of which he was proud. But he was soon alarmed at the consequence of his own preaching, and said that he was sorry to see the use of the lantern becoming so common. He afterwards wittily remarked, that he had resigned his office in favour of Père Duchesne. He made some amends in the latter part of his life. He was guiltless of the blood of September, and he died because he advocated clemency. He had neither fixity of purpose nor definite aim enough to entitle him to the name of a political man. His Republic was a vague phantom of Greece and Rome; his morality was none. As a writer he is inimitable in his kind; and amidst the enormous mass of rubbish which the Revolution produced, his journals will ever be read with pleasure for their wit and humour, their lively portraiture, their keen satire, generally free from ribaldry and grossness.

About the close of April, a new batch of victims was sent to the scaffold, on a charge of conspiring against the liberty and security of the French people, and so forth. Among them were general Arthur Dillon, bishop Gobel, the notorious Pierre Gaspard Chaumette, called Anaxagoras, the wife of Hébert, formerly a nun, and others. The widow of Camille Desmoulins was among them. Anaxagoras Chaumette, bishop Gobel, and Madame Desmoulins, involved in one charge of conspiracy is ludicrous. Madame Desmoulins' death was an atrocious act of cruelty, for there was nothing that could be alleged against her, except that she had been the wife of Desmoulins. Her mother, Madame Duplessis, is said to have written a letter to Robespierre; but if genuine, it was not in a strain to mollify his unfeeling heart. Whether he received it or not, is unknown. Pity and remorse were stifled in his bosom. If the husband was sacrificed as a political antagonist, the death of the wife was merely an act of cowardly hatred and implacable malice. Robespierre's preaching was forgotten: Mercy for innocence, mercy for the weak, mercy for the unfortunate, mercy for humanity." *

* I have written his name Payne hitherto, following the French authorities; but, as is well known, his name was Paine. Gouverneur Morris says that Paine had become a sot, and was very dirty in his person. He amused himself in prison "with publishing a pamphlet against Jesus Christ." 'Life of Gouverneur Morris,' by J. Sparks, ii., 393.

* There are some remarks about the Hébertistes and Dantonistes by Gouverneur Morris, then American ambassador at Paris. If his views are not just, they are worth reading, as the opinion of a foreigner who was an eyewitness. (Life, by J. Sparks, vol. ii.)

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE FESTIVAL OF THE SUPREME BEING.

The great acts of the Revolution are not the sufferings of individuals. It is a trick of literary art to seize and expatiate on the tragic incidents, to exaggerate, to embellish them; to fix attention by decoration and glittering show, to re-produce a few striking situations, and to make the whole dramatic action subordinate. The good and bad of a great revolution, the events which are the source of happiness or misery to countless numbers, are lost in the tales, ten times told, of individual sorrows; and the lessons of history remain unproductive and sterile. If that great event which, in its consequences, has convulsed all Europe, is merely to furnish matter for an idle hour, a man had better read a romance. But the actual condition of society impels every reflecting man to consider what is the real significance of those events, which from time to time shake the social fabric to its foundations. If a political system is not based on justice, if the idea of duty is lost among a people and those who rule, it is in the nature or constitution of things that disorder must arise. In France there was a rapid change from a system called a monarchy, to a system the basis of which was declared to be Liberty and Equality, and the Natural Rights of Man. The old system was intelligible; and what was bad in it was known to all. The new one had no foundation: it was conceived vaguely, as a thing must be that is incapable of a definite expression or formula: it was untried, full of hope and promise. But out of the contending elements of resistance to change, of fanaticism, ignorance, dishonesty and hypocrisy, came another tyranny, in a new shape. The monarchy left nothing behind it: it was a total wreck. France was stripped bare and naked, all save the tattered vestment of the faith of the great mass of the people in the religion of their ancestors. Even this threadbare garment the Hébertistes would have thrown off, and the Jacobins would not mend; it was enough for a decent covering, and they wanted no more. Bonaparte's sagacity restored to France the Catholic worship, and thus again called her to life. Most of the members of the Convention had no faith and no political knowledge: many had no sincerity. Those who were sincere, and held the faith of Rousseau, held not the faith of the people; and those who have not the faith of the people may work against them, but not with them or for them. The leaders of the Jacobins would put their will in the place of the will or opinion of all; and this must be done by force. But violence only rules by fear; it terrifies those whom itself fears, and, like all excess, at last it destroys itself.

The gain to France from the Revolution was great; but the price was dear—war, famine, and bloody death. But France had often suffered before, and got nothing for her sufferings. The wars, the taxation, and the persecutions, of Louis XIV. and XV., inflicted as much misery on the people of France as the Revolution; and prepared the way for more. The penal code of finance in the matter of salt alone, under the monarchy, was worse than all the revolutionary decrees about the suspects. Smugglers of salt armed and assembled to the number of five, in Provence, a fine of 500 livres and nine years' galleys: in the rest of the kingdom, death. Women, married and single, smugglers, first offence, a fine of 100 livres; second, 500 livres; third, flogged and banished the kingdom for life: husbands responsible both in fine and body. Children smugglers, the same as women; fathers and mothers responsible, and in default of payment, flogged. About 3400 persons were annually sent to the galleys for the breach of these salt laws: "sufferers too ignoble to be known, a mass too indiscriminate to be pitied."*

Three reports were made at the close of April, and at the beginning of May: one by St. Just, on General Police; one by Billaud-Varennes, on the Theory of Democratic Government; and one by Robespierre (7th of May), on the Relation of Religious and Moral Ideas to Republican Principles, and on National Festivals. St. Just's report contains a picture of a revolutionary man: he is a man all virtue, and no vice. The picture is ideal, for there was no original before the reporter's eyes; or it may be St. Just's own reflexion, seen by looking into himself. "Marat," said St. Just, "was mild in his domestic life; he only terrified traitors: J. J. Rousseau was revolutionary, and certainly not insolent: accordingly, I conclude that a revolutionary man is a hero of good sense and probity." The report of Billaud-Varennes is not worth notice: it contains much about virtue, which, if it were better said, could not be received from one of the men of September; a man, too, whom there is strong reason to believe a traitor to the Republic. Robespierre's report is a kind of political sermon: he was never better pleased than when he was preaching morality. He availed himself of the opportunity to vilify Danton, in which he showed neither good taste nor prudence. His great topic was the belief in a Supreme Being—"Every institution, every doctrine which consoles and elevates the soul ought to be received: reject all those which tend to degrade and corrupt it. Who, then, has given thee the mission to announce to the people that the Divinity exists not, O thou, who can'st be impassioned in behalf of this arid doctrine, and never in behalf of thy country? What profit findest thou in persuading man that a blind force presides over his destinies, and strikes at random both crime and virtue, that his soul is only a light breath which becomes extinct at the portals of the tomb?"—"Wretched men,

* Young's 'Travels,' vol. i., p. 598, 2nd edition.

who expire under the blow of an assassin, your last sigh is an appeal to Eternal justice: innocence on the scaffold makes the tyrant pale on his triumphal car; would it have this power if the tomb levelled the oppressor and the oppressed?" This would seem almost like self-condemnation, if we did not know that Robespierre was a Pharisee of virtue, and that he believed, or affected to believe, that no innocent person had perished on the scaffold. "The idea of a Supreme Being," he continued, "and of the immortality of the soul, is a continual appeal to justice; consequently, social and republican. Nature has placed in man the feeling of pleasure and of pain, which compels him to fly from the physical objects which are hurtful, and to seek those which are suitable to him. The greatest work of society would be to create in him, for moral things, a rapid instinct, which, without the slow aid of reasoning, should lead him to do good and avoid evil; for the particular reason of each man misled by his passions is often only a sophist which pleads their cause, and the authority of the man may always be attacked by the self-love of the man. Now that which produces or stands in the place of this precious instinct, that which supplies the insufficiency of human authority, is the religious sentiment, which impresses on the mind the idea of a sanction given to the precepts of morality by a power superior to man; accordingly I am not aware that any legislator ever thought of nationalizing atheism." He made some remarks on the Encyclopédistes, without naming any of them; but the names of Diderot and Voltaire were known to all. "Whoever," he added, "should be unacquainted with their influence and their politic would not have a complete idea of the preface of our revolution: this sect, in matters political, remained always far below the rights of the people; in matters of morality it went far beyond the destruction of religious prejudices." In glowing terms he described "the preceptor of the human race," but he named him not; for who ignorant of the name of Robespierre's great teacher? He told fanatics that they had nothing to hope from the Convention: "Ambitious priests, expect not that we work to re-establish your empire: such an enterprise would be even above our power: you have killed yourselves, and there is no more returning to moral life than to physical existence: besides, what relation is there between priests and God: priests are to morality what charlatans are to medicine: how different is the God of Nature from the God of priests! I know nothing which resembles atheism so much as the religions which they have made: by disfiguring the Supreme Being, they have annihilated him as far as was in their power.—The true priest of the Supreme Being is Nature; his temple, the universe; his worship, virtue; his festivals, the joy of a great people assembled before his eyes to draw closer the sweet ties of universal fraternity, and to present to him the homage of feeling and pure hearts." He ended, amidst universal applause, with proposing a decree of fifteen articles. The first was, that "the French people acknowledged the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul;" and secondly, that they "declared the proper worship of the Supreme Being to be the practice of the duties of man." It proposed the establishment of festivals on the great days of the Revolution, in which the 21st of January, the death-day of Louis, was not forgotten. Each décadi was to have its appropriate festival, of which a list was given: "To the Supreme Being and to Nature—To the Human race—To the French people—To Truth—To Justice—To Modesty, and so forth. A festival in honour of the Supreme Being was to be celebrated on the 20th of the following Prairial (8th of June, 1794). David was to prepare a plan of the ceremonies. The decree proposed by Robespierre voted, and his discourse was ordered to be printed.*

This report of Robespierre marks the epoch of his highest ascendancy in the Committee of Public Safety; but the long discussion about it, more than a month, shows that it was not agreeable to some of the members. It was entirely his work, and helps us to estimate the man. As a practical politician it proves his want of knowledge of mankind, to suppose that his new formulæ would be accepted and maintained: the zealous Catholic would reject them with scorn; the incredulous would laugh at them. The Convention applauded chiefly the part of the report in which Robespierre attacked the priests, and fanaticism; but his religious ideas were coldly received. The report, however, was followed by abundant addresses, and it has been said that Robespierre's profession of faith was generally received in France as the foundation of a new order of things. If by this general reception is meant that a majority of the whole received it, the assertion is more than is proved, and more than ought to be believed. Yet it had an effect abroad, and, combined with the measures of the Jacobins in crushing the Hébertistes and Dantonistes, produced an opinion in the Imperial cabinet that a Dictatorship was coming, that Robespierre would be the Dictator, hat the reign of Terror would end, and that the oreign powers might treat about peace with the man who had originally opposed the war which Brissot and his faction kindled. But Robespierre had not the power which he was supposed to have. The Comnittee of General Security and some of the Committee of Public Safety opposed him on several questions; md it is said, that the Committee of General Security esisted all denunciations against Tallien, Fouché, and others of the great criminals, because Robespierre was ager to punish them: Senart, who had good opporunities of knowing the tw Committees, says that hey were opposed to another, and divided in hemselves. In the Committee of Public Safety,

* Rapport fait au nom du Comité de Salut Public, par Maximilien Robespierre, &c. Séance de 18 Floréal (7th May, 1794), an ill-printed pamphlet of twenty-five pages, to which is added David's plan of the festival. The Rapport of Robespierre is also printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxii., 353.

Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just formed one party; Barrère, Billaud-Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois, formed another; and Carnot, Prieur, and Lindet, a third. In the Committee of General Security, Vadier, Amar, Jagot, and Louis (du Bas Rhin) acted together; David and Lebas formed another party; and Moïse Bayle, Lavicomterie, Elie Lacoste, and Dubarran, a third. Robespierre knew all that was going on in the Committee of General Security, through David and Lebas and a man named Héron. Vadier employed a notorious scoundrel named Taschereau to act as a spy on Robespierre; but Taschereau did double work, and acted as a spy also for Robespierre. Senart's character of all these men is bad. There was no agreement between the two Committees; and from the time of the establishment of the bureau de police générale, he says, that Robespierre lost his influence in both. It was the Committee of General Security that ordered the arrests; and Senart affirms that Louis, Amar, and Jagot proposed two-thirds of their arbitrary measures. He accuses Robespierre of being ambitious and savage, but there are no specific charges against him as against many of the others, who were brutal, licentious men.*

The authors of the 'Histoire Parlementaire (xxx., 156,) observe, that "the real power of Robespierre commenced on the 7th of May, 1794, and ended on the 23rd of June of the same year: now it was during the six months which preceded the reign of his influence, and during the forty days which elapsed from the time of his non-participation in the government, to his death, that most blood was shed, and that all the horrors with which certain conventional pro-consuls are justly reproached took place." The editors of the 'Histoire Parlementaire' cannot be called the apologists of Robespierre: they believe him to be an honest man, and they labour to ease his memory of the load of odium which all parties have agreed to heap upon it. Their integrity in this matter will hardly be questioned by those who have patiently gone through the mass of evidence which they have collected on the History of the Revolution, and read their Prefaces, which contain many good remarks, and bear the impression of sincerity and a strong religious faith. Robespierre's enemies destroyed much of the evidence about him; and that evidence we may assume to be in his favour. In the passage cited above, the authors of the 'Histoire Parlementaire' put the question of his guilt in a form which challenges assent or dissent. The evidence of their own work compels dissent. The common mistake has been to suppose that Robespierre had greater power than he really possessed, to suppose him guilty of all the crimes of the Revolution, because he was guilty of some. It is equally a mistake to pronounce him innocent, or to palliate his crimes. His guilt was great. But why should so much be said about this man? why should his character and his motives furnish so interesting an object of inquiry? Simply because he was immeasurably above the men with whom ignorance and prejudice have confounded him, because he ruled by the force of an opinion which he created, had some noble aspirations, and pronounced some truths which ought never to be forgotten. He uttered many false doctrines too: his mind was not practical enough to subject his own fallacious generalizations to the test of realities: he was in no respect a man of action. He had not the ennobling qualities of generosity and forgiveness; and he was envious and vindictive. He could not love: perhaps could hardly be loved. But he was respected, he was feared, and there survived him those who cherished his memory. He cared not for wealth; he loved power: he cared not for the life of an individual; he did care for the community. He was above the contamination of sordid gain; and in a period of almost universal dishonesty, he was "incorruptible." If he was part hypocrite, he was not all hypocrite. There was real honesty to a certain extent; and no further.*

Two days after Robespierre's Report on the relation between moral and religious ideas and Republican principles, the king's sister, Madame Elizabeth, was removed from the Temple to the Conciergerie upon an order of Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser at the Revolutionary Tribunal. She was examined the same day in the presence of Fouquier. She was thirty years of age. The first question put to her is a fair sample of the whole: "Did you conspire with the late tyrant against the security and liberty of the French people?" The answer was: "I know not to whom you give this name, but I have never wished for anything except the happiness of the French." Some time before, the Commissioners of the Commune, upon the information of citizen Simon, ex-shoemaker and present tutor to young Capet, went to the apartment of the boy, who deposed, or was said to have deposed, to having heard various sounds in the chamber of Madame Elizabeth and his sister; he thought they might be concealing something, probably false assignats, but he was not sure of that; he had a strong belief that they had some intelligence or some correspondence with somebody. Citizen Simon was rather hard of hearing, but his citizen wife had heard the sounds. Charles Capet, it was further deposed, was very uneasy till he had made this declaration to the members of the council. This absurd stuff was signed by the poor child, by Simon, and his sharp-eared wife, and the four commissioners, who further deposed that they had made a careful search in the chamber, and found nothing. On the 10th of May, Fouquier Tinville read the act of accusation against Madame Elizabeth, who was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Of all the infamous acts of this infamous

* Senart, pp. 134, &c., 145, &c. There are some remarks on these men by Vilate, ('Causes Secrètes de la Rév. du 9 au 10 Thermidor'), who had an opportunity of knowing them.

* Such a character as Robespierre's cannot be estimated by any man who labours under one of Robespierre's great faults, Self-deceit. Bishop Butler's two sermons, one on the character of Balaam, and another on Self-deceit, will help a fair reader to judge of the chief of the Jacobins.



APOTHEOSIS OF ROUSSEAU.



tribunal, there is none that equals the charge this excellent woman. Among other things, "she was charged with having planned with Capet and Antoinette the massacre of the citizens of Paris on the immortal day of the 10th of August." On the jury was Duplay, Robespierre's host. She was condemned to die, with twenty-four others, some of them old servants of the crown, who were "amalgamated," as the phrase was, in the same charge. One of them, a woman, obtained a respite because she was pregnant. The rest were executed on the same day (the 10th) in the afternoon. Madame Elisabeth suffered the last. As the prisoners descended from the cart to mount the scaffold, they respectfully saluted her. She died with the tranquillity and resignation of a conscience free from all reproach, with a character pure, unsullied, and unsuspected; a woman who, in an exalted station, displayed every virtue, even the virtues which the vulgar great despise, "meekness and gentleness."

On the day on which Madame Elisabeth died, a decree was passed for removing the remains of J. J. Rousseau to the Pantheon, but it was not executed until some months after. Gamain, who made the armoire de fer for Louis, and betrayed it, had presented a petition to the Convention for a pension. He had lost the use of his limbs, in consequence, as he said, of the king having given him a glass of wine when he was very hot with work. Soon after drinking it, he was seized with violent pains and vomiting, which were followed by a long illness, by which he lost the use of his limbs. The report on Gamain's petition speaks of Louis in the same terms in which one would speak of Caligula, or Nero, or Fouché, or Tallien, or Carrier. Louis was already known to be [illegible], a traitor, an assassin: "the object of this report is to show him to all France coolly presenting a glass of poisoned wine to an unfortunate artisan, whom he had just been employing in the construction of an armoire designed for concealing the machinations of tyranny." The Convention gave Gamain a pension of 1,200 livres, "to commence from the day when he was poisoned." No man who studies the history of the period with an honest purpose will believe that the reporter believed what he said. To use revolutionary language, hypocrisy had long been the order of the day.

Another good patriot had a narrow escape. A man named L'Admiral waited for citizen Collot d'Herbois on the staircase of the house in which he lodged, and discharged a pistol at him, but without effect. Barrère made a report on this affair, in which "the fatal genius of the English" was apparent, which had at length pointed fire-arms at Collot d'Herbois, "that incorruptible and courageous representative." L'Admiral admitted that he intended to kill Collot and Robespierre; his design was not to commit murder, but to do a service to the State, and he was sorry that he had failed. Collot was received with open arms at the Jacobins, and congratulated on his escape. "Citizens," said he, "it is sweet to die for one's country: I said to myself at the moment when without a miracle I could not have saved my life, I have done my duty, and I shall carry with me the regret of my fellow-citizens, and the esteem of my country." Such was the style of the day. The evidence states that Collot cried out for help, and was too much alarmed, as a man naturally would be, to have such sublime thoughts in his virtuous mind.

On the same day (May 23rd) a young woman, twenty years of age, named Cécile Renault, went to Duplay's house in the evening, and asked to see Robespierre. She was much disappointed at not finding him at home, and said that a public functionary's business was to answer all persons who might apply to him. As she was troublesome, she was taken before the Committee of General Security. On being asked why she went there, she said she wanted to speak to him. She said that she wished for a king, because she liked one king better than fifty thousand tyrants; and she had only gone to Robespierre's house to see what a tyrant was like. She had left a little bundle at a house before going to Duplay's; it contained her linen, and she said that she had got it ready in order that she might not be without clothes in the place where she was going to. Being asked what that place was, she said she meant the prison, from whence she should go to the guillotine. Two knives were found on her, but she said that she had no intention to do any harm to anybody with them.* The affair of this simple, half-witted girl was magnified into a conspiracy; and Robespierre had not the generosity to save her. This affair furnished matter for a report of Barrère, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, on the 26th of May, and for an oration of Robespierre, whose imagination was exalted by his real or imaginary danger. "Surrounded by the assassins of the enemies of the Republic, I have already placed myself in the new order of things to which they would send me; I am no longer bound to a fleeting life but by the love of my country and by the thirst for justice; and more than ever disengaged from all personal considerations, I feel myself more disposed to attack with energy all the villains who conspire against my country and against the human race: the more eager they are to terminate my career here below, the more will I quicken myself to fill it with actions useful for the interests of my fellow men: I will at least leave them a testament, the perusal of which will make tyrants and their accomplices shudder." Perhaps he alluded to greater dangers than that which he had escaped: he began to foresee his fall, and the nearer he approached it, the more excited was his imagination, and his courage increased.

The 8th of June came. David's arrangements were complete, and they were exactly followed; they are

* Two knives are mentioned in a question of her Interrogatoire, and Cécile's answer, if correctly given, by implication admits the fact of the two knives. But the whole story is confused.

the best description of the ceremonial of this memorable day.* A brilliant sunshine shone on thousands of spectators: it was a holiday even for the guillotine. Robespierre was elected President of the Convention on the 4th of June, and had therefore to represent the Assembly on the 8th. He was dressed for the occasion, like the other members of the Convention, in the costume of a representative of the people: his hair was powdered, and he held an immense bouquet of ears of corn and flowers in his hand. His countenance was radiant with joy. Before the ceremonies commenced, he was invited to enter an apartment which looked on the gardens of the Tuileries, and he gazed with intense delight on the countless numbers which thronged them. There was breakfast; but he ate little, and said little. He was so wrapped in thought, that he kept the people and the Convention waiting. In the procession, Robespierre, as President, walked before the Convention, which was his proper place, and was ridiculously made a charge against him. An immense amphitheatre was prepared, the back of which was supported by the Tuileries: it contained the seats for the members of the Convention, and the tribune of the President. From the tribune the President delivered a discourse on the occasion of this solemn festival. The discourse was followed by a symphony, and in the meanwhile the President descended into the amphitheatre with the torch of Truth in his hands, and set fire to a figure which represented the monster Atheism. From the midst of the flame came forth the statue of Wisdom; when the veil which covered Atheism disappeared, Wisdom showed herself. But the burning veil of gauze disfigured the statue, and Wisdom showed herself dingy and black. At the moment when Atheism vanished in the flames, and Wisdom appeared in its place, the President began a second address: "It is returned to nothing, this monster which the genius of kings vomited upon France: disappear with it all the crimes and all the misfortunes of the world." He concluded: "Being of Beings, we have not to address to thee unjust prayers: thou knowest the creatures which have come from thy hands; their wants escape not thy eyes, nor their most secret thoughts: hatred of insincerity and of tyranny burns in our hearts with the love of justice and of our country; our blood flows for the cause of humanity; this is our prayer, these our sacrifices, this the worship that we offer to thee." The Convention, headed by Robespierre, now moved to the Champ de Mars, preceded by an Olympian car, drawn by eight oxen: fresh-cut ears of corn were in the front of the car, and shepherds and shepherdesses dressed in white rode in it. The most elevated part of a mountain which had been raised in the place of the altar of the country, was occupied by the Convention; and when all the people were duly arranged upon it and around it, the musicians performed a hymn in honour of the Divinity. The hymn was followed by a grand symphony, and the symphony by an ode. The first strophe of the ode was sung by a body of old men and youths, who were placed on the mountain. The ode was M. J. Chenier's. The air the Marseillaise. The first strophe began:

> Dieu puissant, d'un peuple intrepide
> C'est toi qui défends les remparts.

The second strophe was sung by a body of mothers and virgins from the mountain; it began:

> Entends les vierges et les mères,
> Auteur de la fécondité.

The third strophe was sung by all together; it began:

> Guerriers, offrez votre courage;
> Jeunes filles, offrez des fleurs;
> Mères, vieillards, pour votre hommage
> Offrez vos fils triomphateurs.

The chorus was appropriate:

> Avant de déposer nos glaives triomphans
> Jurons d'anéantir le crime et les tyrans.

The genius of the poet honoured the occasion.* The invention of David was never more fertile nor more brilliant. The pomp and the splendour, the solemnity and the sentiment, produced a deep impression. It was a happy day, and many believed that it was the beginning of a happy time. But there were murmurs and menaces, angry words and sinister looks; men were present at the ceremony who looked on it with scorn. The remnant of Hébert's faction saw in the pontiff only a victim.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxiii., 151, &c.

* The 'Carmen Seculare' of Horace perhaps furnished the model. It was performed probably in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. The secular ceremony is described by Zosimus (ii., c. 5). It was like the French in more things than one. "Criers went round to summon all to a festival, which they had never seen before, and never would see again."—Some particulars of the French Festival are stated by Berryer, an eye-witness. (Souvenirs de Berryer, i., c. 17.)

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE DEATH OF ROBESPIERRE.

It is said that Fouché was ill-received by Robespierre on his return from his bloody mission; that Robespierre reproached him with his cruelties, and told him that he should be brought to an account. Whether this is true or not, it is certain that Fouché was afraid, and plotted the ruin of Robespierre. That he was not without influence is proved by the fact that he was made president of the Jacobin Club on the 6th of June (18th Prairial). The 8th of June had shown Robespierre and his party the hostile attitude of the Convention, and they attempted to anticipate the designs of their enemies. On the 10th of June, Couthon proposed, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, a law relating to the Revolutionary Tribunal. St. Just was absent with the armies; and Robespierre, who was the author of the report, communicated it to Couthon only, and to no other member of the Committee. Couthon undertook to present it to the Convention. These facts are indisputable, and they prove that Robespierre was not supreme in the Committee, or he would not have had occasion to resort to this trick. Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Vadier, and Barrère, were opposed to this measure of Robespierre. The proposed law consisted of twenty articles, and formed the Tribunal into four sections. The fourth article declared that "the Revolutionary Tribunal was established for the punishment of the enemies of the people," who were defined (5) to be those "who seek to annihilate public liberty by force or by fraud;" and the 6th article contained a long enumeration of those who were "reputed enemies of the people." The punishment for all offences cognizable by the Tribunal was death. Article 8 declared that "the evidence necessary to condemn the enemies of the people is every kind of document, material, moral, verbal or written, which is naturally adapted to command the assent of every just and reasonable mind." Article 9 gave every citizen the power of seizing and bringing before the magistrates, conspirators and counter-revolutionists; and every citizen was bound to denounce them as soon as he knew them. By article 10 it was declared that no person could bring another before the Revolutionary Tribunal, except the National Convention, the Committee of Public Safety, the representatives of the people acting as Commissioners of the Convention, and the public accuser. Witnesses were only to be heard in a few excepted cases (Art. 13); and no advocates for the prisoners were allowed (Art. 16). The 20th article repealed all previous laws which should be inconsistent with the present decree. Among these laws was one by which the Convention reserved to itself the exclusive power of bringing its own members before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and only gave the Committees power to arrest them by way of prevention. When the project was read, an adjournment was proposed; but Robespierre was against an adjournment: "There was not a single article that was not founded on justice; every part was framed for the salvation of patriots, and for the terror of aristocracy conspiring against liberty." The adjournment was not carried, and the new law was discussed article by article, and passed with some slight alterations. Couthon announced that the powers of the Committee of Public Safety had expired, and he asked for their renewal, which was granted.*

On the following day Bourdon de l'Oise said that he did not suppose that the 10th article of the law was intended to empower the Committees to arrest the members of the Convention without a decree of impeachment according to the previous practice. Merlin of Douay said that the Convention could not deprive itself of this right; that no member could be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal without the consent of the Convention; and accordingly he proposed a decree to the effect that there was no ground to discuss this question, because the Convention had the exclusive right to bring its own members to trial. On the 12th, Couthon said that the Committee of Public Safety could not be silent: a design had been attributed to them of seeking to have the power of bringing before the Revolutionary Tribunal the members of the Convention without a previous decree, of destroying by implication a constitutional rule, and violating the most sacred principles. It was a most atrocious calumny, and he protested against it. Robespierre also protested against the calumny: "Had the Committee of Public Safety ever failed in respect towards the members of the Convention? If you knew all, citizens, you would know that there would be more reason for accusing us of weakness. When morals shall be more pure, love of country more ardent, generous accusers will rise against us, and will reproach us for not having shown firmness enough against the enemies of our country." The matter terminated with Couthon proposing the repeal of Merlin's decree, and passing to the order of the day on all the motions of that day and the previous day; and his proposal was carried. It was the day after that Tallien wrote to Robespierre the letter which has been already referred to. Robespierre and Billaud-Varennes had both told Tallien in the Convention, the day before, that he was a liar; and Robespierre had said that people might judge what those men were capable of "who supported crime by falsehood." Tallien saw the axe hanging over his head, and he

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxiii., 187—202.

saw it with horror. He said in his letter, he knew that he had been represented to the Committee as an immoral man, but he begged people to come to his house and see how he lived. The Committee of Public Safety had already given him a significant hint, by arresting his mistress, the handsome Cabarus Fontenay.

Robespierre and Couthon were not bold enough to declare what their real object was in proposing the law of the 10th of June, and they protested against the interpretation that had been put upon it. But those who are the defenders of Robespierre think that the interpretation of those who were afraid of the law was the true one; that the design was to decimate the Convention, and to purge it thoroughly. Robespierre frustrated in his plans, no longer appeared at the Committee of Public Safety, and he left the members to apply the law to other purposes than the punishment of the great criminals of the Convention. From this time the suspected were sent to execution in batches (*fournées*). Forty and fifty at once appeared before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and even more. There was hardly time allowed to state their names, before they heard their sentence, and were hurried off in carts to drench the scaffold with blood. Instead of attending the Committees, and resisting these wholesale butcheries, Robespierre allowed innocent persons to be put to death by means which he had devised, and by the men whom he wished to destroy; by men who, he well knew, were plotting his own destruction.* The history of the last few weeks of his life shows that he had not energy enough or honesty enough to hazard a contest, in which he might have failed, but which offered the only chance of proving to all mankind that he was better than the murderers of the Convention, and the only chance of saving his own life. Bourdon de l'Oise, after the 12th of June, entertained the design of assassinating Robespierre, which he might perhaps have executed, if Robespierre's fall had not been accomplished by other means.†

There had been named in the month of May, 1794, by the Committees of General Security and Public Safety, in conformity to a previous decree, a popular Commission, whose business was to discover what citizens were unjustly arrested, and to inform the Committees of their names; the Committees were to pronounce on the question of their release; the rest of the prisoners were to be sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal. This Commission was a passive instrument in the hands of the Committee of General Security. Among the suspected they did not discover more than one in eighty who was a patriot. Elie Lacoste made a report, on the 14th of June, upon the principle which was to be followed in drawing up the lists of victims for the scaffold. The words "conspiracy of the foreigner" were the means by which great numbers were to be involved in one common charge. When a batch was wanted for the scaffold, this one charge would serve for all. This contrivance was used till another was hit upon, which nobody could escape—"the conspiracy of the prisons;" a term large enough to include all who were lodged there. Lacoste's report showed that all the factions, that of Chabot, of Danton, of Gobel, and so forth, were only branches of one faction: all were directed by one man, the Baron de Batz, and the baron was directed by the coalition of the tyrants: counter-revolution was the object and end: Pitt and the emigrants pointed out the means, and furnished the supplies; L'Admiral and the girl Renault were "the monsters whom they had employed to plunge the dagger into the heart of the representatives of the people." The reporter recommended the Convention to immolate all the royalists on the tomb of Capet. He concluded by proposing, and his proposition was adopted with acclamation, that the Revolutionary Tribunal should immediately try, together with L'Admiral and the girl Renault, thirty-nine other persons who were named, on the charge of being accomplices of Batz, or in the conspiracy of the foreigner, and of aiming at the re-establishment of royalty, and so forth. But the batch was not large enough, and thirteen were added, among whom were the father, an aunt, and a brother of Cécile Renault. In the list was a poor seamstress, of eighteen years of age, who lived in a miserable garret. Senart says that he examined her himself, and there was nothing at all that could be alleged against her. These fifty-four persons, among whom were several ex-nobles, a servant of Batz, a farmer, an actress, a page of the late king, were all condemned to die at one sitting of the Tribunal, and all were executed on the same day (17th of June). They went to the scaffold in the red chemise, as Charlotte Corday had done. This was the device of Louis of Bas-Rhin. Robespierre was no party to Lacoste's report, but this wholesale slaughter excited indignation, and he came in for his just share of it.*

In the year 1794 the Republic had thirteen armies to maintain. The names of the armies were derived from the frontiers on which they were stationed. There was the army of the North, of the Ardennes, of the Sambre and Meuse, and so on. The total effective force, in January, 1794, was 760,992 men. In the month of July it was raised to 972,704 men.

* Among Robespierre's papers was found a note relating to different members of the Convention. It was written after the 8th of June. It began: "All the heads of the coalition are villains already stamped with the marks of immorality and incivism." Among them are the names of Bourdon de l'Oise, and of Leonard Bourdon.

† Berryer, 'Souvenirs,' i., c. 17.

* In this batch were included Madame Sainte-Amaranthe, her daughter, her son, a boy of sixteen, and her son-in-law, Sartines. They were arrested, it is said, on the motion of St. Just; but the grounds of his motion, as stated by some authorities, are false. (Senart, p, 102.) Lamartine has told the story of Madame Sainte-Amaranthe, and of Robespierre's visit to her shortly before her arrest. ('*Histoire des Girondins*,' Liv. 59.) The evidence for it all is, as usual, not given.

In September and October of the same year, it attained its highest number, 1,169,144 men; a prodigious force to maintain in the actual condition of France. The hostilities continued on the Spanish frontier, and in June the French entered the valley of Bastan, of which they were in full possession in the month of July. The army of the western Pyrenees was also successful in its operations, and the French territory on this side was cleared of the Spaniards in the month of June, with the exception of the fort of Bellegarde, which held out till the 18th of September. The operations of the army of the Alps and Italy were successful against the Piedmontese; and Masséna, who commanded the right wing of the army of Italy under general Dumerbion, commenced his military reputation. The French took the strong post of Santa-Agatha in front of Oneglia, upon which Oneglia was evacuated (8th of April); and thus the king of Sardinia lost the only post that still enabled him to keep up his communication with the English and the island of Sardinia. Masséna occupied Ponte di Nava, on the Tanaro, which was followed by the capture of Ormea and Garessio, on the same river, where the French got abundance of munitions of war. Saorgio, which protects the approach to the Riviera of Genoa, and the plains of Piedmont, surrendered to Masséna on the 29th of April. The Piedmontese now collected their force on the Col de Tende, the last pass which defended the road into the plains of the Po; but this also was abandoned. All the passages of Mount Cenis had already been forced by the centre of the French army. The result was, that before the month of June the French extended their line from the summit of St. Bernard to the posts in the neighbourhood of Finale and Savona.

Jourdan, who commanded the army of the Mosel, took from the Austrians (April 19th) the important post of Arlon in Luxembourg, which commands the communication between Luxembourg and the Low Countries. On the Rhine the French gained possession of Spire and Neustadt (14th of July) in time to secure the rich crops in the Palatinate. On the north the enemy were in possession of nearly the whole French frontier. After the battle of Wattignies, Jourdan had been replaced in the command of the army of the north by Pichegru (5th February). The united forces of the Imperialists, English, and Dutch, were concentrated, in the early part of April, between the Sambre and the Schelde. The rainy weather had delayed military operations. Several bloody encounters ensued without any decisive result. On the 22nd of May the enemy and the French lost, in several engagements, each about 3,000 men near Tournay. Pichegru saw that he had not means sufficient for directing his attacks towards Tournay and the centre of the allies; and after securing Courtrai against surprise, which the



THE DEATH OF CONDORCET.

French had already taken, he commenced the siege of Ypres. Clairfayt, who was stationed at Thielt, was drawn from his position by the danger to which Ypres was exposed, and a bloody battle was fought on the 13th of June, at Rousselaer, in which he was defeated. The consequence was, that Ypres surrendered on the 17th of June, and the French were in possession of West Flanders. From this time the success of the French on the north frontier was uninterrupted.

On the 12th of June, Jourdan, at the head of the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, crossed the Sambre and resumed the siege of Charleroi, which a division of the army of the north had commenced, but had been compelled to discontinue. On the 25th of June, Charleroi capitulated to the French; and on the 26th a bloody battle was fought at Fleurus, near Charleroi, in which the advantage was on the side of the French, but the allies retired in good order. In this battle Jourdan employed a balloon in order to ascertain the dispositions and movements of the enemy. It was the plan of Pichegru to cross the Schelde near Oudenarde, with the view of separating Clairfayt's army from the English, who were at Tournay with the duke of York, and after defeating Clairfayt, to fall on the rear of the army of the prince of Coburg, which was towards the Sambre, and then to effect a junction with Jourdan. But he received orders from the Committee of Public Safety to march upon Ostend, though Moreau had taken Bruges on the 29th of June, and had only to show himself before Ostend to have it in his power. But it was necessary to obey; and accordingly Pichegru marched to Bruges, and thence to Ostend; a movement which had the appearance of a retreat. Ostend surrendered; and on the 3rd of July, Pichegru's forces passed through Gand, which the enemy had evacuated. They had also retired from Tournay. Oudenarde surrendered; and on the 9th the French were again in Brussels. On the 11th, Jourdan had his head-quarters at Nivelles; and the army of Pichegru, whose head-quarters were at Brussels, was behind the canal of Vilvorden. Thus the armies of the North and the Rhine were united, after great fatigue and many obstinate conflicts. On the 15th the French crossed the canal of Vilvorden, and attacked the English and Dutch, who were entrenched behind the canal of Malines and Louvain. Malines now fell into the hands of the French, and the enemy retired behind the Nethe. On the 16th, Namur opened its gates to the right division of the army of the Sambre and the Meuse. The army of the North advanced upon Antwerp on the 23rd of July, and as the enemy had abandoned the place, the French entered it the next day. The army of the Sambre and the Meuse, which was pursuing the Austrians, entered Tongres and Liége; but the Austrians still commanded the Meuse from Ruremonde to Maastricht, and the heights of the Chartreux near Liége. The Dutch and English were encamped behind Breda, and kept up their communication on the left by a corps at Eindhoven. While the centre of the French army was employed in taking or besieging Landrécies, du Quesnoi, Condé, and Valenciennes, Nieuport in West Flanders surrendered to Moreau on the 28th of July; and in opposition to a decree of the Convention, which declared that all English who were taken with arms in their hands should be put to death, he treated them with humanity. But it is said that the representative Choudieu, who was with Moreau, was the person who took upon himself the responsibility of interpreting the decree of the Convention favourably to the prisoners who had laid down their arms.

St. Just and Lebas joined the army of the North on the 2nd of May, in the capacity of representatives of the people. The military historians complain of their arbitrary conduct. They issued an order that all the loose women, who followed the camp in great numbers, should be sent away; and a soldier who kept his mistress two days beyond the time fixed, was tried by a military commission and put to death. Choudieu, finding that this order caused great dissatisfaction, gave a counter-order which indirectly nullified it. St. Just was exasperated, and denounced Choudieu.

In La Vendée, after the affair of Savenay, the cruelties of Carrier and his agents excited fresh resistance to the Republic. Henri Larochejaquelein and Charette got a small force together, and had successful skirmishes. In March, 1794, Larochejaquelein was killed by a Republican soldier whom he was summoning to surrender. This famed Vendéan chieftain was only twenty-one years of age. The conduct of the war was now in the hands of Bernard de Marigny, Stofflet, and Charette. The success of Marigny made Stofflet and Charette jealous; and upon an absurd pretence they called a council of war, and condemned Marigny to death. The sentence was executed by the order of Stofflet, and thus one of the best and bravest of the Vendéan chiefs perished by a base intrigue of his brother commanders. The war still lingered on the left bank of the Loire, and on the right bank arose what was called the Chouannerie, or the war of the Chouans.

In the great sea-fight of the 1st of June, Jean-Bon-Saint-André, a representative of the people, was on board the vessel of the French Admiral, Villaret-Joyeuse. The French fleet of Brest had left that port to meet and protect a large merchant fleet from the United States, which was carrying provisions and colonial produce to France. The English fleet, under Lord Howe, was cruising off the coast of Bretagne and Normandy. The orders of the Committee of Public Safety were, not to engage with the English, except it might be necessary for the protection of the convoy; but Jean-Bon-Saint-André, carried away by the enthusiasm of the fleet, consented to a battle. It commenced on the 29th of May. On the two following days a thick fog covered the ocean; but on the third day the fog dispersed, the sun shone bright, and at nine in the morning commenced the terrible conflict of the 1st of June. The French fleet was inferior to the English, and many of the men were raw sailors; but



they fought with a courage and desperation that has never been surpassed. The French convoy was saved, but the Republic lost six of their large vessels, which Lord Howe carried into Portsmouth. In this action, the French ship *Vengeur*, though dismasted and sinking, refused to strike, and the brave crew went down with their ship,—the French colours still flying, and the men crying out "Vive la République! Vive la France!"

The revolutionary tribunal of Paris, in the space of fifteen months from the 10th of March, 1793, to the 10th of June, 1794, sent to execution twelve hundred and sixty-nine persons. From the 10th of June, 1794, to the 27th of July (9th Thermidor), a space of forty-seven days, fourteen hundred were sent to the scaffold. Such was the bloody increase, after the adoption of Robespierre's new law. Two hundred and ninety-six persons are said to have been acquitted during this time by the Tribunal.*

Among the noble and ignoble, equally unknown to fame, were some who were illustrious for their virtues or their attainments. Malesherbes, the defender of Louis XVI., and Thouret, who made a great figure in the Constituent, both perished on the 22nd of April. On the 8th of May, Lavoisier, the chemist, went to the scaffold; and André Chenier, and the son of Buffon, in July. The number of women was great: many of them were women of rank, and bore great names under the monarchy. But the larger part of the victims were persons unknown, and some of the lowest rank. The number of persons who committed suicide to escape the scaffold was small. Condorcet was an illustrious exception: he carried poison about him, like some of the great personages of antiquity are said to have done; and his jailers only found a dead body, instead of a living victim. It was observed that the higher and educated class showed more firmness than the lower and poorer sort; but, as a general rule, people went to the scaffold with firmness or indifference. There is nothing surprising in this. Men cling to life most, when it is best secured. The demoralizing effect of the frequent public executions was shown in the eagerness of the people to witness the ceremony, and their levity on the occasion. Curiosity attracts crowds to a single execution, which, if it produces good, produces also evil. But crowds who witness daily executions must become indifferent to the value of human life, and have many of their best sympathies blunted. It is said that chairs were set round the guillotine, and hired by spectators; and that women took their seats there, and their needle-work with them. The Place de la Révolution was the great scene of execution; but in the month of June the guillotine was moved to the Place St. Antoine, near the site of the Bastille, which was not so public a place; and finally to the Barrière du Trône, then called Barrière-Renversée, a still less public situation.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxiv., 97; and an article on Robespierre in the 'Quarterly Review,' vol. liv., p. 563.

From this it might be inferred that the people were getting tired of the sights. The guillotine appeared again on the Place de la Révolution, when a man mounted the scaffold, whose name will for ever be associated with it.

On the 15th of June, when Robespierre was president, Vadier read a report, drawn up by Barrère. It was about an old woman of sixty-nine, named Catherine Théot, which name the reporter dexterously changed into Theos—a Greek word, he observed, known to signify God, or Divinity. The story of this Catherine Theos, or the Mother of God, is briefly this. A society of fanatics, who had probably no further views, used to meet at the house of an old woman in the Rue Contrescarpe; and among them was Dom Gerle, formerly a member of the Constituent Assembly. The votaries were both male and female. They found certain agreements between passages in the scriptures and the events of the revolution; they prophesied, and they performed various absurd mummeries; but there was nothing counter-revolutionary. It happened that Robespierre had given Gerle a certificate of civism. Robespierre's enemies turned this to their advantage, and the Committee of General Security sent Senart to see what was going on in the house of Catherine Théot. Senart obtained admission under the pretext of being received as a brother of the synagogue. He saw there an old woman, seated in a large arm-chair, who was honoured by a number of followers, male and female, as the mother of God. Catherine said, "Children of God, your mother is among you: I am going to purify the two profane;"—Senart and another who had gone with him. When Gerle came in, he went down on his knees, and kissed the mother of God on the cheek, who said to him, "Prophet of God, take a seat." The prophet of God seated himself in a chair on the left of the mother, and raising his right hand, said, "Friends of God, let us unite." The two profane were admitted among the elect with many absurd ceremonies, and received the promise of immortality. The affair ended with Senart's men breaking into the house and arresting all the elect, including Gerle and Catherine. Senart looked for papers, but found nothing except a letter written to Robespierre in the name of the mother of God (for Catherine could not write), in which she called him her first prophet, her cherished minister, and felicitated him on the honours which he had paid to the Supreme Being, her son. A few days after this affair, Senart arrested the prophet Elias, who was rambling about in the country and some of the obscurer parts of Paris, preaching the law of the prophets. This was a fine opportunity for Vadier, Barrère, Collot, and others. The mummeries of Dom Gerle were represented as a conspiracy. Barrère drew up a report, Vadier read it in the Convention on the 15th of June, and Robespierre, the great pontiff of the week past, was in the chair, and compelled to listen to what was intended to cover him with ridicule. His name was not mentioned: his enemies were yet too much afraid to say all that they would have said,

but their meaning was known, and the reading of the report was interrupted by bursts of laughter. This scene was a manifestation against Robespierre. Nothing could have been better devised, than to commence the attack on him by making him ridiculous. After hearing the report, the Convention decreed that Catherine Theos, as they chose to call her, and her associates, should be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The report, which was called Vadier's, was ordered to be printed, sent to the armies and to every Commune in France: every member of the Convention had six copies of this piece of buffoonery to amuse himself with.*

On the 1st of July, Robespierre delivered a discourse at the Jacobins, which it is not easy to understand. His text was, a "denunciation to honest folks of an odious system which tended to rescue aristocracy from the national justice, and to ruin the country by ruining the patriots." In this discourse there is no sign of clemency for the victims of the scaffold. There was, he said, a faction, swelled by the remnants of all the factions, which was renewing the schemes of Brissot, Danton, Hébert, Chabot, and other villains. There were now some who "thought themselves strong enough to calumniate the Revolutionary Tribunal and the decree of the Convention concerning its organization- destroy the Revolutionary Tribunal, or compose it of members agreeable to the factions, and how can you hope to break the threads of conspiracies, if justice is exercised by the conspirators themselves." He made insinuations against his colleagues in the Committees. There is nothing distinct in his address, except his defence of the Tribunal, which was now cutting off heads at the rate of forty or fifty a day; and the only conclusion from this mysterious discourse is, that he wished to employ this engine against his personal enemies, and the immoral men of the Convention.

On the 9th of July, Barrère made a report to the Convention on the petitions that had been presented against Lebon and his atrocities: "Certain forms," he said, "a little harsh, an extravagant severity, have been imputed to him, but he has completely vanquished the aristocrats, checked the ill-disposed, and above all, has punished counter-revolutionists and traitors." On his motion the Convention unanimously passed to the order of the day upon these petitions. Couthon, about a week before, had defended Lebon at the Jacobins: he said, "that Lebon had regenerated the department to which he had been sent, and done the greatest good there." * On the 9th of July, Barrère was in the chair at the Jacobins. He sent Vilate for his reports on the recent victories, and was anticipating the effect which they would produce on the society and the spectators, when Robespierre got up and occupied the evening with a discourse upon virtue. "Of all the decrees," said Robespierre, "which have saved the Republic, the most sublime, the only one which has rescued it from corruption, and has released the people from tyranny, is that which makes probity and virtue the order of tho day: if this decree were executed, liberty would be perfectly established, and we should no longer have occasion to make the popular tribunes re-echo with our voice; but men who have only the mask of virtue place the greatest obstacles in the way of executing the laws of virtue itself; their design is to use this mask as a way of attaining to power." Robespierre was addressing one of the men who wore the mask, and the man knew that he was guilty. Probity and virtue were the order of the day with Barrère, when he was making his flowery reports; but in his house at Clichy he enjoyed his mistresses, spent the public money which he contrived to lay hold of, and cut out work for the Revolutionary Tribunal. He retired from the Jacobins in despair: there was no help left for him except in overthrowing this formidable preacher,† who declared that it was the destiny of the French to found on the earth the empire of wisdom, of justice, and of virtue.

There were those, Robespierre said, who calumniated the Revolutionary Government in order to dissolve it, and the Revolutionary Tribunal in order that conspirators might live in peace: "There is only one remedy for so many evils; and it consists in the execution of the laws of nature, which require every man to be just; and in virtue, which is the fundamental basis of all society: as well return to the forests as dispute for honours, reputation, wealth; there could only

* Senart ('Révélations,' &c., p. 169) describes what he saw in Catherine's house. Perhaps he may be believed as to the bare facts, but not as to his conclusions. As to the letter, it was doubtless a forgery, either of Senart or of others. Even if genuine, a letter found in one person's house, and intended, or supposed to be intended, for another person, proves nothing against him. The letter should have been found among Robespierre's papers; and even then nobody will suppose that he could have been pleased with such a communication from a parcel of fanatics. This Senart affects to tell only the truth. He has forgotten to say that, as national agent at Tours, he was accused of gross misconduct there. There is a pamphlet by Vilate, of no great value, entitled 'Les Mystères de la Mère de Dieu dévoilés, troisième partie des Causes Secrètes de la Révolution du 9 au 10 Thermidor.' Vilate had been a juryman in the Revolutionary Tribunal.

* Lebon, after Robespierre's death, affirmed in the Convention (Aug. 2, 1794), that Robespierre intended to destroy him; but no credit can be given to what Lebon and others like him said, when they wished to save their lives. The 'Affaire de Joseph Lebon' is printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxv., 219—269. He had his reward at last on the scaffold at Arras, in October, 1795.

† This discourse of Robespierre is a very singular one. It is only necessary to give him credit for some share of honesty, and he becomes intelligible. Those who make him all villain and all hypocrite, may labour for ever before they can understand his schemes. He did design a large purification of the Convention. Vilate's 'Causes Secrètes,' &c., help to explain the object of this discourse; but Vilate, like other men of the day, only deserves a limited degree of credit.



result from such a struggle, tyrants and slaves; after fifty years of agitation, of trouble, and of carnage, the result would be the establishment of a new despot." His conclusion was: "The Republican Government is not yet well fixed, and there are factions which oppose its effects: the Revolutionary Government has two objects, the protection of patriotism and the annihilation of aristocracy; never will it attain these objects, so long as it shall be resisted by factions." It was no longer possible for Barrère and his friends to close their eyes to their danger. That virtue is the basis of society, is indisputable: a man had said so, who really believed it; and he was ready to show the sincerity of his faith by making some signal examples.

On the 20th of July (2 Thermidor), Barrère read a report to the Convention on the latest victories of the Republic, the conclusion of which was evidently directed against Robespierre's speeches at the Jacobins. It was in the usual vague style of the day, but Robespierre and his party understood what it meant. It was known that Robespierre was preparing a speech. Barrère's report was a challenge to him, but he would not be provoked to appear before he was ready. While his enemies were mustering their forces, he continued his war at the Jacobins against aristocracy, false clemency, and immorality. He relied on the support of the Plaine, and on the remnant of the Girondins; for he had saved the seventy-three who had been placed under arrest; and he could hardly doubt that all the moderate and decent party of the Convention would give him their aid in crushing the remnant of the factions of Hébert and Danton. He appears to have anticipated a victory. His efforts were directed against a set of men, who merited punishment more than any of those who had yet fallen before him. He had provoked the contest, and he must have known that his life depended on the issue. But why did he provoke it? Was it merely to cut off a few more heads, or was it to rid the Convention of some men whom he believed to be, and who were, the greatest villains in France? The answer is plain. He would not act with men, whom he believed to be dishonest and not sincere Republicans. His integrity in this matter was his ruin.

On the 23rd of July, Barrère was again busy in the Convention: he denounced new plots and conspiracies, the parties in which were agents of the foreigner, and partizans of aristocracy; but he added, that the two Committees had taken measures for the prompt trial of the enemies of the people who were imprisoned in all parts of the Republic, and that these measures "would restore to the nation that security which there is a constant effort to wrest from it, that imposing calm which is the sign of strength and of the firm establishment of the Republic." These measures, which Barrère alluded to, were six articles, agreed to by the Committees of Public Safety and General Security, for the establishment of Revolutionary Commissions. It was in fact the application of the law of the 22nd of Prairial to all France. The minute of this order was drawn up by Barrère, and signed by him, Carnot, Collot d'Herbois, Couthon, St. Just, and others, but not by Robespierre. Carnot was now actively working against Robespierre. Carnot and St. Just had quarrelled, and St. Just had threatened him. Everything was preparing for a violent explosion. A curious letter from Payan to Robespierre, which was found among Robespierre's papers, urged him to take vigorous measures "to make a report which should comprehend all the conspirators, which should show all the conspiracies united in one, Fayettists, Royalists, Federalists, Hébertistes, Dantonistes, and Bourdons." He told him that he could not choose a more favourable time for striking all the conspirators. On the 25th of July a deputation of the Jacobins appeared at the bar of the Convention with an address, which was conceived altogether in the style of Robespierre, and was evidently intended to prepare the Convention for his discourse, which had been long expected. In this sitting Barrère read a tedious report on the general situation of the Republic. The Committees had entrusted this matter to him, because they could not agree about it with St. Just. Barrère, in this report, mentioned Robespierre in honourable terms. The crisis was approaching, and he did not know which way victory would incline.

On the 26th of July (8th Thermidor), Robespierre appeared in the Convention. Collot d'Herbois was president. Robespierre read a long discourse, which it is exceedingly difficult to analyze. He began: "Citizens, let others draw for you flattering pictures: I come to tell you useful truths." His conclusions are the key to many of the vague expressions of his discourse. "What shall we do then? Our duty. What can be urged against him who means to tell the truth, and who is willing to die for it? Let us say then that there exists a conspiracy against Public Liberty; that its force is in a criminal coalition which intrigues even in the heart of the Convention; that this coalition has accomplices in the Committee of General Security, and in the bureaus of this Committee, which they govern; that the enemies of the Republic have opposed this Committee to the Committee of Public Safety, and thus have constituted two governments; that the members of the Committee of Public Safety are parties to this plot; that the coalition thus formed seeks to ruin the patriots and our country. What is the remedy for this evil? To punish the traitors, renew the bureaus of the Committee of General Security, to purify this Committee itself, and to make it subordinate to the Committee of Public Safety; to purify the Committee of Public Safety also, to establish the unity of the government under the supreme authority of the National Convention, which is the centre and the judge; and thus to crush all the factions with the weight of the national authority, in order to raise upon their ruins the power of justice and of Liberty: such are the principles. If it is impossible to appeal to them without passing for an ambitious man, I shall conclude that principles are

proscribed, and that tyranny reigns among us; but not that I ought to be silent; for what charge can be made against a man who is in the right, and who can die for his country? I am made to combat crime, not to govern it. The time is not yet come when honest men can with impunity serve their country: the defenders of liberty will only be proscripts so long as the horde of knaves shall rule." *

This discourse is a laboured apology of the system of Terror, and of Robespierre himself. "And what then are these great acts of severity with which we are reproached? who have been the victims of them? Hébert, Ronsin, Chabot, Danton, Lacroix, Fabre d'Eglantine, and some other accomplices. Is it the punishment of these men that we are reproached with? No one would dare to defend them. But if we have only denounced monsters whose death has saved the National Convention and the Republic, who can fear our principles, who can accuse us of injustice and of tyranny, except it be those who resemble them? No, we have not been too severe; let our witness be the Republic, which breathes: let our witness be the national representation, surrounded with the respect due to the representatives of a great people: let our witnesses be the patriots who still groan in the dungeons which villains have opened for them; let our witness be the fresh crimes of the enemies of our liberty, and the guilty perseverance of the tyrants who are leagued against us. They speak of our rigour, and our country reproaches us with our weakness." He spoke at great length of the project of a dictatorship, imputed, at first, to the Committee of Public Safety, and then to a single man, himself. Partly through love of talking about himself, partly because he knew that this opinion, true or false, had acquired some strength, he vigorously defended the purity of his intentions; and to one of his arguments many of his hearers could not in their hearts refuse assent: "A man attains to tyranny with the help of knaves: where are those hastening to who combat them?—To the tomb and to immortality." Robespierre denounced the administration of the finances: there, he said, was the counter-revolution. "Who are the supreme administrators of our finances?—Brissotins, Feuillans, aristocrats, and notorious knaves; the Cambons, the Mallarmés, the Ramels; the companions and the successors of Chabot, of Fabre, and of Julien of Toulouse. Alluding to others, he said: "Have not the guilty established this horrible principle, that to denounce a faithless representative is to conspire against the national representation? The oppressor replies to the oppressed by incarceration and fresh outrages. Yet the departments in which these crimes have been committed, are they ignorant of them, because we forget them? and the complaints which we reject, do they not re-echo with still greater force in the compressed bosoms of wretched citizens? It is so easy and so pleasant to be just. Why devote ourselves to the opprobrium of the guilty by tolerating them?" He said enough to alarm the great villains of the Convention, whose names he did not mention; and he therefore said too much, for he alarmed more than he would have punished. A bolder measure might have been successful: plain speaking and fewer words. But it was a mistake to expect to accomplish another 31st of May without a demonstration of force. Robespierre knew that the great events of the Revolution had been brought about by insurrection; and he now thought of subjugating the Convention by a discourse. Robespierre made a great impression; and Lecointre moved that the discourse be printed. Bourdon de l'Oise opposed the motion: it was the critical moment. Robespierre's enemies mustered courage to support Bourdon, and the Convention refused to print the discourse.

This is Robespierre's political testament, his last opinion on the state of France. He had learned something from experience. If the Revolution could not be secured, he foresaw a military despotism, an age of civil war and of calamities. He had often expressed his despair and doubts about the Revolution. He saw that a violent change is only an opportunity, which men of no principle turn to their profit. His later discourses contain much more enlarged views than his earlier: he began to see that Liberty and Equality required a foundation: "You have no other security for liberty than the rigorous observation of the principles and of the universal morality which you have proclaimed."

While Robespierre was reading his discourse again at the Jacobins, on the evening of the 26th, his enemies were busy in another way. Instead of amusing themselves with phrases, they were preparing for action. Tallien, the Bourdons, and other men of the Mountain, did not sleep that night. Tallien had received a note from his mistress in her prison: fear for himself, and the reproaches of a woman, roused him to the deadly contest. Tallien and his associates applied to the men of the *côté droit*, to those whom they would have sacrificed; but their proposals were rejected. They renewed their entreaties; they declared that the *côté droit* would be guilty of all the deaths which Robespierre was causing, if they refused to unite in an effort to stop this dreadful bloodshed. Fifty heads were daily falling; and the *côté droit* yielded to this argument. The men whose friends Robespierre saved gave him up to the men whom he would have punished.

There is no record of what passed at the Jacobins on the evening of the 26th of July. The minutes of that evening were carried off by the enemies of Robespierre, after his death; and traditional anecdotes are too uncertain. On the
Robespierre was going to the Convention, Duplay expressed to him his anxiety for his safety. Robespierre replied: "The mass of the Convention is pure;

* This discourse was printed (11 Fructidor) after Robespierre's death, by order of the Convention, from the manuscript which was found among his papers. It is an octavo pamphlet of forty-one pages. It is also printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxiii., 406—448.

be assured, I have nothing to fear." St. Just began to read a report;* but he had not got through many lines, before Tallien interrupted him. "The veil," said Tallien, "must be withdrawn." The Convention cheered this signal for battle. Billaud-Varennes rose: he attacked Robespierre; he said that a secretary of the Committee of Public Safety had stolen 114,000 livres, and when he asked for his arrest, Robespierre, who was always speaking of justice and virtue, was the only person who prevented it. He declared that there was a design to destroy, to mutilate the Convention. Robespierre sprung to the tribune: he was received with cries, "Down with the tyrant!" Tallien began again: "Just now I asked that the veil be rent: with delight I see that it is now completely torn asunder, that the conspirators are unmasked, that they will soon be annihilated, and that liberty will triumph.—I knew from a man who approached the tyrant of France, that he had formed a list of proscriptions." He moved the arrest of Henriot, the commander of the force of Paris, and his staff. "Robespierre," he said, "designed to attack us one after another, to isolate us, so that at last he would have remained alone with the drunkards and the debauchees who are his tools: I move that our sittings be declared permanent, until the sword of the law shall have secured the Revolution, and that we order all his creatures to be arrested." Tallien's two motions were carried. Billaud-Varennes followed up the attack with a motion for arresting Dumas, president of the Revolutionary Tribunal, Boulanger, and Dufraise; and this was carried too. Robespierre again asked to speak, but his voice was drowned amidst cries of "Down with the tyrant;" and Barrère spoke in the name of the Committee of Public Safety. There is a story, which may not be true, but it shows what was the opinion about the man, that Barrère had two speeches in his pocket, one for Robespierre, and another against him, to be used according to the occasion. Barrère spoke in defence of the two Committees, which he declared to be the shield, the asylum, the sanctuary of the central government. Upon his report the Convention decreed that the National Guard should resume its original organization, and consequently every chief of a legion would command in turn; and that the mayor of Paris, Payan, the national agent, and he whose turn it should be to command the National Guard, should watch over the safety of the national representation. A proclamation to the French people was agreed on. The discussion was resumed by Vadier with an attack on the "tyrant," who had proposed the law of the 22nd of Prairial. Vadier now announced that there was found under the bed of the Mother of God a letter addressed to Robespierre, which informed him that his mission was predicted in the prophet Ezekiel. Robespierre again attempted to speak, but the shouts of the Assembly overpowered him. Tallien returned to the attack, and after he had gone on for some time, Robespierre cried out, "It is false;" which was followed by fresh uproar. For a moment Robespierre fixed his eyes on the most ardent of the Montagnards: some turned away their heads; others remained immoveable. Then looking all round the Assembly, he cried out: "It is you, men of purity, that I address myself to, and not to brigands." Again he was interrupted. "For the last time," he said, turning to the chair, "For the last time, president of assassins, I ask of you to be heard." "You shall be heard in your turn," replied the president. In the midst of the roar of the Assembly, Robespierre's voice was drowned again. "It is the blood of Danton which stifles him," said Garnier. "It is Danton then whom you would avenge," said Robespierre.* Louchet moved the arrest of Robespierre. "I am as guilty as my brother," said the younger Robespierre, "and I will share his fate." Robespierre would speak about his brother; but he could not get a hearing. The president put the question for the arrest of the two brothers, and it was carried by acclamation. "We were voting for the arrest of the two Robespierres, St. Just, and Couthon," said Louchet. "I will not share the opprobrium of this measure," cried Lebas; "I ask to be arrested also." The Convention voted the arrest of all of them. "Down to the bar," cried out a number of voices, and the prisoners descended to the bar. Maximilien Robespierre was taken to the Luxembourg, but the jailors refused to receive him, in accordance with a decree of the Commune, which did not allow any prisoners to be sent there except upon the order of the Commune. Whether he was lodged in the prison or not, appears doubtful. The rest of the prisoners were confined, but they were released by the Commissioners of the Council-general in the course of the evening, and finally all were assembled in the room of the Hôtel de Ville, called Egalité.†

The Council-general of the Commune were assembled; and the mayor, Fleuriot-Lescot, was in the chair. Nothing was apparently wanted but a soldier to give the Commune and the Jacobins a victory. But Henriot had neither courage nor capacity, and he had been drunk since the morning. Some say that he was generally sober, but had taken a small glass of brandy in the morning to mount his courage, and the brandy had got into his head. But one small glass of brandy does not make a man drunk all day. The mayor began by informing the Council that he had received a decree from the Convention which required him to

* The discourse of St. Just was printed after his death. 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxiv., 6—20.

* Another version is: "Why did you not defend him then, you cowards?" The version in the text fits the context better. At any rate they were his last words in the Convention.

† It is singular how confused and contradictory all the stories are about this affair of the 9th Thermidor. Lamartine's account, 'Histoire des Girondins,' Liv. lxi., may be compared. Something may be collected from the Procès Verbal de la Séance (Pièce Inédite) of the Council-general of the Commune of the 9th Thermidor 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxiv., 45.

watch over the safety of the Assembly. The council sat all night, making resolutions and receiving reports: it was in open resistance to the Convention. They resolved to rescue Robespierre and his friends from the hands of the Committees. In the course of the evening Robespierre the younger was with the council, and addressed them: he declared that he had not been arrested by the Convention, but by some cowards who had been conspiring for five years. The Jacobins, who were sitting, sent a deputation to the Council, which took an oath to die rather than live under the dominion of crime. If their measures had been as vigorous as their resolutions, the Convention would have fallen before the Commune. At seven in the evening, when the Convention resumed its sittings, all the chances were against it; but the stupidity of Henriot and the opposition of Robespierre paralysed the Council-general. It appears certain that Robespierre refused his sanction to an insurrection. Henriot, with some gendarmes, was hurrying along the streets like a madman. The armed force of the Commune did not move, because there was nobody to command it. Robin and Courtois, two members of the Convention, seeing Henriot passing along the Rue St. Honoré, commanded his own gendarmes to arrest him, and they obeyed. Henriot was dragged, with his arms tied behind him, before the Committee of General Security, but he was shortly after released by Coffinhal, a vice-president of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and Sijas. Collot d'Herbois was in the chair at the Convention: he said, "Citizens, now is the time to die at our post; villains, armed men, have surrounded the Committee of General Security." A member brought the news that Henriot had been released; and Lacoste said that Robespierre was at the Commune; the municipal officers had embraced him, treated him as a brother, and promised to protect him. The Convention forthwith declared the municipal officers to be out of the pale of the law. Henriot was now on the Place of the Convention with his cannoneers, whom he was encouraging. The Convention appointed Barras to command the National Guard, and gave him six members to assist him, who were invested with the authority of representatives of the people with the armies—Ferrard, Fréron, Rovère, Delmas, Bolleti, Léonard Bourdon, and Bourdon de l'Oise. Robespierre and all the rest were declared to be out of the pale of the law. The opportunity of the Commune was lost. The partisans of Robespierre had no leader to direct them, and those who might have fought for him turned from the impotent Commune to the Convention, which showed a bold front. The sections of Paris came in succession to the bar of the Convention to declare that they recognized no other authority. The night was dark, and Barras and the representatives traversed Paris with lighted torches. He returned to the Convention with his colleagues, and assured the Assembly that there were no cries except "Live the Republic," "Live the Convention:" all the military arrangements were made, and the Convention was surrounded by Republicans. But there was no time to lose. "I request my colleagues," said Tallien, "to set out forthwith, that the sun may not rise before the heads of the conspirators have fallen." It is said by an eye-witness, that the appearance of the representatives of the people on horseback in their costume, greatly contributed to bring the armed sections on the side of the Convention.

It was past midnight when Barras, with a column of armed men and artillery was before the Hôtel de Ville. Henriot was there, galloping about with his sabre in his hand, crying "Live the Commune;" but his own men were disgusted with their stupid commander, and dropped off or joined the forces of the Convention. Léonard Bourdon arrived with another column. There was no longer any danger of a conflict; and Dulac, an agent of the Committee of General Security, with some grenadiers and sappers, crossed the Place, and broke open the doors of the Hôtel de Ville. Robespierre and his friends were seated round a table in the salle de l'Egalité. When the noise of the approaching footsteps was heard, Lebas shot himself, and fell dead on the floor. The younger Robespierre threw himself through a window into the court, and broke his leg. Coffinhal, who had been active in stirring up the insurrection, and was raving at the miserable failure of it, met Henriot as he was traversing the rooms, and pitched him through a window on a heap of dirt. Léonard Bourdon, with Dulac and a few men, made his way to the Salle de l'Egalité. The door was broken open, and one of the men discharged a pistol at Robespierre, which broke his left jaw; or he discharged a pistol himself.* The paralytic Couthon fell under the table. They were all made prisoners. The mayor was seized, with Payan, Duplay, and the members of the Council. The man, who was then acting as secretary, and taking the minutes, had not time to finish his sentence, which remains incomplete on the original paper, which has been preserved. Coffinhal made his escape, but was taken afterwards. Barras, and his long file of prisoners, returned triumphant to the Convention. Robespierre on a litter, with a handkerchief tied round his bloody head, and without hat or cravat, led the way.

It was between one and two o'clock in the morning (10th Thermidor) when Robespierre was laid on the table of a room adjoining that in which the Committee of Public Safety held their sittings. A box of pinewood, which happened to be there, was placed under

* Léonard Bourdon, in his hurried report to the Convention just after the affair, does not mention Robespierre being wounded either by himself or any other. He said, "This brave gendarme (Meda) took a knife from him:" but this is a mistake. Meda says that he shot Robespierre. His account was written a long time after; and some of the things which he states as facts, are notoriously false. A writer in the 'Quarterly Review' (vol. liv., p. 578) has briefly and acutely examined the evidence, and come to the conclusion that Robespierre wounded himself; for it seems that he had pistols.

his head for a pillow. He had on his sky-blue coat in which he officiated at the Feast of the Supreme Being, nankeen trousers, and white cotton stockings. In his hands he held a small case or bag of white leather, which he made use of to clear the clotted blood from his mouth; and some of the spectators gave him white paper, which he employed for the same purpose. He lay there exposed to all who chose to come and look at him, abused and insulted, even by his former colleagues of the committees. At five in the morning the surgeons examined his wound and dressed it. The lower jaw was broken at the angle: the surgeons removed some of his teeth and portions of the bone, but the ball was not found, nor could its course be traced. His agony was great; but "during all the time that we were dressing him, the monster looked steadily at us, without uttering a single word." When his wound was dressed, he was laid on the table again in a state of perfect consciousness. All at once he raised himself in a sitting posture, pulled up his stockings which were down about his ankles, and sliding off the table took his seat in a chair, and asked for water and linen. At nine in the morning Couthon and Gobault, one of the conspirators of the Commune, were each brought on a litter and laid at the foot of the staircase, which led to the rooms of the Committee of Public Safety. Billaud-Varennes, Barrère, and Collot d'Herbois, the only members of the Committee who were then present, ordered Robespierre and the rest of the prisoners to be taken to the Conciergerie, where Robespierre arrived at about eleven o'clock.*

They were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the afternoon of the 28th of July (10th Thermidor.) Fouquier Tinville, always obedient to orders, merely required the identity of the prisoners to be established, and then called for the immediate application of the decree which had placed them out of the pale of the law. Twenty-one persons were condemned at the same time as Robespierre. Among them were Couthon, St. Just, Henriot, Dumas, former president of the Revolutionary Tribunal, Payan, former National agent of the commune of Paris, the mayor, Fleuriot-Lescot, and Augustin Robespierre, the brother of Maximilien. Most of them were young men. Maximilien Robespierre was thirty-five years of age, Couthon was thirty-eight, and St. Just was six-and-twenty. The scaffold was erected on the Place de la Révolution. The prisoners underwent the torture of a long and slow procession from the Conciergerie to the place of punishment. The streets and the Place de la Révolution were thronged with people. The two Robespierres, Couthon, and Henriot, suffered excruciating pain from the jolting. The dead body of Lebas was their companion in the cart. Robespierre's head was wrapped up with a piece of linen, stained with blood, which supported his jaw and was fastened on his head. The gendarmes pointed him out with their sabres. Shouts and curses attended him to the place of execution from men and women who followed the cart. He passed the house of Duplay, in which he had spent the few tranquil moments that he had enjoyed during the latter part of his residence in Paris. When Robespierre ascended the steps of the scaffold, the brutal executioner tore the bandage from his head and showed his pale, blood-stained, and mutilated face to the multitude. The pain extorted from him a shriek of agony, and the next moment the axe descended. A shout of joy from the Place de la Révolution told all Paris that Robespierre's head had fallen. St. Just submitted to death with the calmness and impassibility of a strong will and a firm faith in his opinions. The leaders of the Jacobins died in silence with courage and with decency.

But twenty-two heads did not satisfy the men who had overthrown the tyrant, for Robespierre now received the title which had been hitherto appropriated to Louis. On the next day seventy persons, who had been arrested at the Hôtel de Ville, when Robespierre was taken prisoner, were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and, as soon as their identity was established, were all condemned. They were crammed into eight or ten carts, taken to the Place de la Révolution, and beheaded. The day after, twelve more were sent to the scaffold in the same way. Many of these men might really have been opposed to the insurrectionary measures of the Commune; but no inquiry was made. One hundred and fourteen persons were brought to the scaffold in three days without trial by the faction which had risen against the tyranny of Robespierre.

The family of Duplay were involved in Robespierre's ruin. On the evening of the day on which Robespierre died, Madame Duplay, it is said, was strangled by some women, who broke into the prison where she was confined. Lebas left a young widow, one of Duplay's daughters, and a child six weeks old. Both mother and child lay in prison for near a year, and Lebas's aged father was thrown into a dungeon at Doullens by an order of the Committee of General Security, which alleged no ground for it, except that he was the father of the conspirator Lebas. But Lebas had generously shared the fate of Robespierre, and was not guilty either of the real or imputed crimes of the man whom he admired and respected. Lebas's widow† and son communicated to the authors of the 'Histoire Parlementaire' all the papers of which they were not robbed by the Thermidorians, as the men were called,

* 'Rapport des officiers de Santé,' &c., &c. The bag which Robespierre held in his hands appears to have been a pistol-case. It happened oddly enough that it was marked with the words, "Au grand Monarque, Lecourt, fourbisseur du roi et de ses troupes, Rue Saint-Honoré," &c.

* 'Hist. Parl.', xxxv., 317—365. Lamartine tells a story about Lebas's widow, which is inconsistent with her being imprisoned for nearly a year, at least if the imprisonment immediately followed her husband's death. According to this story, she preserved, at a great cost to herself, the only portrait of St. Just that existed. St. Just and her husband were much attached to one another; and more than once Lebas, during his missions, moderated his colleague's unrelenting severity.

who accomplished the revolution of the 9th of Thermidor. The letters of Lebas to his wife and to his father show that he was an affectionate husband and a dutiful son. In the matter of Louis he shared the general hatred against the unfortunate king. He was moderate and humane when employed on missions. Few of the Conventionals left behind them a character so free from reproach.

CHAPTER L.

THE REACTION.

The tumult of the night of the 9th of Thermidor was heard in the prisons. Hundreds were trembling for their fate, who knew not whether the morrow might not be the day of their doom. On the 8th of Thermidor (July 26th), while Robespierre was delivering his last speech, fifty-three persons were condemned to death; and on the 9th, the day on which his own fate was sealed, forty-five more were condemned to die. Such was the opinion of Robespierre's power and his cruelty, that he was supposed to be directing the bloody tribunal even while he was struggling for his own life. "There were," says Thibaudeau, himself a member of the Convention, "revolutionary executions at Paris even after the death of Robespierre, as if his manes had still retained some power and required these atrocious sacrifices." This absurd expression is corrected and explained by what follows: "The chief of the terrorists had disappeared; but the party still existed: the Committee of Public Safety had rid itself of Robespierre; the Convention had not rid itself of the Committee of Public Safety—the Collot d'Herbois and the Billaud-Varennes had only overthrown the tyrant in order to reign in his place; they had not for a moment thought of destroying tyranny; for before the 9th of Thermidor the factions of Danton and of Robespierre mutually accused one another of aiming at the destruction of the Revolutionary government and the establishment of indulgence." *

Great were the rejoicings in the prisons on the morning of the 10th, when the "tyrant's" fall was known, and hope of life revived in those who had resigned themselves to despair. Many of the prisoners, who had friends, obtained their release immediately. Legendre, Bourdon de l'Oise, and others, went through the prisons, and assumed the gracious office of pardoning. It does not appear what proportion of the prisoners were released, but the number was large. Legendre, who had been one of the vilest flatterers of Robespierre, and had crouched before his menaces on the occasion of Danton's arrest, was one of those who insulted him after his fall. On the night of the 9th, he went, according to his own account, to the Jacobins, broke up the meeting, and brought away the key of the place, which he produced before the Convention. The Convention were unanimous until they had secured their victory by the punishment of the members of the Commune, but as soon as this was accomplished, each party began to consider what they could get by it. The Hébertistes acted as if they must have the power as a matter of course, and on the 29th of July, Barrère, in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, proposed Fouquier Tinville as public accuser at the Revolutionary Tribunal, which it was proposed to remodel. Yet Robespierre's enemies have said that Fouquier Tinville was Robespierre's tool, though he always denied it himself, and Barrère's proposal seems to show that the Committee of Public Safety considered him as their tool. Lacoste on the same day moved that the Revolutionary Tribunal should be suppressed, because it was composed in a great part of Robespierre's creatures, and that its place should be supplied by a provisional commission, and this was decreed. But on the motion of Billaud-Varennes, the operation of the decree was deferred, "in order that the action of the Tribunal might not be suspended." Again Barrère, in giving an account of the conspiracy of Robespierre and the Commune, said that the Communal committee of execution had determined to shoot all the members of the Revolutionary Tribunal. This was probably a lie of Barrère's invention; but there is a manifest inconsistency in calling the members of the Tribunal Robespierre's creatures, and also asserting that those with whom he was conspiring intended to shoot them. On the 1st of August, Robespierre's law of the 22nd of Prairial was repealed on the motion of Lecointre, and Fouquier Tinville was put under arrest, as a preliminary to his being sent before his own Revolutionary Tribunal. Barrère proposed three new members of the Committee of Public Safety, in place of Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon; and he expected, as a matter of course, that his nominees would be accepted, and that the Committee of Public Safety would thus retain its power. But he was disappointed, and on the 31st of July the members of the Convention voted severally for six new members of the Committee, for the place of Hérault-Séchelles had to be filled up, and those of Jean-Bon-Saint-André and Prieur (de la Marne), who were on missions. The six new members were Tallien, Treilhard, Eschassériaux, Bréard and Thuriot. Of these six Eschassériaux was the only one whom Barrère had proposed. Carnot, Prieur (de la Côte d'Or), Barrère, Robert Lindet, Billaud-Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois, still remained members of the Committee. The Committee of General Security, after the 1st of August, were Amar, Voulland, Panis, Vadier, Boucher-Saint-Sauveur, Louis (du Bas-Rhin), Moïse,

* Thibaudeau, 'Mém.,' i., 89.

Bayle, and Rhül, all members of the old committee, to whom were added Legendre of Paris, Goupilleau, Merlin de Thionville, André Dumont, Bernard de Saintes, and Rewbell. David, Jagot, Lavicomterie, and Lebon, ceased to be members. It was decreed that one-fourth of the members of the Committees of Government should be changed every month. Two decrees were repealed with the view of destroying the dictatorial power which the Committees had exercised: one of these decrees gave the two Committees power to arrest the representatives of the people without any previous report, and the other required the representatives who obtained leave of absence to have it approved by the Committees.

The fall of Robespierre allowed the various elements of the Convention to display themselves. There were Girondins, Dantonists, Hébertistes, and Jacobins, who, though approving of Robespierre's moral and political ideas, had allowed him to perish, chiefly, perhaps, through personal dislike. But there was a new party which sprung into existence on the 9th of Thermidor, formed by Tallien and his friends, sometimes called the Thermidorian party. As to the Convention itself, the members, or the majority, could say nothing against the past system of Terror, for they had sanctioned it themselves. The great culprit was the whole Convention, and justice required the punishment of all. The Convention sacrificed some of the great agents of Terror, who justly said that the Convention was as guilty as themselves. There was no hope of any good from such a body. The Thermidorian party, properly so called, the party which planned the ruin of Robespierre, consisted chiefly of Dantonists, a term which means little more than that they were faithful to the principles of him whose name they bore: they were united by their common immorality, their greediness of money, their profuse expenditure; their sole object was the same as that of a large body of men which exists in all governments, to live on the industry of others. "These were the men who were the first to set the example of that abominable immorality which disgraced the close of the Convention and the Directory, and who displayed in the governing class of that period more shamelessness and corruption than there had ever been in the nobility and in the clergy under the two last kings." The service which these men had done by the overthrow of Robespierre gave them the command of a majority in the Convention, which they managed with great skill. Robespierre and his partisans, Couthon, St. Just, and others, had preached morality, and enforced it by the guillotine: they made morality the order of the day; and though not hypocrites in the matter themselves, they established with the Reign of Terror the reign of hypocrisy. Tallien, Fréron, Rovère, and others, hated morality and the restraint of hypocrisy: they were opposed to the re-establishment of the ancient régime from which they could hope nothing, as well as to the establishment of a new one, which would be the termination of their own power.

On the 2nd of August, Lebon, David, Héron, and Rossignol, were impeached. David had the meanness to declare that it was impossible to conceive how far he had been deceived by that "unfortunate Robespierre;" and he swore that henceforth he would not attach himself to men, but to principles. Lebon had been shortly before the 9th of Thermidor defended by Barrère, and now he was given up as a scapegoat. Yet he was not the great criminal; the guilty were the Committee of Public Safety, and Robespierre was involved in the guilt, as it has been shown. There are two letters of the Committee of Public Safety, written to Lebon, which cover with infamy the men who signed them; but Robespierre's name is not there. One letter is dated the 16th of November, 1793, and signed by Billaud-Varennes, Carnot, and Barrère: "Go on, citizen colleague, in the revolutionary line which you courageously follow; the Committee applaud your labours." The second, written about the same time, is signed by Billaud-Varennes, Carnot, Barrère, and Robert Lindet: "All these measures are not only permitted, but commanded by your mission: nothing ought to stand in the way of your revolutionary progress; abandon yourself to your energy: your powers are unlimited: whatever you shall judge necessary for the safety of your country, you may, you must execute it immediately." Could a sanguinary madman be told in plainer terms to go on murdering? *

On the 10th of August, Merlin of Douay read the draft of a decree for the re-organization of the Revolutionary Tribunal. He said there was not in the new decree a single provision which was not taken either word for word from or founded on the laws relating to the Revolutionary Tribunal, as it existed before the law of the 22nd of Prairial. If that is so, said Duhem, let us keep to the organization as it was before the law of the 22nd of Prairial; and his motion was carried. Duhem's real objection was, that Merlin's measure contained some articles which had the appearance of moderation: he said that he met in the streets nothing but aristocrats set at liberty. Though the prisons had been cleared of a great number, there had been many fresh arrests. A new set of men were named as president, vice-presidents, judges, and jury, of the Revolutionary Tribunal. The new public accuser was Leblois.

The Jacobin club, after Robespierre's death, was at first guided by Thermidorian leaders, Tallien, Legendre, and Dubois Crancé. All the chief personages whom Robespierre had caused to be expelled from the club were restored. But some of the Jacobins soon began

* Carnot seems to have said little in the Convention; and perhaps this may partly explain how he has escaped the general execration pronounced against the directors of Terror. It was said of him, that "he was employed in organizing victories:" but he was also employed in organizing murders. He was either a zealous co-operator with Barrère and Billaud-Varennes, or too timid to oppose them. Either way his character must suffer.

to complain; and on the 13th of August, Chasles said, "In all the great communes, the exquisites and the women with big bonnets, who had deserted the clubs for six months, have returned in crowds since the 11th and 12th of Thermidor; more than six hundred patriots denounced by these messieurs have been arrested; they cover their aristocracy under the false name of hatred of Robespierre." On the 19th of August, Louchet, a man who had hitherto only distinguished himself by moving for the arrest of Robespierre, made a proposition which was equivalent to the restoration of the Reign of Terror: "To feel compassion," he said, "for the fate of the former privileged class is a crime, and to punish them is a duty." His proposal consisted of three articles, one of which was, that "all former nobles, and all fathers and mothers of emigrants, should be immediately lodged again in prison." Tallien said that terror was the arm of tyranny: "Robespierre also was continually saying that terror should be the order of the day, and while he incarcerated and sent patriots to the scaffold, he protected the knaves who were his tools." The Convention decreed that Louchet's motion should be printed and referred to the Committee of Public Safety. This move of the Jacobins in the Convention was supported by the Jacobin club, who resolved that the society should go in a body to the Convention, to petition that a list should be made of all the prisoners who had been released, and that the Revolutionary Government should be maintained in all its energy, but free from the abuses which the horrible faction of the triumvirs had introduced into it. The society came to the bar of the Convention, and read their address, to which the Convention replied by passing to the order of the day. The treatment which the Jacobins received from the Convention was followed by a stormy discussion in their club; but they submitted to the will of the Convention. Good patriots, as they were called, were however alarmed at certain suspicious movements which followed the release of the "suspected" from their prisons. Dufourny, at the Jacobins denounced the electoral club, commonly called the club of the Évêché, for intending to propose this question to the sections, "Shall the people have the right of election restored to them?" If this question were answered in the affirmative, it would be the same thing as calling for the dissolution of the Convention, the immediate convocation of the primary assemblies and the election of a new legislature. The club of the Évêché in fact did petition the Convention (6th of September) for the unlimited freedom of the press and the election of public functionaries by the people; and the Convention passed to the order of the day. Billaud-Varennes remarked that this club had always been the centre of counter-revolution. The Jacobins were opposed to the move of the club of the Évêché, which they considered a sign of counter-revolution. A new election at this time might probably have shown that there was a great re-action in opinion. But the principle of the Jacobins was not to allow the nation to express their opinion: the Revolution was to be maintained in spite of a majority. The unlimited liberty of printing was also dreaded by the revolutionary party, because they saw that all their enemies, Girondins, royalists, the suspected who had been released from prison, and all the various shades of the Thermidorian party were in favour of it. Fréron, who now resumed his 'Orateur du Peuple,' which had been suspended in November, 1792, read at the tribune of the Convention a long discourse in favour of the unlimited freedom of the press, which the Convention ordered to be printed and referred to the Committee of Legislation. He said that so many cruelties, so many calamities, would not have happened, if the press had remained free, if the tyrant (Robespierre) had not stifled every voice which would have spoken of his innumerable crimes.

Lecointre of Versailles, who was a man of courage, and had some honesty, attempted to do an act of justice. On the 29th of August he said: "Citizen colleagues, I undertake to prove to the National Convention, both by authentic documents and by witnesses, that our colleagues, Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrère, members of the Committee of Public Safety, and Vadier, Amar, Voulland, and David, members of the Committee of General Security, are chargeable on the following heads. He read twenty-six articles of complaint. Most of them were distinct and precise, and many of them were notoriously true. It was a much fairer acte d'accusation than these unprincipled men had ever produced against any of their victims. A member cried out, that "the man at the tribune was a villain;" and this member was Carrier. Billaud-Varennes defied Lecointre to prove his charges. This was impudent enough, for the Convention knew that many of them were true. Thuriot, who had become a kind of peace-maker, moved, and it was carried, "that the deputies who had been accused had always behaved conformably to the wishes of the Nation and of the Convention, and that accordingly the Convention rejected with the most profound indignation the denunciation of Lecointre, and passed to the order of the day." Cambon, who was an honest man up to a certain point, said that if these deputies could be charged with such offences, the charge would apply of necessity to all the members of the Convention; and he told the aristocrats that their trick was seen through. The more honest part of the revolutionists saw they could not put these men on their trial, for thus the Convention would be put on its trial, and the Revolution itself called in question. This decision did not satisfy either party. It was the subject of talk all over Paris. The young men, who soon obtained the name of La Jeunesse dorée, to whom Fréron's journal was addressed, said that they would soon force the Convention to consider this affair; and the following day the hall of the Assembly was crowded with spectators who came to see what further would be done. A contemporary gives a picture of the deputies who were denounced. Their complexion and physiognomy bore traces of

labour and nightly vigils, for undoubtedly they had worked hard. The habitude and the necessity of secrecy had imprinted on their countenance the sombre character of dissimulation. Their hollow, blood-shot eyes had a sinister expression. Their conscience, though seared with a hot iron, could not have lost all its sensitiveness. The haggard look of some of them might be partly the effect of their debauchery. Collot d'Herbois, it is said, indulged freely in brandy, and was generally half drunk. "The long exercise of power had given to their expression and bearing something of a proud and disdainful air: the members of the Committee of General Security looked like the old lieutenants-general of police, and those of the Committee of Public Safety like the former ministers of state." When the secretary read the formal minute of the decree of the day before on the denunciation of Lecointre, a violent discussion commenced. Nobody took Lecointre's part. Some said that he ought to be sent to a mad-house. Collot d'Herbois concluded some remarks by saying that he and his colleagues hoped, by doing good, to increase every moment that regret which Lecointre must in his heart feel for having denounced them. This was rather a sign that he and his colleagues were afraid. Cambon at last moved that Lecointre's denunciation be declared calumnious, which was unanimously agreed to in the midst of great applause.

The Jacobins now began to be louder in their complaints. They said that when the houses of detention were established, one could scarcely find a single patriot among a hundred prisoners: now it would be difficult to find a single aristocrat among as many prisoners: all the prisoners were patriots. Carrier accused Tallien at the Jacobins of being a partisan of Lecointre, and of having urged him to denounce the members of the two Committees. The party of Tallien and the Jacobins were daily becoming more hostile, and the Jacobins were recovering their strength, when two events happened which helped to ruin them in public opinion. On the 31st of August the powder-magazine of Grenelle exploded with a terrific noise, which was heard all through Paris and the neighbourhood. Fifty or sixty persons were killed, and as many seriously hurt. The Jacobins were suspected of having caused this mischief, but no proof was ever produced, nor any reason given why they should be accused of it. On the same day, Barrère, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud-Varennes went out of the Committee of Public Safety: Tallien also resigned. The four members were supplied by Delmas, Cochon, Merlin of Douay, and Fourcroy. Tallien could not keep his place; for besides his alleged dealing with Lecointre, the party of which he was the head was charged with having been the most active in releasing prisoners and filling the streets of Paris with suspected persons. The Jacobins attacked Tallien at their club. Carrier said that the late explosion of the powder-magazine, the release of a great number of former nobles and priests, and other things, would show that there was a conspiracy, a faction which favoured the conspiracy, and that Tallien was the head of it. Another member said that Fréron and Tallien had instigated Lecointre to make an attack on the Convention by attacking the members of the Committees, and he moved their expulsion from the society. Tallien now used the language of an honest man, whatever his motives might have been: he said that he had only required that the Revolutionary government should be freed from the harsh forms which surrounded it, that innocent families should not be attacked, that vigorous measures should be taken, but such as prudence and virtue dictated; and these were the principles which he would support as long as he lived. Tallien and Fréron were obliged to lay down their cards of membership, and they left the Jacobins, embracing one another. The Jacobins had renewed their correspondence with the departments, and addresses both to the Convention and the club flowed in, which called for the organization of Revolutionary Committees, the arrest of suspected persons, and the vigorous maintenance of the Revolutionary government.

On the 9th of September, about midnight, as Tallien was going home to his mother's, he received a pistol-shot, which stretched him on the ground. The assassin escaped; a circumstance which, combined with the slightness of the wound, made some people think that the affair was merely a contrivance to throw odium on the Jacobins. But the surgeon's evidence shows that there was a real wound, and that a ball had passed through Tallien's clothes. The Convention were now receiving addresses from the popular societies, full of complaints against moderantism and aristocracy. Collot d'Herbois said that it was time to open their eyes, to seize again the reins of government with a firm and bold hand, to restore to the patriots their energy, and to silence the aristocrats. A deputation from the Jacobins followed, with loud complaints of the incarceration of patriots all over the Republic, and the release of aristocrats and suspected persons. On this occasion the deputation received the honours of the sitting. The Convention was tossed about between the Jacobins and the Thermidorians; but the Jacobins had no head to guide them, no influence with the Committees of government, and very little over public opinion. The Committee of General Security, which had the duties of police, still went on releasing and imprisoning in accordance with the views of the Thermidorians, of whom the Committee was composed. Opinion was daily becoming more decided against the Jacobins. The Revolutionary Committee of Nantes had sent to Paris, in November, 1793, one hundred and thirty-two persons to be tried. Only ninety-seven reached Paris in January, 1794, and they were not tried till September in the same year.* They were charged with conspiring against the people, encouraging federalism, corresponding with the emigrants, and other counter-

* Their sufferings are told in the 'Voyage de Cent trente-deux Nantois, envoyés à Paris, par le Comité Révolutionnaire de Nantes;' 'Mém. sur les Prisons,' vol. ii.

revolutionary measures. They were acquitted on the 14th of September; and their acquittal made people call more eagerly for the trial of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes, and of Carrier, whom the Jacobins defended to the last. The Jacobins were assailed with pamphlets, which recommended the destruction of their club. One of the pamphlets, entitled 'La Queue de Robespierre,' or, 'The Dangers of the Liberty of the Press,' had a great vogue, though it has no merit. It is, as its title shows, a piece of irony. The Muscadins, as they had been called, and now the Jeunesse dorée, many of whom were young men who had contrived to evade the military service, or had made their way back from the frontiers as soon as they could, were the enemies of the Revolution, and, it is said, the most depraved and turbulent part of the population of Paris. They began to parade the streets in bodies; and on the 18th of September a great number of them being assembled at the Palais Royal maltreated some Jacobins. The rallying cry of the Muscadins was, "Live the Convention; down with the Jacobins." The reign of the Jacobins was drawing to a close.

The Committees of government had hitherto said little; but on the 20th of September, Robert Lindet, in the names of the Committees of Public Safety, General Security, and Legislation, made a long report on the internal condition of the Republic.* On the whole it is a piece not without some merit. It imputed, of course, much of the past evil to Robespierre. One of Robespierre's old colleagues, who had joined him in signing many orders, could not now do less than throw all the blame on the man who was not there to answer for himself, and who had not left even one behind him to defend his name. According to Lindet, Robespierre wished to destroy the arts, the sciences, and commerce. The report was well received, and several decrees were passed in conformity to the recommendations contained in it. One provided for the immediate examination of the case of fathers and mothers of defenders of the country, and of all agriculturists, artists, and persons in trade, who had been arrested; another for the institution of normal schools; and a third was designed for the improvement of the finances, commerce, and agriculture.

On the following day the remains of Marat were at last transferred to the Pantheon, pursuant to a decree of the Convention, who appeared in the procession. It might be supposed that this honour paid to the Friend of the People was the work of the Jacobins only; but though the Jacobins could not object to see Marat removed to the Pantheon, the Thermidorians were active in the matter also. They wished to maintain a revolutionary reputation, as it appears, in order to protect themselves against the charges of the Jacobins; and they could hardly have had any other motive. Fréron, in his Journal, affected to call himself "the cherished disciple" of Marat, and he boasted of having assisted Marat in the 'Ami du Peuple.' Just at the moment when the coffin of Marat was taken from the car, the "impure remains of the royalist Mirabeau were ejected from the temple of great men by a side door." After the ceremony of Marat's removal to the Pantheon, all the theatres were opened to the people, and pieces were represented which were adapted to cherish the love of liberty, and the hatred of tyrants and of tyranny. The transfer of Rousseau's remains to the Pantheon took place on the 11th of October, with the ceremonies usual at this period. A group of musicians led the procession, and executed one of Rousseau's airs, which, "simple and full of expression, excited a religious feeling well-suited to the circumstances." The procession was closed by the Convention, at whose head figured "the Social Contract, the Pharos of legislators," to use the language of the day; the rock which they must avoid, to use the language of reason and of experience.

Two days after this apotheosis of Rousseau, the Convention did an act of justice. The Revolutionary Tribunal was instructed to try without delay the members of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes. This trial brought to light a mass of crimes such as were never committed in any age nor in any country;* and it increased the hostile feeling against the Jacobins, who had neither the decency nor the prudence to separate their cause from that of Carrier. The fourteen men who were tried admitted the crimes with which they were charged, but they threw all the blame on Carrier. The Convention, upon hearing a report of the evidence given at this trial, appointed a committee of twenty-one members to inquire into the conduct of Carrier, and to report upon it.

Marat had received his honours, but the Thermidorians and the Jacobins were still in hostile attitude to one another. The club of the Jacobins published an address to all the popular societies of the Republic, which began: "Brothers and Friends, the triumvirs, struck by the sword of the law, and whose memory is devoted to anathema, teach us all this great lesson, that principles and country are everything, and that men are nothing; that the idolatry of men is a public crime, which kills liberty and equality." The address declared that there was a design to destroy the fraternal union maintained by the parent society, and that aristocracy and moderantism were raising their audacious head: "The dangerous reaction caused by the fall of the triumvirs still continues; and out of the storms, raised by all the enemies of the people openly united against liberty, has sprung a new faction which tends to the dissolution of all the popular societies." To this declaration of war the Convention responded on the 9th of October, by an address to the French people. If this address had been made in good faith, and if it had proceeded from a body which was entitled

* Printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvi., 83—112.

* Extraits de la procédure du Comité Révolutionnaire de Nantes, 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxv., 147, &c.; and xxxiv., 149, &c., the trial of Carrier and the rest.

to respect, there would be little to say against it, except that it is feeble and vague. But it was followed by a measure which annihilated the Jacobins, a decree relating to popular societies. The first article was: "All affiliations, aggregations, federations, as well as all correspondence in a collective name, between societies, under whatsoever name they exist, are forbidden, as subversive of the government and contrary to the unity of the Republic." The following articles were designed to give effect to this general declaration. This was the death-blow of the popular societies in France, which were created by the Jacobins, and owed their existence and their strength to the principle of affiliation and correspondence. The death of Robespierre deprived the parent society of its head and soul. The Jacobins still talked of morality; but if there were a few honest men among them without name and without talent, there was a host of unprincipled fellows who were only blind leaders.

The reaction manifested itself (22nd of October) in a petition from the seventy-three Girondins who had been confined after the 31st of May, which raised a difficult question; for Tallien said that the 31st of May was consecrated as one of the great epochs of the Revolution, and that it could not be called in question. Cambon widened the breach between the Girondins and the Thermidorians. Though opposed to the events of the 31st of May, it was not solely regard to the vanquished party that moved him: he hated Tallien and the Thermidorians, whom he knew to be dishonest men, and he began to fear that Robespierre's prophecy would be realized, that the Republic would become the prey of knaves. When he was driven from France, and living in exile, he said, "I know that Robespierre intended to bring me to the guillotine, but I shall nevertheless regret all my life that I contributed to his fall." The sitting of the 22nd of October proves the dishonesty of the Thermidorians. A man got up to denounce those who had deluged France with blood: he spoke of the massacres of Nîmes, of the drownings at Nantes, and of the horrors committed in the department of Pas de Calais; but he said nothing of the massacres of Lyon or of Toulon. This man was Tallien. Fouché, his rival in hypocrisy, had the impudence to advocate the cause of Lyon; and on his motion a decree had been passed on the 7th of October, by which the state of siege at Lyon was raised, and the old name was restored to it in place of its new appellation of Commune-Affranchie. On the 8th of November, Cambon's indignation broke forth in the Convention. The question of the maximum was under discussion, and Cambon proposed that, considering the depreciation of the paper money, fixed salaries should be raised in proportion to the price of wheat. Tallien said that there was perfidy in the discussion. Cambon, whose financial operations were attacked in the 'Orateur du Peuple' of Fréron, and in the 'Ami des Citoyens,' which Tallien and Mehée (fils) conducted, replied that he would say what he thought in spite of libellists, and he pointed to the side where Fréron and Tallien sat: he called for the examination of his accounts; ten minutes would be enough to show in what state they were. He charged Tallien with misappropriation of public money, when he was in the service of the Commune. He called him a sanguinary monster. There was no immediate result of all this violence. Tallien waited for his opportunity.

On the 9th of November the Jacobins were sitting for the last time but one. Their club was surrounded by a crowd, and a disturbance was got up by the Jeunesse dorée of Fréron. Nicknames were now freely bandied about. The Jeunesse dorée were generally called Muscadins; to which Fréron replied by giving to his enemies the name of "chevaliers de la guillotine." The women who favoured the Muscadins were the "femmes à fontanges," the women with the top-knots: to this name Fréron opposed "les furies de la guillotine." There is no account of this sitting of the Jacobins, except a ludicrous one in the 'Annales Patriotiques,' from which it is difficult to collect the facts. A cry of alarm, of assassination, from a side gallery, spread terror among the people assembled at the Jacobins, and there was a rush to the door. Outside, men and women of all ages and conditions were mingled in confusion. There were cries, and threats, and blows. Those who rushed out of the club seem to have fallen into the hands of their enemies, who were round the place. Some of the furies of the guillotine, it is said, were seized by the Jeunesse dorée, maltreated, and even whipped. There was a fearful tumult, which lasted several hours, until some members of the Committees of Public Safety and General Security made their appearance, and induced the people in the streets to retire by promising that justice should be done. Most of the members of the club seem to have remained inside till they were assured by the representatives of the people of the measures that had been taken to restore tranquillity. This affair led to a violent debate in the Convention on the following day. Rewbell said that the Jacobins were the cause of all the disturbance, and that they had attacked the Muscadins: at any rate, he added, blows were exchanged between both sides pretty freely. He charged the Jacobins with wishing for the return of the Reign of Terror, and he imputed to them all the misfortunes of France.

On the 11th of November (21 Brumaire) was presented to the Convention the report of the Commission of the Twenty-one. Carrier made a long defence at the tribune: he said that his case was the same as that of the representatives who had sent to Lyon, Marseille, Toulon, and La Vendée; but it was decreed that he should be placed under arrest in his own house under the care of four gendarmes. The sitting of the 11th was the last for the Jacobins. Early in the evening they were assembled. There is no record of this sitting except one which was designed to ridicule the Jacobins. The news of Carrier being put under arrest disconcerted his friends, but they comforted themselves with reading the Declaration of Rights.

revolutionary measures. They were acquitted on the 14th of September; and their acquittal made people call more eagerly for the trial of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes, and of Carrier, whom the Jacobins defended to the last. The Jacobins were assailed with pamphlets, which recommended the destruction of their club. One of the pamphlets, entitled 'La Queue de Robespierre,' or, 'The Dangers of the Liberty of the Press,' had a great vogue, though it has no merit. It is, as its title shows, a piece of irony. The Muscadins, as they had been called, and now the Jeunesse dorée, many of whom were young men who had contrived to evade the military service, or had made their way back from the frontiers as soon as they could, were the enemies of the Revolution, and, it is said, the most depraved and turbulent part of the population of Paris. They began to parade the streets in bodies; and on the 18th of September a great number of them being assembled at the Palais Royal maltreated some Jacobins. The rallying cry of the Muscadins was, "Live the Convention; down with the Jacobins." The reign of the Jacobins was drawing to a close.

The Committees of government had hitherto said little; but on the 20th of September, Robert Lindet, in the names of the Committees of Public Safety, General Security, and Legislation, made a long report on the internal condition of the Republic.* On the whole it is a piece not without some merit. It imputed, of course, much of the past evil to Robespierre. One of Robespierre's old colleagues, who had joined him in signing many orders, could not now do less than throw all the blame the man who was not there to answer for himself, and who had not left even one behind him to defend his name. According to Lindet, Robespierre wished to destroy the arts, the sciences, and commerce. The report was well received, and several decrees were passed in conformity to the recommendations contained in it. One provided for the immediate examination of the case of fathers and mothers of defenders of the country, and of all agriculturists, artists, and persons in trade, who had been arrested; another for the institution of normal schools; and a third was designed for the improvement of the finances, commerce, and agriculture.

On the following day the remains of Marat were at last transferred to the Pantheon, pursuant to a decree of the Convention, who appeared in the procession. It might be supposed that this honour paid to the Friend of the People was the work of the Jacobins only; but though the Jacobins could not object to see Marat removed to the Pantheon, the Thermidorians were active in the matter also. They wished to maintain a revolutionary reputation, as it appears, in order to protect themselves against the charges of the Jacobins; and they could hardly have had any other motive. Fréron, in his Journal, affected to call himself "the cherished disciple" of Marat, and he boasted of having assisted Marat in the 'Ami du Peuple.' Just at the moment when the coffin of Marat was taken from the car, the "impure remains of the royalist Mirabeau were ejected from the temple of great men by a side door." After the ceremony of Marat's removal to the Pantheon, all the theatres were opened to the people, and pieces were represented which were adapted to cherish the love of liberty, and the hatred of tyrants and of tyranny. The transfer of Rousseau's remains to the Pantheon took place on the 11th of October, with the ceremonies usual at this period. A group of musicians led the procession, and executed one of Rousseau's airs, which, "simple and full of expression, excited a religious feeling well-suited to the circumstances." The procession was closed by the Convention, at whose head figured "the Social Contract, the Pharos of legislators," to use the language of the day; the rock which they must avoid, to use the language of reason and of experience.

Two days after this apotheosis of Rousseau, the Convention did an act of justice. The Revolutionary Tribunal was instructed to try without delay the members of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes. This trial brought to light a mass of crimes such as were never committed in any age nor in any country;* and it increased the hostile feeling against the Jacobins, who had neither the decency nor the prudence to separate their cause from that of Carrier. The fourteen men who were tried admitted the crimes with which they were charged, but they threw all the blame on Carrier. The Convention, upon hearing a report of the evidence given at this trial, appointed a committee of twenty-one members to inquire into the conduct of Carrier, and to report upon it.

Marat had received his honours, but the Thermidorians and the Jacobins were still in hostile attitude to one another. The club of the Jacobins published an address to all the popular societies of the Republic, which began: "Brothers and Friends, the triumvirs, struck by the sword of the law, and whose memory is devoted to anathema, teach us all this great lesson, that principles and country are everything, and that men are nothing; that the idolatry of men is a public crime, which kills liberty and equality." The address declared that there was a design to destroy the fraternal union maintained by the parent society, and that aristocracy and moderantism were raising their audacious head: "The dangerous reaction caused by the fall of the triumvirs still continues; and out of the storms, raised by all the enemies of the people openly united against liberty, has sprung a new faction which tends to the dissolution of all the popular societies." To this declaration of war the Convention responded on the 9th of October, by an address to the French people. If this address had been made in good faith, and if it had proceeded from a body which was entitled

* Printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvi., 83—112.

* Extraits de la procédure du Comité Révolutionnaire de Nantes, 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxv., 147, &c.; and xxxiv., 149, &c., the trial of Carrier and the rest.

to respect, there would be little to say against it, except that it is feeble and vague. But it was followed by a measure which annihilated the Jacobins, a decree relating to popular societies. The first article was: "All affiliations, aggregations, federations, as well as all correspondence in a collective name, between societies, under whatsoever name they exist, are forbidden, as subversive of the government and contrary to the unity of the Republic." The following articles were designed to give effect to this general declaration. This was the death-blow of the popular societies in France, which were created by the Jacobins, and owed their existence and their strength to the principle of affiliation and correspondence. The death of Robespierre deprived the parent society of its head and soul. The Jacobins still talked of morality; but if there were a few honest men among them without name and without talent, there was a host of unprincipled fellows who were only blind leaders.

The reaction manifested itself (22nd of October) in a petition from the seventy-three Girondins who had been confined after the 31st of May, which raised a difficult question; for Tallien said that the 31st of May was consecrated as one of the great epochs of the Revolution, and that it could not be called in question. Cambon widened the breach between the Girondins and the Thermidorians. Though opposed to the events of the 31st of May, it was not solely regard to the vanquished party that moved him: he hated Tallien and the Thermidorians, whom he knew to be dishonest men, and he began to fear that Robespierre's prophecy would be realized, that the Republic would become the prey of knaves. When he was driven from France, and living in exile, he said, "I know that Robespierre intended to bring me to the guillotine, but I shall nevertheless regret all my life that I contributed to his fall." The sitting of the 22nd of October proves the dishonesty of the Thermidorians. A man got up to denounce those who had deluged France with blood: he spoke of the massacres of Nîmes, of the drownings at Nantes, and of the horrors committed in the department of Pas de Calais; but he said nothing of the massacres of Lyon or of Toulon. This man was Tallien. Fouché, his rival in hypocrisy, had the impudence to advocate the cause of Lyon; and on his motion a decree had been passed on the 7th of October, by which the state of siege at Lyon was raised, and the old name was restored to it in place of its new appellation of Commune-Affranchie. On the 8th of November, Cambon's indignation broke forth in the Convention. The question of the maximum was under discussion, and Cambon proposed that, considering the depreciation of the paper money, fixed salaries should be raised in proportion to the price of wheat. Tallien said that there was perfidy in the discussion. Cambon, whose financial operations were attacked in the 'Orateur du Peuple' of Fréron, and in the 'Ami des Citoyens,' which Tallien and Mehée (fils) conducted, replied that he would say what he thought in spite of libellists, and he pointed to the side where Fréron and Tallien sat: he called for the examination of his accounts; ten minutes would be enough to show in what state they were. He charged Tallien with misappropriation of public money, when he was in the service of the Commune. He called him a sanguinary monster. There was no immediate result of all this violence. Tallien waited for his opportunity.

On the 9th of November the Jacobins were sitting for the last time but one. Their club was surrounded by a crowd, and a disturbance was got up by the Jeunesse dorée of Fréron. Nicknames were now freely bandied about. The Jeunesse dorée were generally called Muscadins; to which Fréron replied by giving to his enemies the name of "chevaliers de la guillotine." The women who favoured the Muscadins were the "femmes à fontanges," the women with the top-knots: to this name Fréron opposed "les furies de la guillotine." There is no account of this sitting of the Jacobins, except a ludicrous one in the 'Annales Patriotiques,' from which it is difficult to collect the facts. A cry of alarm, of assassination, from a side gallery, spread terror among the people assembled at the Jacobins, and there was a rush to the door. Outside, men and women of all ages and conditions were mingled in confusion. There were cries, and threats, and blows. Those who rushed out of the club seem to have fallen into the hands of their enemies, who were round the place. Some of the furies of the guillotine, it is said, were seized by the Jeunesse dorée, maltreated, and even whipped. There was a fearful tumult, which lasted several hours, until some members of the Committees of Public Safety and General Security made their appearance, and induced the people in the streets to retire by promising that justice should be done. Most of the members of the club seem to have remained inside till they were assured by the representatives of the people of the measures that had been taken to restore tranquillity. This affair led to a violent debate in the Convention on the following day. Rewbell said that the Jacobins were the cause of all the disturbance, and that they had attacked the Muscadins: at any rate, he added, blows were exchanged between both sides pretty freely. He charged the Jacobins with wishing for the return of the Reign of Terror, and he imputed to them all the misfortunes of France.

On the 11th of November (21 Brumaire) was presented to the Convention the report of the Commission of the Twenty-one. Carrier made a long defence at the tribune: he said that his case was the same as that of the representatives who had been sent to Lyon, Marseille, Toulon, and La Vendée; but it was decreed that he should be placed under arrest in his own house under the care of four gendarmes. The sitting of the 11th was the last for the Jacobins. Early in the evening they were assembled. There is no record of this sitting except one which was designed to ridicule the Jacobins. The news of Carrier being put under arrest disconcerted his friends, but they comforted themselves with reading the Declaration of Rights.

Then came a long talk about the affair of the 9th of November. Every one had some dreadful story to tell of being beaten, scratched, and having his clothes torn. This silly trifling, and idle talk, went on all the night. Early on the next morning, before day-break, the door was closed by order of the Committees of Government, and seals were put on it. This was the end of the Jacobin club. Some of the members were arrested by order of the Committee of General Security. The 'Orateur du Peuple' says that there was general rejoicing at the closing of the Jacobin club: in the cafés and the pot-houses they drank to the health of the Convention. But the Convention had only killed a dead body: the Jacobins had lost their power, which fell with their preacher on the 9th of Thermidor. Those who saw a little further into matters, did not consider the end of the Jacobins as the closing scene of the Revolution; and it was well remarked, that as there would be abundant cause of complaint about evils, the causes of which were not removed, the Convention must now bear all the blame, for they had lost the Jacobins, who could have always been made the scapegoat for all that went wrong.

On the 8th of December, on the report of Merlin of Douay, the seventy-three Girondins, who had been imprisoned, were restored to the Convention by a decree. Four other members were included in the decree, among whom was Thomas Paine. The proscribed deputies did not obtain the same favour without much opposition and some delay; but in the early part of 1795 they were restored to the Convention—Louvet, Lanjuinais, Isnard, and others. Sièyes appeared again on the stage, apparently about the close of the year,—he who had made so great a figure in the Constituent, who had been silent during the struggle between the Girondins and the Jacobins, and who never once opened his mouth during the Reign of Terror. In an account of his own life, he said that "the predominant quality of his mind was a passion for truth, the search after which absorbed him almost entirely." He had also another ruling passion, which he does not mention; and that was fear. The self-sufficiency of Sièyes, and his dastardly behaviour, were well exposed by a journalist of the day.*

On the 23rd of November, a decree was carried for the impeachment of Carrier. Five hundred members were present, of whom 498 voted for the impeachment, and two conditionally. He was removed to the Conciergerie, tried in December, with his accomplices, and condemned to death. Two of his accomplices, Pinard and Grandmaison, were condemned at the same time; the rest were acquitted by the tribunal. It is said that Carrier died with firmness. Though his punishment was merited, there were many in the Convention who were as guilty as he was; and the execution of a representative was a significant token that the counter-revolution would have its vengeance.

The Convention annulled the verdict of the revolutionary tribunal as to the members of the revolutionary committee of Nantes, who had been acquitted, and put them again under arrest. At the close of December, the revolutionary tribunal was remodelled conformably to a report made by Merlin of Douay; and it was made something like a court of justice. This single law shows what a change had taken place since the law of the 22nd of Prairial.†

* Richer Serisy, in the 4th number of the 'Accusateur Public,' printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvi., 194.

† Printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvi, 223, &c.

CHAPTER LI.

FAMINE.

The questions of removing the sequestrations that had been laid upon property, and annulling and making compensation for confiscations which were the consequence of judicial sentences, were discussed as early as the beginning of December, 1794. At the end of December the sequestration was removed from the property of foreigners who belonged to countries at war with France, with the exception of two millions which belonged to the bank of St. Charles. The exception was made on Cambon's motion, and was merely an act of personal hostility to Tallien, who had just married Madame de Fontenay, otherwise Theresa Cabarus, a great part of whose fortune was said to be in this bank.

The fall of Robespierre brought practically freedom of the press, and numerous pamphlets appeared; in some of which royalist opinions were expressed with little reserve. The laws as to the maximum were abolished in December, 1794. To fix a price for anything, and more particularly for the necessaries of life, is very absurd; but when such a system has existed for a time, a sudden change from restraint to freedom may greatly increase the price of necessaries for a short period. The members of the Convention found that it was so; and in January, 1794, they raised their own daily pay, as members, to thirty-six livres, a measure which furnished a ground for future insurrection.

The return of the seventy-three deputies to the Convention gave the Thermidorians sufficient power to attack the members of the former committees of government. In conformity to a decree of the Convention (26th December, 1794), which was passed on the motion of Clauzel, Merlin of Douay reported that

there were grounds for examining into the conduct of Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrère, and Vadier; but not of Amar, David, and Voulland. The report was adopted, and a commission of twenty-one members, chosen by lot, was appointed to make the inquiry. On the 7th of January, 1795, Courtois read his report on the papers of Robespierre. The report is a worthless production, besprinkled with quotations from Latin authors, allusions to antiquity, and beflowered with the worst rhetoric of the day. The extracts from Robespierre's papers are made solely with the view of putting him in the most odious and ridiculous light. The report is not of the slightest use in aiding us to form an estimate of Robespierre; but it is a lasting monument of the malignity and imbecility of his enemies, who could produce nothing better than this.* It perverts the plainest meaning of some passages in his papers,† to prove that he aimed at a tyranny. Many of the papers of Robespierre were destroyed, or lost, or sold. If they had been fairly dealt with, we should have better means of judging of the man, though enough has been preserved to give him no enviable reputation. He had, however, a purpose which he attempted to realize in his way. It is said that there were letters of Bonaparte to Robespierre in the collection, for Bonaparte was on some terms of intimacy with him. Bonaparte said at St. Helena, that he had seen long letters from Robespierre to his brother, when he was with the army at Nice, in which he blamed the cruel measures of the commissioners of the Convention. There was much discussion as to printing the papers of Robespierre, and it was finally resolved to print only those addressed to Robespierre by his colleagues. But the Thermidorians took care to print only such letters as would compromise their enemies. As an example, not a single letter of André Dumont was printed, though he had written letters to Robespierre in the meanest style of adulation. If all the papers found in Robespierre's possession had been printed, many of the men who destroyed him would have been covered with confusion.

The repeal of the law of the maximum, the dearness of provisions, and the increase of the pay of the members of the Assembly, had caused great dissatisfaction. Fréron also was still agitating with his 'Orateur du Peuple,' and calling on the Jeunesse to avenge themselves on the Jacobins: "You have already," he said, shut up their meeting-place; you will do more, you will annihilate them." The Jeunesse responded by placarding the walls of Paris, and promising to be worthy of their leader. The character of these turbulent young men, who played so great a part in the reaction, has been already described. They were recruited in the cafés, pot-houses, among the clerks, shop-boys, servants, and others of the like class. They were headed by a number of young men who had served in the army and had taken advantage of the confusion which followed the 9th of Thermidor to quit it. It is said that the prisoners who were confined as suspected persons joined them when they were released, and affected a kind of dress which, in prison language, was called "La toilette des prisons." They wore their hair very short behind, as if it were ready cut for the operation of the guillotine, but very long in front and hanging down over their eyes, which gave them a most piteous appearance, as is shown in some of the caricatures of the times. They introduced what were called "bals des victimes," to which no one could be admitted who could not show that some relation of his had been guillotined. There were Thermidorian fashions for the women, bonnets *à l'humanité*, corsets *à la justice*. Ladies of fashion affected a costume, of which nudity was the characteristic, somewhat after the style of the Goddesses of Reason, whom Chaumette and Hébert had produced in Greek and Roman dress. A certain drawling, inarticulate style of speaking came in vogue, an imitation of the conceited affectation of a former period. Such a pronunciation as "'pon my wo'd of hono', tis incre'ible," was the fashion. The reign of this foolery was short. The "malady" of these silly youths was cleverly ridiculed in the 'Journal de Paris' after the fit was over, though the same journal had been their partizan. The malady was described under the name of Semsa or Sexa, the meaning of which it would be difficult to guess.* "The lips of the patients," says the writer of this humourous article, "scarcely seem to move, and the only result of their slight motion is a confused whisper, not unlike the sound of *pz*, *pz*, when we call a little dog."

The morality preached by the chief of the Jacobins, enforced by his example and the terrors of the guillotine, only produced hypocrisy. Of the probity of Robespierre and St. Just there is no doubt; and the few tales of scandal against them that circulated at a time when lying was the "order of the day," do not shake in the slightest degree the evidence of their rigorous morality according to their own conceptions. The principle of Robespierre's democracy was Virtue: it was the object of the Revolution to purge society of the enemies of Virtue, in order to establish the basis of this government. In times of peace Virtue is the mainspring of a popular government; of a popular government in a state of revolution, Virtue and Terror — Virtue, without which Terror is mischievous — Terror, without which Virtue is impotent: Terror is nothing but justice, prompt, severe, inflexible; consequently it is an emanation of Virtue. Robespierre

* The report of Courtois is printed at the head of the 'Papiers Inédits,' 3 vols. 8vo. These volumes contain the papers found in the possession of Robespierre, St. Just, Payan, and others, and which were suppressed or omitted by Courtois.

† For instance, "Il faut une volonté une;" the meaning of which is clear enough in Robespierre's paper.

* It is explained to be an abbreviation of the usual expression, "Qu'est-ce que c'est que cela," which the persons suffering under the malady pronounced "Sexa."

proved that Terror was criminal under a despotic government, and that it is salutary and indispensible under a democratic government; because under a despotism terror only protects crime, and under a democracy it only protects virtue. "This was the way in which things were viewed in this man's truly infernal head." * But Virtue enforced is only Vice disguised; and when the fierce preacher of morality was taken away by his own Terror, Vice showed herself without her mask. Voluptuousness and licentiousness seem to be the natural product of a puritanism which has been maintained by terror. Thibaudeau's picture of the "high society" of this period, in which the externals of decency were well enough observed, gives us a glimpse of what it really was. Two women ruled supreme; Madame Récamier by her beauty and simplicity; and Madame Tallien by her talents and personal charms. She was called Notre Dame de Thermidor, because she rendered useful services to people of all parties after the revolution of the 9th Thermidor. But the royalists named her Notre Dame de Septembre, in allusion to the massacres of September, 1792, when her present husband, Tallien, was secretary of the Commune of Paris. Madame de Staël appeared again at Paris with her husband, who was sent as ambassador to Sweden, which had recognized the French Republic. The *salons dorés*, as those of the old nobility were called, which were now occupied by a new class, had a great influence; and all the members of the Convention, who were of any note, were overwhelmed with invitations to dinners and soirées. These men were not invited for their merit, but to be made tools of, and to corrupt their opinions. The flattery which they received to their face became ridicule as soon as their back was turned. They silly enough to be pleased with getting among the higher classes of the old régime; honoured by the society of those whom they laboured to destroy. They could listen even to ridicule of the Revolution from the mouth of a pretty woman. The republican party thus lost many from its ranks, and the way was preparing for a new order of things. The men gathering together who were to reap the fruit of the Revolution, to work it for their profit. Talleyrand, who had been an exile since the 10th of August, and had crossed over to the United States of North America, appeared again upon the stage on which he was destined to play a great part.†

The second anniversary of the death-day of Louis (Jan. 21) was kept; but this did not stop the reaction. The bust of Marat was broken at the Théâtre Feydeau by the Jeunesse dorée, who tumbled the filthy idol from its pedestal, and put that of Rousseau in its place. The same thing happened in other theatres; and some children who got hold of the image of the god of the Cordeliers, after taking it in procession along the streets with every sign of ignominy, ended by pitching it into the kennel, amidst the laughter and applause of the crowd. Fréron grumbled a little at this scurvy treatment of his dear master by his Jeunesse dorée. In the Convention, on the 8th of February, Matthieu made a report on a serious disturbance which had been caused by the Jeunesse and the men of the faubourg Saint-Antoine coming to blows, and he said that the bust of Marat, which was the cause of all this trouble, had been taken from all the public places in which it had been set up without any decree to that effect. André Dumont next proposed, and it was carried, that neither the honours of the Pantheon should be decreed to any citizen, nor his bust set up in the Convention or any public place until ten years after his death. Thus the men who pantheonized Marat now depantheonized him, to use a phrase of the day.

Discussions on the Code Civil, the fundamental principles of which had been explained by Cambacérès in the December preceding, and the question of the freedom of religious worship, occupied the Convention. There were very few members who had any religious feeling; and we find little in the debates except declamation against hypocrisy, fanaticism, and superstition, from men who in their own way were both hypocrites and fanatics. If there had not been something better in the mass of the nation than in the Convention, France would never have emerged from this chaos. But society exists by virtue of laws which human folly may pervert, though it cannot destroy: neither the mummeries of Hébert and Chaumette could extinguish the natural feeling of religion; nor could they who declaimed against fanaticism and superstition find anything better to put in its place. Even Robespierre's preaching of God and the immortality of the soul, and his own moral example, could not make Virtue into a religion, though aided by Terror.

On the 2nd of March, Saladin, in the name of the Commission of Twenty-One, made his report on Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrère, and Vadier. The report, which was very long, gave an account of their missions, their conduct as members of the committees, and of their speeches in the Convention; and concluded with affirming that there was ground of charge against them. About this time the proscribed Girondins re-entered the Convention. The Jacobin party was threatened with annihilation; the 31st of May, the great day of their victory over the Gironde, was devoted to execration, and there was a cry for the punishment of the chief agents in the Reign of Terror. The tumults that followed were, however, solely caused by the scarcity, and the strict application of doctrines which were acknowledged by the Constitution. There

* Bailleul, 'Examen Critique des Considérations de Madame de Staël,' &c., ii., p. 236, &c. It is a work of some merit. Madame de Staël's reflections on the French Revolution is a charming book—for those who know nothing of the French Revolution, and will be content with her well-turned phrases, which are frequently without any meaning. Bailleul does not fall into the mistake of considering Robespierre a hypocrite.

† Thibaudeau, 'Mém.,' i., 130.

was a dearth, a famine, at least for the poorer classes: they wanted bread, and the Constitution of 1793; they called for the practical application of the doctrine "that society owes subsistence to unfortunate citizens, either by procuring them labour or by securing the means of existence to those who are unable to work." *— "The scarcity brought two social doctrines in hostile attitude, face to face: one doctrine, which was that of the Thermidorians, founded society on the principle of liberty, and abandoned the life of the citizens to free competition: the other was that of Robespierre, the first principle of which was, that society ought to guarantee the existence of its members on condition of working." † The mode which the Constitution of 1793 prescribed for enforcing the 21st article, and other articles in the Declaration of Rights, was exceedingly simple: "When the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is both to the people and to every portion of the people the most sacred of rights and the most indispensable of duties." (Art. 35.) The question proposed, but ill-proposed in the extract just made from the 'Histoire Parlementaire,' is a question which we in England, under a different system, have settled in the sense of Robespierre, without, however, having got a perfect solution. Those who give by compulsion have the spirit of charity deadened. Those who live on the superfluity of some and on the hard earnings of others, cannot escape moral degradation. Giving under any form increases the number of those who are ready to receive. The perplexed question, if it ever obtain a sufficient solution, is reserved for a very different kind of society from that in which we live.‡

The first great assemblage of people brought together by hunger was on the 17th of March, when the Convention was besieged by an immense crowd; and a deputation which was admitted began to address the Convention in this style: "We want bread; we are almost inclined to regret all the sacrifices that we have made for the revolution." Thibaudeau, who was president, pacified the deputation by a conciliatory speech. On the 21st of March another deputation came to complain of the sufferings of the people, and to ask that the Constitution of 1793, which the people had accepted, should begin to work. The Constitution, which was expected to settle everything, and had been suspended so soon after its acceptance, appeared to have been nearly forgotten. Thibaudeau left the chair to protest against this Constitution being immediately put into operation, for it was not democratic. He declared himself against "the right of partial insurrection;" and yet that was in the Constitution, and supposed by most people to be of the very essence of democracy. It ended by a special commission of eleven members being named to draw up organic laws. While the Assembly was deliberating, the sans-culottes and the Jeunesse dorée were fighting outside, but the affray was not serious. Some of the Jeunesse were thrown into the basins in the gardens of the Tuileries. These disturbances being communicated to the Assembly, decided the adoption of a measure proposed by Sièyes, in the name of all the Committees, called "La loi de grande police," of nineteen articles. Some of the members said that it was a new martial law, which bore the imprint of the spirit of Mirabeau. Deportation was the punishment provided for all infractions of this strict law of police; for the guillotine, as a member observed, was quite worn out. In fact, people had become so much accustomed to it, that some other punishment was necessary in order to be efficient.* At the close of this session, Rovère said that the cause of all the disturbance was the wish to save Collot d'Herbois and his associates; but this is proved to be false, by the fact that all the cries and demands were for bread and the Constitution of '93. The assignats were so much depreciated that the prices of many necessaries were beyond the reach of the people. The amount of bread which was distributed to each person in Paris was reduced to two ounces a-day: and yet it is admitted that there was no real scarcity; and abundance re-appeared even before the harvest.

On the 22nd of March there was a discussion on Saladin's report. The galleries of the Convention were filled with the Jeunesse, who kept out all the women, the "furies of the guillotine," as they called them, or "Robespierre's widows." Robert Lindet delivered a long address, in which he gave the history of the Committee of Public Safety. He maintained that the Revolutionary Government was put on its trial in the person of Collot d'Herbois and his associates; and that he was now defending the Convention before the Convention. His view of the matter was the true view: the Convention was the guilty party, all the Convention, even the members who by their silence had acquiesced in all the revolutionary measures. He declared that the report of the Twenty-One was insufficient: "it separates from the government some of its members, and it is the whole government that you ought to judge: I call for a general report on all the government, which shall carefully distinguish the operations which depended on the misfortunes of the times, on necessity, from those which could only be the foundation of personal charges; never shall a shameful disavowal be extorted from me, a retractation which is not in my heart: my writings, my discourses, my

* Constitution of 1793, 'Declaration des Droits,' &c., Art. 21.

† 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvi., 235.

‡ Bishop Sherlock, a learned and sensible man, maintained the same doctrines as Robespierre, and not the better for being confusedly expressed: "The Right which all men have to maintenance and subsistence, is a superior Right to that of Property; for the great law of self-preservation is antecedent to all private laws and possessions whatever." 'Sermons,' v., p. 213. This involves also the "right of insurrection." The bishop anticipated the doctrines of the Revolution.

* The "Loi de grande police" is printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvi., 243.

acts, I submit all to censure; you will find there always the same consistency of principle, the same firm resolution to defend the liberty of my country; you will see that I have never advised violent and sanguinary measures; such measures were not conformable to my character, and never entered into my heart: I have had no relations with Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just; for a long time past I had learned to form a just estimate of these men." Robert Lindet, called the mild, was the person who was most active in organizing the Revolutionary Tribunal (p. 261). One cannot tell what such a man would call violent and sanguinary measures; but he was one of those who encouraged Joseph Lebon (p. 351) to "abandon himself to his energy." Lindet's discourse had the merit of putting the question on the right footing: all were guilty, or none. Carnot then ascended the tribune, to complain of the violation of the Rights of Man with respect to the accused, and of the attempts that were made by the press to excite the popular indignation against them. The sitting closed with a resolution that the accused should be heard the next day, and that they and those who should defend them might speak as long as they chose.

The sitting of the 23rd began, like that of the day before, with a song. The citizens in the galleries sung the 'Réveil du Peuple,' and a young man asked permission to add three new couplets by way of continuation. His couplets were received with great applause, and the Jeunesse in the galleries began to sing again; but on being reminded by Thuriot that they were in the sanctuary of the law, they stopped, and let the debates go on. Carnot made a defence of his colleagues. He explained how the work was distributed among the members of the Committee; and this distribution having been made, he argued that they could not all be considered answerable "for what had been done by Robespierre and St. Just in their bureau de police générale." There were two questions, he said: Were the accused guilty? and could they be put on their trial without danger to the National representation and the Republic? He spoke of the services which the accused had rendered to the State, and concluded with moving that it should be affirmed that there was no ground for any charge against them. Carnot's defence of his colleagues was disingenuous, mean, and false. He attempted to throw all the odium on Robespierre and St. Just, of both of whom he was a personal enemy. The executions during the last four décades of Robespierre's existence were not directed by him, for he absented himself from the Committees; and if it be alleged that Couthon and St. Just acted for him, why did not Carnot and Lindet oppose them? It is unfortunate that the lists sent by the Committee to Fouquier-Tinville have never been found, for the signatures would have proved who were the most active in these sanguinary trials. But if signatures alone are to condemn a man, we have the signature of Carnot, and his approbation of Joseph Lebon's murders in the north. But it was not the atrocities committed in Paris only of which the Committees and the Convention were guilty. There were the crimes of the representative, Carrier, who had been punished, without Carnot raising the question of the danger to the National representation and the Republic. There were the wholesale slaughters of Collot d'Herbois at Lyon; but they might have been considered by Carnot as "services rendered to the State." Lindet and Carnot made the only bold stand. The accused made a pitiable figure. All the blame was thrown on the triumvirate, who, as Thibaudeau remarks, were not there to answer for themselves. Collot d'Herbois admitted that he had signed the order for the arrest of Madame Tallien, and he could not expect to be forgiven for that. It was also admitted that Robespierre had not attended the Committee of Public Safety for several weeks before his fall; and this was the season during which the guillotine daily dripped with blood. These miserable men condemned themselves: they said, that for four months before the 9th of Thermidor, they had conspired against Robespierre; and several of their colleagues testified to the fact. But they did not conspire to put an end to the Reign of Terror; they conspired, if they did conspire, to save themselves. And it was only the day before Robespierre delivered his last address, that Barrère mentioned him in honourable terms (p. 345).*

* Thibaudeau, 'Mém.,' i., 150, &c.

CHAPTER LII.

THE TWELFTH OF GERMINAL (1st OF APRIL).

After the capture of Nieuport and Antwerp, in the month of July, Pichegru determined to push on with the army of the North; but the want of provisions checked the rapidity of his intended movements. On the 24th of August he advanced upon Turnhout, and from Turnhout to Hoogstraeten. The duke of York, who commanded the English and Hanoverian troops, was separated from the Dutch army, and fell back on Bois-le-duc. The Dutch lines extended from Bergen-op-Zoom to Gertruidenberg. On the Dommel, the river of Bois-le-duc, the duke of York received a check from the enemy, and he determined to retire behind the Meuse. He was pursued as far as the little river Aa, which joins the Dommel; and on the 18th of Sep-

tember the French were in a position between the Aa and the Meuse. Condé and Valenciennes had capitulated on the 26th of August, and the French troops which had been employed against these places joined the armies of the North and of the Sambre and Meuse. The duke of York's retreat, and the position of the Dutch, left the towns south of the Meuse at the mercy of the French. On the 12th of August the army of the Mosel took possession of Trèves: and the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, by carrying the heights of Clermont, had the road open before them from Liège to Aix-la-Chapelle. In September, Pichegru took the fort of Crèvecœur on the Meuse. Before the middle of October the army of the Sambre and the Meuse had taken Aix-la-Chapelle, entered the open gates of the ancient city of Cologne, and made themselves masters of Bonn. Coblenz, at the junction of the Mosel and the Rhine, was taken by general Marceau at the end of October. The strong place of Maastricht, on the Meuse, was taken by Kléber on the 4th of November, though it had a garrison of 10,000 men, and 350 pieces of artillery. Rheinfels, on the Rhine, was also taken by the army of the Mosel; and at the end of the campaign the coalition had nothing on the left bank of the Rhine except Mainz and Luxembourg. The French territory was cleared of the invaders, Belgium was in the hands of the French, and the Dutch provinces south of the Meuse had been left to their fate. The invasion of Holland, the great object of the ambition of Dumouriez, was now a practicable thing, but the undertaking was in abler hands than his, and circumstances were more favourable. The prediction was fulfilled which promised that the Revolution would give to France better officers than it had before. When courage and skill ensure promotion, an army will have as many good officers as are required. The operations of the army of the coalition had been ill-combined, and their troops occupied a line of far too great extent. The French commanders were not in all respects free from blame as to their movements, but they received directions from Paris which were not always the best, nor always consistent.

After Bois-le-duc had surrendered to the French on the 10th of October, the divisions of generals Bonneau and Souham crossed the Meuse on the 18th of October, several leagues below Grave, without any resistance from the enemy, who were entrenched at Puffiick, between the Meuse and the Waal, on the dikes which rise above the low lands between these rivers. Notwithstanding the position seemed to be impregnable, Pichegru ordered an attack, in which the enemy were dislodged and compelled to retreat. A legion com-



FRENCH ENTERING HOLLAND ON THE ICE.

posed nearly altogether of emigrants, which was stationed on the dike of the Meuse, was totally destroyed by a regiment of French hussars, with the exception of about sixty, who were made prisoners. On the 28th of October, Nymegen was invested by the French; and the day before, Venloo surrendered to Moreau, after a feeble defence, though defended by 150 pieces of cannon. The English force was on the right bank of the Waal, opposite to Nymegen, the communication being kept up by a bridge of boats; and in addition to the fortifications, the town was defended by an entrenched camp. The French shot damaged the bridge of boats; and the risk of their communication with the right bank being broken, induced the English to evacuate Nymegen and cross over to the right bank. The few remaining Dutch troops could make no effectual resistance, and early in November the French army was in possession of Nymegen. Seven months of continual bivouacking had reduced all the soldiers' clothing to tatters. It was an army of rags, covered with vermin, and devoured with itch. The men wanted stockings, shoes, cloaks, everything. It was rainy and cold, and the Waal was swollen with the floods. To cross the river at such a season, and when the roads were impracticable for artillery, seemed a mad attempt; but the representatives of the people with the French armies never saw impossibilities, and it was necessary to obey. After some lives were lost in attempting what could not be done with the means at their command, the soldiers enjoyed a few days' repose. But a severe frost set in, the Waal was frozen, and the winter made a road of ice for the victorious army of the French. On the 28th of December, 1794, two brigades passed over the ice into the island of Bommel, where they met with no resistance, and made some prisoners. The whole army crossed the Waal a little below Nymegen without any difficulty. The enemy retired behind the Linge, which flows between the Rhine and the Waal, parallel to these two streams. The Prince of Orange had his head-quarters at Gorcum. The right of the English army rested on Kuilenburg, on the Leck, and the left on the canal of Panerden. Twenty-five thousand Austrians, under general Alvinzi, extended their line from Arnheim to Wesel. Yet all these forces, so well posted and in a condition to make a vigorous resistance, made none at all. In January the English troops left Holland, and the prince of Orange took refuge in England. In March the French were masters of all the Low Countries to the borders of Westphalia; and on the 16th of May a treaty of peace and alliance was signed at Paris between the French Republic and the provinces of the Low Countries. The Republic obtained the cession of Flanders, Maastricht, and Venloo, and the free navigation of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Schelde.

The French arms at the close of 1794 were successful both on the frontiers of the Alps and the Pyrenees. Dugommier, in the eastern Pyrenees, was killed by a cannon-ball; but the strong fortress of Figuières was taken by the French on the 27th of November. In the western Pyrenees the French had taken St. Sebastian and other places, and were in possession of the province of Guipuzcoa. In La Vendée the Republican armies under general Turreau were busy with destroying and burning, according to the decree of the Convention. It was no longer a war, but devastation and slaughter; and the peasants revenged themselves, when they could, by massacring every soldier they could seize, and carrying off arms and munitions. The ancient province of Bretagne was a prey to the Chouans, who were in fact robbers, and had no distinct political object, though their designs were counter-revolutionary. These men, who were partly old smugglers, young men who had evaded the requisition for the armies, and some of the Vendéans who had escaped the route at Savenay, went about in small bodies, levying contributions, and sometimes committing murder and burning property. Their hostility was directed, amongst others, against those who had purchased national property; and they attempted to famish the towns by breaking up the roads, destroying the bridges, and damaging the communications. They had a secret head or director, M. de Puisaye, formerly a member of the Constituent, who fled into Normandie after the 10th of August, and upon the failure of the federalist insurrection hid himself in Bretagne. The peninsular form of this country, which in a manner separates it from France, its long line of coast, its forests, and its mountains, its people half savage, and speaking a language of their own, the influence of the priests, and the great extent of surface on which these elements were combined, gave Puisaye, who had both courage, ambition, and ability, hopes of stirring up an insurrection more formidable than that of La Vendée.* With the aid of the priests, he enrolled these plunderers, and formed the whole country into four principal divisions, which received their instructions from a central committee of which he was the head. But it was not easy to organize for a political purpose men whose chief object was pillage. Puisaye's design was to enter into a communication with the English cabinet and the French princes, as soon as he had prepared matters for an outbreak. The princes saw that they had little to hope from the European powers, who were looking to their own interests rather than that of the emigrant princes, and had been signally unsuccessful in their military operations. They saw also at present little to encourage them in France. Monsieur was living at Verona, out of the way of the war, with the title of regent, which neither Austria, nor Prussia, nor Great Britain, acknowledged. The Comte d'Artois had travelled about with a train of young nobles, and gone even as far as St. Petersburg, where he was well received by the empress Catherine, and obtained the

* If the Bretons in 1818 were what they are described to be in Mrs. C. Stothard's 'Letters written during a Tour in Normandy, Brittany, and other parts of France,' what may we suppose them to have been in 1794?

promise of aid, if a descent should be made in La Vendée. But the rising in La Vendée received no support from the princes; and the Comte d'Artois went to the duke of York in Holland, whose unfortunate campaign was terminated by a combination of adverse circumstances, among which may be enumerated the dissatisfaction of the Dutch with the Stadtholder and the English alliance.

The success of the French in Holland made Prussia anxious to treat with the Republic, which had now planted its colours on the banks of the Rhine and of the Ems. Negotiations were opened between Prussia and the French Republic, and the place chosen for the conference was the town of Bâle, where they commenced in January, 1795. In December, 1794, even the German Diet had come to the conclusion, that though preparation should be made for a new campaign, it was desirable to make overtures for peace.

Hoche was released from prison after the fall of Robespierre, and sent to settle the troubles in Bretagne. His humanity and good sense prepared the way for the pacification of this part of France, which had been harassed by civil war, and the disorders consequent upon it. Canclaux, who had been employed in the early part of the Vendéan war, and had acquired a reputation for great ability combined with moderation, was again in command in La Vendée. The men whom he had to command were completely demoralized by a war of plunder and devastation; but he set about restoring discipline; and being recruited with a considerable force from the army of Brest and Cherbourg, he strengthened all his posts, occupied the camp of Sorinières near Nantes, and advanced upon the Layon, which was Stofflet's line of defence in Upper Anjou. In this position, he distributed the decrees and the proclamations of the Convention, which breathed a different spirit from the savage orders which had laid La Vendée in ashes, and deluged it with blood. The prudent conduct of Canclaux and Hoche, the release of many suspected persons at Nantes and Rennes, with the punishment of Carrier, and the measures for the freedom of religious worship, disposed the insurgents of the west to accept the amnesty which was offered both to the leaders and the men. The details of all the negotiations and operations in La Vendée and Bretagne, belong to a history of the troubles in the West. The Republic, victorious on the Rhine, and at the Alps and the Pyrenees, in negotiation with Prussia, and treating with the insurgents of La Vendée and Bretagne, was assuming, in the beginning of 1795, a position in Europe, which was due to the energy of the Republican Government, the bravery of its soldiers, and the superior skill of the generals whom the Revolution had called into existence or raised from obscurity.

The complaints of scarcity still continued at Paris, and also the demands for the Constitution of 1793, which Sièyes declared, on the 24th of March, ought to be considered as the supreme law, because it had been sanctioned by the primary assemblies. Yet Sièyes had shortly before said that the Convention had been enslaved by the people or by Robespierre ever since the 2nd of June; the reasonable conclusion from which would be, that the Constitutional Act was null. On the 27th of March a crowd of women was at the doors of the Convention, calling out for admission. Twenty of them were let in; and one, who spoke for the rest, said: "We are come to ask bread of you: there is a decree that there shall be delivered to us a pound of bread daily, but this morning only half a pound was offered to us, and nobody would take it: with forty sous a day no one can buy the articles which supply the want of meat." The president replied in the usual unmeaning style; said that "justice was now the order of the day; that much had been done to remedy evils, and that the Convention had need of the tranquillity and virtue of the people in order to be able to cure all the ills that existed." The response of the women was "Bread, bread!" But on the 12th Germinal (1st of April) the Convention had to withstand a more serious attack. The national palace was surrounded by an immense crowd, a great part of which were women. The Committees of Government ordered the tocsin to be rung, which had been removed from the Hôtel de Ville, after the defeat of the Commune, to the Pavillon de l'Unité, and the générale to be beaten in the streets. The citizens of many of the sections obeyed the signal, and came to the aid of the Convention. The women were the most active in making disturbance. They irritated and provoked the National Guards under arms by insult and abuse. The women knew best by hard experience what scarcity was. During a severe winter they were on foot during the greater part of the day, and even the night, going to one place for wood, to another for bread, and only getting a small portion of what was necessary for their families. A great part of those who crowded round and invaded the hall of the Convention were fasting: they had nothing to eat for themselves or for their children. There was also a rumour that the Convention was about leaving Paris; for one of the articles of the Grande loi de police provided that the Convention, in the case of certain events, would retire to Châlons-sur-Marne. Boissy d'Anglas was reading a report on the system of the old government as to the matter of subsistence, in order to show the advantages of the new system, when a crowd of men, women, and children, clothed in rags and with hunger in their faces, burst open the doors, and flowed like a torrent into the Assembly, waving their caps, and crying out "Bread, bread!" The members of the *gauche* and the galleries received them with applause. Some of the men had written on their hats, "Bread and the Constitution of 1793." It was all a scene of confusion, and the place was crammed to suffocation. In reply to the request that the multitude would defile and clear the place, the reply was "Bread, bread!" A man called for silence; and when there was silence, he spoke. His name was Vaneck. He said, "Representatives, you see before you the men of the 14th of

July, the 10th of August, and what is more, of the 31st of May; men who have sworn to live free or die, to maintain the Constitution of '93 and the Declaration of Rights." His talk was merely of bread: the people wanted the Constitution of '93, for they were weary of passing the nights at the bakers' doors; they called for the release of several thousands of fathers of families who had been incarcerated since the 9th of Thermidor: he appealed to the holy Mountain, and told the Montagnards that those for whom he spoke were ready to support them. The deputations of different sections appeared one after another, and made the same general demands, "Bread and the Constitution." The president declared that he could not take the opinion of the Assembly until they should be at liberty to deliberate freely, and he promised that justice should be done. The members of the *gauche* requested the citizens, male and female, who had taken possession of their seats, to retire. Choudieu, who was very urgent with a woman to give up his place to him, had for answer, "We are at home." The Assembly, in the midst of the confusion, passed a decree for securing the arrival of corn for the provisioning of Paris. A member declared that he had not had any bread for two days; and another said the same. They were all hungry together. Another decree was passed, on the motion of Ysabeau, to the effect that the freedom of debate had been violated on this day, and that the Committee of General Security should bring the ringleaders before the criminal tribunal of the department of Paris. Thibaudeau said that they need not go so far as England to look for the authors of this day's disturbance, for they were in France. This declaration contained a truth that the French were very slow to acknowledge, for they had been accustomed to trace to the foreigner the origin of all disturbances. Barras moved that Paris should be declared in a state of siege, and that the command of the armed force should be given to general Pichegru, who was now in Paris: and this motion was carried. Towards the evening the hall of the Assembly was cleared, and tranquillity was restored both inside and outside. The debates were continued in a state of great excitement, and under the opinion, partly real and partly simulated, that there was an insurrectional committee in Paris, that there was a design to save Barrère and his colleagues. A decree was carried for terminating the affair of Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrère, and Vadier, by a sentence of deportation. Châles, Choudieu, and Foussedoire, were put under arrest; also Leonard Bourdon, Huguet, Duhem, and Amar. It was six in the morning of the 2nd of April when this long and stormy sitting broke up.

The seven deputies, who were put under arrest, were sent to the fortress of Ham. The deputies* who were sentenced to deportation were put in a carriage in good time on the 2nd of April, to be conveyed to the coast; but Vadier had contrived to escape. A crowd of people were collected at the barrier of Chaillot by which Barrère and his party were leaving Paris, but no serious obstruction was offered. There was a meeting in the common room of the section of Quinze-Vingts, about midnight of the 1st of April, with the design apparently of making some resistance to the Convention; but Pichegru, after receiving his commission, cleared the place without being under the necessity of making the least demonstration. He appeared at the bar of the Convention about three o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of April, and all that he said was: "Representatives, your decrees are executed."

The 2nd of April passed off quietly. Denunciations were now the order of the day: every man took the opportunity of ridding himself of an enemy. On the 5th of April, Moïse Bayle, Thuriot, Cambon, Granet of Marseille, Hantz, Maignet, who had done so much good in the south by cutting off heads (p. 324), Levasseur de la Sarthe, Crassous, and Lecointre of Versailles, were put under arrest. One of the worst men in the Convention, and perhaps the most cunning, escaped altogether: Fouché was let alone. Tallien and the Thermidorians had now rid themselves of most of their adversaries. The last batch was sent to Ham to keep company with the others. The Thermidorians gained a victory, and subjugated the Parisians by having on their side the men who had ability to direct military operations; and a mere display of force was sufficient. The malcontents, whatever design they may have had on the 1st of April, had no head, and could not act in concert. The reactionists had on their side Barras, who had signalized himself on the 9th of Thermidor, and Pichegru, fresh from his successful northern campaign. The result of the struggle since Robespierre's fall was to remove many men whom he had marked out for destruction. But if Robespierre had been victorious on the 9th of Thermidor, others also would have fallen, such as Tallien and Fouché. The reaction would have been delayed, though perhaps not finally averted.

* Barrère ultimately made his escape. Billaud and Collot arrived at Cayenne. Collot swallowed a bottle of brandy in a fit of fever, and died in horrible torments in January, 1796. Billaud, after twenty years' exile in Cayenne, where he used to amuse himself with training parrots, made his escape to Port-au-Prince in St. Domingo, where he died in 1819.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE FIRST OF PRAIRIAL (20TH OF MAY, 1795).

On the 17th of April the National Guard was reorganized and put on the footing of the National Guard of 1789, as formed by Lafayette. The embarassments of the administration continued: it was still an anarchy. The commission was appointed (23rd of April) for drawing up organic laws; and among the members were Sièyes, Cambacérès, Merlin of Douay, and Thibaudeau. The Convention was also engaged in hearing reports on the widows and mothers of the Girondins who had perished, and in voting them indemnities. Between the 12th of Germinal and 1st of Prairial there were endless discussions about the property of those who had been condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal, and that of the emigrants. These debates were terminated on the 14th Floréal (3rd of May) by a decree which maintained the confiscation of the property of conspirators, emigrants, and their accomplices, of fabricators and distributors of forged assignats and counterfeit money, of public peculators, and of the Bourbon family; but declared that the property of those who had been condemned since the 10th of March, 1793, should be restored, subject to the exceptions above mentioned, and without a necessity for a revision of the proceedings. The members of the Committee of Instruction, being philosophers, were trying to make a new national religion, the principal feature of which was the substitution of fêtes décadaires in place of the Sunday. Roederer, who wrote in the spirit of Voltaire, in the 'Journal de Paris,' probably thought that the time was come for accomplishing the grand object of Voltaire's labours, the destruction of Christianity; and that to get rid of the Sunday would be a great step towards it, which showed that he had very little idea of what Christianity is. Roederer was, however, criticised very severely by a contemporary journal, which said: "The writer has doubtless the design to degrade the religion of our fathers: have not these five years of troubles and of crimes taught us that the chief cause of our misfortunes is the attempts that have been made to efface from the mind of the people every idea of religion? However absurd a religion may be, does the age in which we live allow us to change it? In the present condition of Europe, this part of the world cannot choose those religious ideas which might suit it best: it must preserve those which have been transmitted by its ancestors, or must become atheistic."

The restoration of the Girondins to the Convention, and the decrees as to the widows and mothers, were a significant token of reaction; and when the Revolution had once commenced its retrograde course, it could not stop. The royalist party had never been extinct in France, and the emigrants were flocking back. The Revolutionary Committee of Rouen informed the Convention that the town-house had been riotously assailed to the cries of "Vive le Roi." The reaction in many parts of France was bloody, and a new Reign of Terror began again: it was the revolutionists who were now the victims, and their enemies the murderers. The slaughter began at Lyon soon after the 9th of Thermidor. A list was published of the names of all those who were suspected of having made any denunciations during the Reign of Terror; and in a parallel column, a list of those who had been denounced and guillotined or shot. The Jeunesse dorée of the Rhone and Loire massacred those who were denounced in the printed list, and threw their bodies into the Rhone. Women were not spared; and one woman, named Roua, a milliner, had her brains blown out before her own door. On the evening of the 5th of May, upon a signal given at the theatre, the Jeunesse sallied forth to attack the prisons, in which they massacred ninety-seven persons who were imprisoned under suspicion of Jacobinism; and among the victims were five women. In one of the prisons the assailants met with a desperate resistance, and lost twelve of their number, on which they set fire to the prison. Fifteen of the persons who were guilty of these crimes were brought before the tribunal of Roanne, and acquitted. On their return to Lyon they were met by women who strewed flowers on the way, and in the evening they were crowned at the theatre. Murder went on at Lyon for a long time after, and the murderers were unpunished. Marseille, Aix, Toulon, Tarascon, and nearly all the communes of the old Comtat Venaissin and Provence, which had so often been stained with blood, were again the scene of atrocious cruelties during the Terrorist reaction. Isnard, Chambon-Latour, and Durand-Maillane, are charged with forming and protecting the companies called du Soleil, or of the Sun, and of Jesus, and of being participators in the crimes committed by these men. The evidence is the documents collected in Fréron's 'Mémoire Apologétique;' for the testimony of Fréron would be worth little, if not supported by evidence. On the 11th of May (22nd Floréal) the prison of Aix, which contained many persons who were there confined in order to be brought before the criminal tribunal of the department, was forced by armed men, who killed twenty-nine of the prisoners.

The famine still increased at Paris, and the Convention was expecting a new explosion. The Jacobins were plotting, and one of their conspiracies was discovered. On the 18th of April, Rovère declared in the Convention that a conspiracy had been formed for massacring a large part of the Assembly on that very evening, and he read the declarations made to the Committee of General Security by one of the conspirators,

who had taken alarm at the intended effusion of blood. Rovère, once a terrorist, was now, like many others, a furious reactionist. According to his statement, the meetings were all organized by the conspirators; the Constitution of '93 was to be set to work; the seventy-three deputies and the proscribed deputies were to be arrested, Tallien and Fréron to be deported, and Thuriot, Cambon, and Maribond Montaut, to be at the head of the movement: even the sentence of Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrère, was to be reconsidered. The Convention arrested Montaut, who was in the hall when Rovère spoke; and many other arrests were made. On the 29th of April the section of Montreuil came to a resolution to consult the forty-seven other sections as to making their sittings permanent, in order to deliberate on the matter of subsistence. The other sections did not listen to the proposals of the section of Montreuil, and the Convention annulled their resolution; but this was a sign that something further was in preparation.

For a month there was still complaining, but no fresh attempt on the Convention. On the 7th of May, Fouquier-Tinville and some of his old jurymen perished on the scaffold; but the affair attracted little attention, for people were entirely occupied with their wants and sufferings. On the 18th of April the Convention had declared that the Revolutionary Tribunal should sit permanently until the trial of Fouquier and his accomplices was ended. Between the time of Fouquier's arrest and his trial things had greatly changed. The various parties which had combined to overthrow Robespierre were disunited; several members of the Committee of Public Safety were deported, and many of the men of the Mountain were under arrest. Fouquier had now no motive to say anything except the truth, for there was no occasion for him to spare the members of the Committees, and he had nothing to hope from those who were in power. In a Mémoire* which he published, he said, "It is inferred from my intercourse with the Committees, that the object was to arrange with Robespierre the drawing up of the charges; but I have never been at the Committees except by their orders, and I have never been there to confer privately with Robespierre or any other member."—"I have been accused of being one of the creatures of St. Just, Couthon, and Robespierre; I have never been the creature of the one or the other." He denied that he had ever received from Robespierre a list of the persons who were to be tried, and that he had ever had his personal wishes on that matter. If any list was furnished to Robespierre, he said, it must have been furnished by the villain Dumas, who daily visited him. As to the charge of having executed the law of the 22nd of Prairial, he justly said that he was not a legislator, but he was bound to execute the laws, however rigorous they might be. He was accused of having drawn up actes d'accusation against patriots; but he showed the absurdity of this charge by his conduct, for he had brought to trial Marie-Antoinette, Elizabeth, d'Orleans, traitor-generals, and federalists. Fouquier was tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal under its remodelled form, and he had a fairer hearing than his court had given to the prisoners whom he tried, though the charge against him was vague, and in part unjust. He made a long defence, at the end of which he said, "It is not I who ought to be brought here, but the leaders whose orders I executed: I have only acted in virtue of the laws of the 14 Frimaire and 23 Ventose, laws enacted by a Convention invested with full powers; through the absence of its members, I find myself the leader in a conspiracy which I have never been acquainted with, an object of calumny to a people always eager to find culprits." Fouquier was condemned for manœuvres and plots tending to favour the liberticide projects of the enemies of the Republic, and the like, but "specially for causing the destruction, under the guise of trial, of a countless number of French of all ages and of both sexes, by inventing for the purpose schemes of conspiracies in the various prisons of Paris, in drawing and causing to be drawn up lists of proscriptions, &c., and with having acted with bad intentions." Fifteen others were condemned together with him, as being accomplices in his crimes. They were all members of the old Revolutionary Tribunal. Duplay, Robespierre's host, was acquitted with others. But Duplay, and some of those who were acquitted, were lodged in prison on another charge.*

On the 30th Floréal (19th of May) there were signs of disturbance. Numerous groups, chiefly consisting of women, were talking loud in the streets, and using threatening language: they said that it was necessary to fall upon the Convention, which was famishing the people, and had only destroyed Robespierre in order to tyrannize over them. At five in the morning of the 20th the générale was beating and the tocsin ringing in the faubourgs St. Antoine and Marceau; the people were mustering. The Committee of General Security heard the well-known signal, and summoned the other sections to their aid. It was near noon before the Convention had their forces collected, and at eleven their sitting commenced. Ysabeau opened the business by reading a plan of insurrection which had been

* Printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxiv., 253. This volume contains part of the trial: the remainder is in vol. xxxv.

* The history of many of the men who make so conspicuous a figure in the Revolution is curious. They were not Revolutionists or Republicans in principle, except it was the principle of profit, or the principle of Terror. Fouquier-Tinville, before the Revolution, wrote some flattering verses addressed to Louis XVI., which he sent to J. L. Aubert, commonly called the Abbé Aubert, to be inserted in the 'Petites Affiches.' The Abbé found the verses so execrable, that he threw them into his repository for rejected articles; but in 1793, when his worthy contributor presided over the guillotine, the witty Abbé exhumed Fouquier-Tinville's flattery to Louis, and carried it about with him as a 'carte de sureté.' Whether the age of Fouquier-Tinville, and the dates of the publication of the 'Petites Affiches' agree, seems somewhat doubtful; but the main fact of the story may be true.

abundantly distributed through Paris. It was headed, "Insurrection of the people to obtain bread and to recover their rights," and it was well expressed. It was prefaced with numerous *considérants*, among which was not forgotten, that "insurrection is the most sacred of rights, the most indispensable of duties, a want of prime necessity." The people acted consistently in this: the Declaration of Rights had made insurrection a fundamental principle, a duty; and in perfect good faith the insurrectionists set about doing their duty. The resolutions which followed the *considérants*, were, that the citizens, male and female, should go in a mass to the Convention, to ask for bread, the abolition of the Revolutionary Government, the establishment of the democratic Constitution of 1793, and other things. These preliminary articles were followed by others for securing the success of the insurrection, which, if it had been guided by leaders of ability, might have overthrown the Convention. The rallying cry of the people was to be "Bread, and the Constitution of 1793." It was never known who was the author of this proclamation. The reading of it was followed by tumultuous applause from some parts of the galleries; but the Assembly maintained profound silence. A member called out, "The Convention will die at its post;" his colleagues followed his example, and with outstretched hand made the same declaration. This also had its applause from the galleries, in which there were two parties, those for the insurrection, and those for the Convention. Lehardy observed, that the demands of the people, "Bread, and the Constitution," were the same as on the 12th Germinal; the heads and leaders were the same—the members who had been expelled from the Convention, and had withdrawn themselves from the effect of the decree (for some of them had escaped); and perhaps they had adherents even in the bosom of the Convention. Rovère and Bourdon de l'Oise affirmed that the movement had been organized in the Convention itself. The Convention decreed various articles: that the Commune of Paris was responsible for any attack on the national representatives; that all the citizens must repair to their sections to receive the orders of the Convention; and the like. It was a decree that there should be no insurrection. The women in the galleries laughed outright at this paper manifesto. The Committee of General Security was ready with a proclamation to the citizens of Paris, another of the ordinary resources in a time of emergency; and representatives were dispatched to the arrondissemens of the sections of Paris, to warn people of the tricks of their enemies, who were leading them astray.

The women were already in the galleries in great force, crying out for "Bread." The debate was stopped: the president put on his hat, the signal that business could not proceed. The cries of "Bread, bread," were all that could be heard. Some of the women laughed at the distress of the members; others shook their fists at the president. It was all in vain to contend against the women. Sometimes for a quarter of an hour no member's voice could rise above the tumult. The president named a general of brigade, who happened to be at the bar, provisional commandant of the armed force, and gave him orders to enforce respect to the Convention. The general went up to the great gallery on the left, with four fusileers and two young men armed with whips; and all the women were turned out. In the mean time the door of the hall on the side of the Salon de la Liberté gave way before the blows with which it was assailed: the members of the Convention retired to the upper benches, and the gendarmerie of the galleries stood between them and the intruders, to protect the national representatives. The invaders were driven out, but they burst in again, and a contest took place near the broken door, in which some of the leaders of the rioters were captured. Féraud entered the hall, apparently in great pain, and with his dress torn. By a decree of the Convention, Delmas was put in command of the armed force of Paris, until tranquillity was restored. Tumult still reigned supreme in the Convention: muskets were discharged near the broken door, and again the guard was forced. Féraud, the representative, threw himself on the ground to prevent the crowd from entering; but the crowd passed over him. Muskets were pointed at the head of the president, and Féraud, who had risen, attempted to get up the steps to the president's seat, in order to protect him. An officer tried to help him, and a rioter pulled him back by his coat. The officer dealt a blow at the rioter, who discharged a pistol at but Féraud received the ball, and the rioters dragged him off by the hair of his head to one of the lobbies. Fresh bodies of armed men were still entering, and some of them levelled their muskets at the president, Boissy d'Anglas. He sat unmoved, with his hat on. The tocsin on the Pavillon de l'Unité was ringing, and the court and the gardens of the National Palace were filling with National Guards, waiting for orders, while armed men were defiling past them and making their way into the Convention. Never since the day when Foulon was massacred, and the Hôtel de Ville was a scene of horrible confusion, had Paris witnessed a day like this. All attempts to restore order were fruitless. The president rung his bell, but the signal for tranquillity was only followed by half an hour of tumultuous uproar, during which a man appeared with the head of Féraud on a pike, and stood in front of the president. The crowd laughed and shouted. Not till seven in the evening could even an interval of silence be obtained. The invaders had no settled plan, or they would have cleared the Convention. The Convention was helpless: they could only offer passive resistance. At nine in the evening Romme moved that the president put to the vote a motion which he made as representative of the people. Vernier, who had taken the chair for Boissy d'Anglas, who was exhausted, said, "Are we in sufficient number to deliberate?" "Yes," responded the crowd. A man moved that the people keep their hats on, and that only the

deputies should take off their hats, as a sign of approbation or disapprobation. Duroi moved that all citizens under arrest for political opinions since the 9th Thermidor, against whom there was no acte d'accusation, be set at liberty all through the Republic; and that arms should be restored to all citizens who had been disarmed for alleged terrorism. These propositions were put by the president, and carried amidst a storm of noise. Vernier was compelled to be the instrument of the insurgents. Romme moved the suspension of all proceedings commenced against incarcerated patriots. This was carried too. Duroi moved that their colleagues of the National Assembly be released, with the reservation that their conduct be inquired into, if they had done anything against the interest of their country; and that the decree be carried by extraordinary couriers to the different bastiles in which they were imprisoned. Decreed. "Now," said Romme, "we can occupy ourselves with looking after bread for the people." Moved and carried, that only one kind of bread be made, and that there be domiciliary visits to search for flour. Romme still went on with his motions, and the crowd gave to them the sanction of decrees, with such of the deputies as chose to join; the convocation of the sections of Paris, and their permanence; the nomination in every section of commissioners of subsistence; the renewal of the civil committees of each section at the pleasure of the people. Bourbotte moved the arrest of all the journalists who had poisoned the public mind. A raising of hats confirmed the arrest of the journalists; and also that the barriers be closed. Duquesnoi moved that the Committee of General Security be quashed, and immediately renewed, and that their papers be seized. This was agreed to. Legendre and Delecloy asked to be heard on behalf of the Committee of General Security, but the tempest drowned their words. It was midnight. Four members who had been appointed by these forced decrees to seize the papers of the Committee of General Security, set out on their mission, but they were met by a detachment "of good citizens," headed by Legendre, Auguis, Kervelegan, Chénier, and Bergouin. Raffet was the commander of this force. "Have you the orders of the president," said Prieur de la Marne to Raffet, "for entering the Convention?" "I am not accountable to you," said Raffet. Prieur, turning to the crowd, called out: "Help, sans-culottes." Boissy d'Anglas was again in the chair: he ordered the crowd to retire: they refused, and the armed force advanced with the bayonet. The rioters fled, but returned to the charge; and Bourbotte, Peyssard, Gaston, and others, who usually sat on the left,



FOUQUIER-TINVILLE BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL.

cried out from the tribune and their seats, "Victory." But it was not a victory for them. Another armed body, with cries of "Down with the Jacobins," entered the hall, and drove the crowd out. Some made their escape through the doors, others escaped into the galleries, and some by the windows. It was about half-past eleven, and not before, when the attack was made on the rioters in three columns, formed of the battalions of Fontaine-de-Grenelle and La Butte-des-Moulins. To hasten their retreat, a door was opened, and the insurgents made their way out between two lines of National Guards, without any further injury than receiving a few kicks behind to make them move quicker. In this horrible tumult Féraud was the only one who lost his life. The armed force now occupied the whole hall; and the deputies, who had made the motions which had been carried by the crowd, were surrounded. The Convention was at last restored to freedom; and the place rang with the shouts of "Down with the Jacobins;" "Down with the assassins "Live the Convention;" "Live the Republic." *

The business was resumed. Thibaudeau moved that the deputies be arrested who by their motions had encouraged the rioters. A secretary burnt the minutes of the decrees which the insurgents had passed. The Convention decreed the arrest of Bourbotte, Duquesnoy, Duroi, Prieur, Romme, Soubrany, Goujon, Albitte the elder, Peyssard, and Rhul. Several of the sections came to congratulate the Convention on their victory. At half-past three in the morning the sitting terminated.

On the 2nd of Prairial the tocsin was ringing at eight in the morning; and all Paris, as it awoke, heard the signal for blood, strife, and death. The Convention was again sitting at nine. Warned by the experience of the previous day, the first measure was a decree for a general inspection of the supplies of corn. Merlin of Douay, announced the conclusion of the treaty of peace with Holland. The treaties with Prussia and Tuscany had been ratified shortly before. Negotiations for peace had been entered into also with Spain. As soon as Merlin's report was finished, a member announced that there was a meeting of insurgents, under the name of the "National Convention of the Sovereign," and that the meeting was surrounded by an armed force. It was decreed that the meeting should be summoned to disperse, and that in case of disobedience the leaders should be declared out of the pale of the law. Tallien said that the Committee had given orders to march against the "infamous Commune;" and it was decreed on his motion that the men who were assembled should be shot. On the motion of Thibaudeau, a decree of impeachment was carried against the members who had been arrested in the sittings of the 1st of Prairial and the 12th and 13th of Germinal. The Convention decreed that all the bells in the Commune of Paris should be broken and cast into cannon, and that the largest bell should be placed on the National Palace; that the national cockade should be the only signal of rallying, and that any person who had another sign or device should be disarmed. In the evening a fresh danger threatened the Convention, for the insurgents had collected in the three sections of the faubourg St. Antoine, that of Popincourt, of Montreuil, and of Quinze-Vingts. They had a force superior to that of the Convention, but no head to guide them. The columns of the Convention, which were marching against the Commune, found no enemy; but on advancing into the Rue St. Antoine, they saw the battalions of the faubourg, and fell back in disorder on the Place du Carrousel. The insurgents soon arrived, placed themselves in battle order, and turned their cannon against the hall of the Convention, who showed the same want of resolution as on the preceding day. A parley commenced, which only irritated the two opposing forces, and they prepared for battle. Just as the men of the faubourgs were loading their cannon, the cannoneers of the Convention went over to them. But the defection of their cannoneers was the safety of the Convention. Their fraternizing with the insurgents threw them into disorder, and their resolution was shaken. Ten commissioners of the Convention came to promise to the insurgents that their just demands should be satisfied. The Convention decreed that they would do all that they could in the matter of subsistence, and would immediately prepare the organic laws of the Constitution of 1793. A deputation from the insurgents was conducted to the bar of the Convention; the decree was read, the deputation were invited to the honours of the sitting, and received from the president the fraternal embrace. Paris was still tumultuous for several days; but on the 4th of Prairial the Convention was supreme, and began to exercise its vengeance by decimating the Mountain.

The military commission of Paris was instructed to try Rhul, Romme, Goujon, Duquesnoy, Duroi, Soubrany, Bourbotte, Peyssard, Forestier, the elder Albitte, and Prieur de la Marne. Rhul stabbed himself. Albitte and Prieur escaped. The Convention sent before the criminal tribunal of Charente-Inférieure, Barrère, Collot, Billaud, and Vadier; but Collot and Billaud were already on their voyage to the unwholesome regions of Cayenne, and Vadier had escaped.* Pache, Xavier-Audouin, Bouchotte, Daubigny, Clémence, Marchand, Héron, and Hassenfratz, were sent before the criminal tribunal of Eure-et-Loir. Robert Lindet, Voulland, Jean Bon St. André, Jagot, Elie Lacoste, Lavicomterie, David, Prieur de la Côte d'Or, Dubarran, and Bernard de Saintes, were also arrested.

* The chief evidence for the tumult on the days of Prairial, is the report of the sittings of the Convention in the 'Moniteur,' which in some particulars may be inaccurate. It is very long and minute. The brief narrative of Thibaudeau, who was present, agrees with it in the main facts. (Mém., i., 161.)

* Barrère appeared before the court, and the inquiry lasted a long time. The Convention finally annulled the decree for his trial, and maintained the sentence of deportation; but Barrère contrived to escape from his prison at Saintes.

Thus the deputies who had favoured the insurgents, and all the members of the old Committees of Public Safety and General Security, except Carnot and Louis du Bas-Rhin, were arrested; and all their principal agents. Many other arrests were made. Sergent and Panis were arrested for having signed the circular of the 2nd of September, 1792.* Both Thermidorians and Girondins combined to denounce and to proscribe, to gratify their private enmity, not to do justice; though justice and the public safety were the pretext. Justice always receives her due homage, for even villains commit their crimes in her name, and not in the name of Crime.

The Convention disarmed the revolutionists of Paris. Ten thousand of them, it is said, were incarcerated. A new organization of the National Guard was made all through the Republic, on this fundamental principle, "that the force designed to maintain the security of persons and of property ought to be solely in the hands of those who have an interest inseparable from their individual interest in maintaining this security." A camp was established in the gardens of the Tuileries; a strong garrison of troops of the line was placed in Paris; women were excluded from the galleries of the Convention, and men could only be admitted with cards. Robespierre's great principles of the Revolution were utterly destroyed. On the 5th of Prairial the military commission began its sittings, and a great number of persons were hurried off to execution. Hennequin, a sculptor, was condemned to death for having had on his hat, on the 1st of Prairial, the words "Bread, and the Constitution of '93," and for being strongly suspected of having carried the head of Féraud on the end of a pike; but a few days after, a man was condemned for having done that of which the sculptor was strongly suspected. Another man also was condemned a few days after for having carried Féraud's head on a pike. The members of the Convention who had been sent before the military commission, were tried on the 24th Prairial (12th of June). The acte d'accusation was framed upon the report in the 'Moniteur,' which they declared to be false. Romme, Duquesnoy, Duroi, Bourbotte, Soubrany, and Goujon, were condemned to death; Peyssard to deportation; and Forestier was acquitted. As they were descending the staircase, the condemned prisoners wounded themselves with knives and scissors. They had among them only two knives and an old pair of scissors, which they passed to one another, after stabbing themselves. Bourbotte said, as he stabbed himself, "This is the way that a man of courage ends his days." Romme, Goujon, and Duquesnoy, died of their wounds. Romme wounded himself all over his body, and was so smeared with blood, that he could hardly be recognized. The other three died on the scaffold. While the executioner was fastening Bourbotte to the guillotine, he continued talking to the people who were near the scaffold. When he was fastened, the axe was not in its place, and he had to wait till it was adjusted. In the meantime, he went on talking; he said that he died innocent, and wished prosperity to the Republic. These deputies were not among the worst men of the Convention. "Romme had a rank among mathematicians; Soubrany had made himself loved when he was with the armies, by his courage and his frugality; Goujon was esteemed for his personal qualities, his knowledge, and his virtues." (Thibaudeau.)

The 12th of Germinal and the days of Prairial completely demolished the revolutionary party. The good and the bad were involved in one common ruin, those who were sincerely attached to the cause of the Revolution, and those who had stained themselves with blood in order to load themselves with plunder. Justice, tardy and severe, overtook the guilty; but the guiltiest members of the Convention remained unpunished. Tallien, Fouché, Fréron, were triumphant. The Thermidorian reaction is one of the most disgraceful parts of the history of the Revolution: it destroyed all that remained of true devotion to the country, and gave to the licence of unprincipled men its full career. The massacres in the south continued after the 1st of Prairial. The fort of Tarascon on the Rhone was broken open, and twenty-four prisoners were massacred. This news encouraged the reactionists of Marseille, who on the 5th of June (17th Prairial) got possession of the keys of the Fort St. Jean. The assailants were the Compagnie du Soleil, who went to the work of death with a crucifix carried in front of them. The massacre lasted till ten at night. Some of the dungeons were set on fire; broken straw mixed with sulphur was lighted at some of the doors; other dungeons were swept with grape-shot. At least two hundred Jacobins, or men suspected of Jacobinism, perished by this bloody butchery, as cruel as the massacres of Paris in September, 1792. Fifteen days after the slaughter at Marseille, there was a fresh massacre at Tarascon, in which twenty-three 'patriots' lost their lives. Women were thrown into the Rhone after their breasts had been cut off. The number of murders committed during this reactionary movement in the south is unknown, for there was no official inquiry by the government into all the circumstances. But besides the murders committed in the large towns, there was hardly a village in this country of furious passions in which some one was not sacrificed to the revenge of his enemies. The Jacobins had maintained a bloody and tyrannical reign, and a just retribution overtook them; but, as in the reign of Terror, all were confounded in one common proscription, so in the reaction guilt and innocence were confounded and perished together. It is an exaggeration to say, as some have done, that in the south the reaction had as many victims as the reign of Terror; but it is false and contrary to indisputable evidence to affirm that only a few lost their lives. No honest historian of the

* The conversation that took place when Panis was arrested, forms a ludicrous scene. He was in an agony of terror. Like many knaves, when they are accused, he affected to be overwhelmed with surprise, he whose heart was pure, and knew no guile.

Revolution can veil the horrors of the re-action, nor the merciless brutality of those who rose against the defeated Jacobins.

Here, too, the Convention was guilty. During the horrors, two representatives of the people, Chambon and Cadroy, were on a mission to these departments; they neither attempted to prevent crime nor to punish the guilty. The men who had put an end to what they called the tyranny of Robespierre, allowed these sanguinary acts to go unpunished. Thibaudeau, a member of the Convention, gives a curious reason for it, which may be the true one: "Why did not the Convention take vengeance in the name of the law for these abominable crimes?—why, after having done justice on the authors of the drownings of Nantes, did it leave unpunished the no less atrocious massacres at Marseille?—why was it more pitiless towards the revolutionary terrorists than towards the royalist terrorists? Because it feared the one party less than the other." The Convention, he adds, feared the revolutionary terrorists, because they were nearer, and aimed at seizing power in order to govern by revolutionary laws; and as the terrorists professed to be the defenders of the Revolution and of the Republic, they had a sort of popularity. "The royalists committed their excesses at a distance from the capital; and as they did not conceal the fact that they were acting on behalf of royalty, they excited alarm, but had few partizans, and there seemed to be no ground for fearing that they would establish their power." Thus, according to the apologist of the Convention, the members cared not for the murders, because they did not think that the power of the murderers would ever reach themselves: a more signal condemnation has seldom been pronounced by an impartial judge. But the reactionists were not all royalists, as Thibaudeau states. There were among them Girondins; and also terrorists of the faction of Hébert, to whom blood was sweet, and plunder sweeter; men who would murder and thieve under any title, or in any cause, for their cause was rapine, and the name that it went by was immaterial.

Thibaudeau further says: "I do not think that I had any fears for myself, and I think that this was the case with most of my colleagues; but as to the Republic, I feared much more the terrorists of the year II. than the royalist terrorists of the year III. It never occurred to me that royalism could rise again from its ashes, or that foreign armies could triumph over ours. This was doubtless an error, but it was shared by many others; it was founded on our blind confidence in the unshakeable firmness of the Revolution, the continuance of the Republic, and the goodness of our cause."*

* Thibaudeau, 'Mém.,' i., 240, &c., and p. 160. Thibaudeau lamented these excesses, and justly condemned them. He is one of the fairest writers on this period.

CHAPTER LIV.

QUIBERON.

On the 8th of June (20th Prairial), died a prisoner in the Temple the only son of Louis XVI. His unc Louis, formerly called Monsieur, assumed the title of Louis XVIII. The physicians and surgeons who examined the child's body, made a report of the state in which they found it; the sum of which was, that he died of a scrofulous complaint which had existed for some time. The report did not add that he died from neglect, bad treatment, and want of fresh air. He had been confined for more than a year in a small chamber, with linen unchanged, devoured by vermin, and surrounded by filth. The Thermidorians had not shown him more mercy than the Jacobins, though they sent his tutor Simon to the scaffold at the time when Robespierre's party fell.

The Vendéan chiefs, with the exception of Stofflet, met the commissioners of the Convention at the Château of La Jaunaye, near Nantes, on the 12th of February, 1795, and the terms of submission were signed. The Vendéans had nothing left to choose between accepting the amnesty and total destruction. It was hoped that Stofflet and the Chouans would accept the same terms as Charette; but Stofflet could not be brought to accept them. He declared Charette a traitor to the royalist cause, and passed sentence of death on him. Charette appeared to be sincere in his submission; he issued proclamations, in which he recommended the people to return to their duty; and he was intrusted with the command of those Vendéans who had now been accustomed to warfare, and at the head of this body he exercised the police over the country. It was less easy to deal with the Bretons; and Boursault, one of the national representatives, had so little confidence in their promises, that he was ready to give up all hopes of coming to terms with them. Bollet, another representative, did not despair of peace; and Hoche, whose abilities were employed in this inglorious service, was unwearied in his endeavours to bring about a pacification. On the 20th of April many of the royalist chiefs met the representatives near Rennes, accepted the terms, and signed their submission to the Republic. Stofflet also, finding himself abandoned, signed the terms of peace at St. Florent. This was the first pacification of the insurgent pro-

vinces; but Hoche, who had great penetration, saw that it was only apparent, though it would have the real advantage of showing the people the blessings of peace and tranquillity, and rendering them less disposed to join in another insurrection. It also gave France a great advantage with respect to foreign powers; for internal disunión was what the emigrants and the enemies relied upon as much as the force of their arms. Austria and England were the only formidable enemies that remained; for Holland and Prussia had made peace, Russia was too remote to be feared, and Spain was desirous of peace. The rest of the enemies of France were too feeble to cause any alarm.

But there were men in France who were serving the royalist cause in another way, and Louis XVIII. had his agents even in Paris. There were even men in the Convention who were suspected of favouring the title of Louis; men, too, who wore the mask of Republicans, such as Tallien, Fréron, Isnard, and others. A letter of Louis XVIII., addressed to the Duke d'Harcourt, and dated from Verona, the 3rd of January, 1795, was found in an English vessel, which was captured in March on its voyage from Hamburg to London. In this letter Louis said: "I cannot doubt that Tallien inclines to royalty; but I have difficulty in believing that it is the true royalty.". The true royalty of Louis was the re-establishment of the Bourbons and the ancient régime in its pristine purity. Other evidence against Tallien afterwards appeared; and his treasonable correspondence is hardly matter of doubt. Even among the Committee of Eleven, who were appointed to draw up the Constitutional Act, there were men in favour of kingly power, Lesage d'Eure-et-Loir, Boissy d'Anglas, and Lanjuinais, though they were not Bourbonists. The rest of the committee were republicans.* The committee were unanimous in rejecting the Constitution of 1793. They wished to have something between royalty and the rule of demagogues. The Convention in the meantime were busily occupied with the pressing matter of subsistence. They had decreed that there should be only one kind of bread, in order to take away all cause of complaint against the luxury of the rich. As immense profits were made on the first necessaries of life, by taking advantage of the variable value of the assignats, everybody was engaged in speculation; all were dealers in bread, wine, meat, and other articles. White bread was sold at the Palais Royal at twenty-five to thirty francs the pound. The Convention attempted to remedy these evils by arbitrary laws; such as that none but the licensed butchers should buy cattle, that a crop could not be bought while it was standing on the ground, and the like; but prices are governed by laws above the laws of a Legislative Assembly, and the decrees of the Convention might do harm, but could not possibly do good.† In order to facilitate the sale of national property, which went on slowly, partly because of the doubt that people had as to the security of the title, and partly owing to the enormous price to which land rose in consequence of the depreciation of paper money, the Convention had already done away with public sales, and decreed that anybody might purchase lands who should offer thrice the amount in assignats of their estimated value in 1790. Thus for one franc in 1790 three were now to be paid; but the assignats were worth only about one-fifteenth of their nominal value; consequently if the value for 1790 was correctly ascertained, a man got a franc's value for one-fifth of a franc. But as it was necessary to sell the property, to withdraw the assignats from circulation, to stimulate the national industry by directing it to the cultivation of the land, and to deprive the emigrants of all hopes, the State must be content with getting what it could. He who made the first offer of three times the value of 1790, became the owner of the property. Only one-sixth was to be paid down at the time of purchase, and the rest by fixed instalments. The measure stimulated purchasers, and immense fortunes was made; for the estimation of 1790 was often very much below the real value at that time. Much land, which was not known to be public property by those who were engaged in the administration, was discovered to be such by the cupidity of purchasers. This decree for selling the land by private tender was, however, shortly after repealed, and the plan of auctions was resorted to again. Another measure was adopted, in order to bring the assignats to their real value. The amount emitted was to determine the amount of a sum that was to be paid, in this proportion: for every 500 millions of assignats added to the circulation, all sums paid after such addition were to be increased by one-fourth. Thus a debt of 2,000 francs, contracted when there were two milliards in circulation, was to be a debt of 2,500 francs, when 2,500 milliards were in circulation; when three milliards were in circulation, the debt would become 3,000 francs. But the scale was not universally applied. It was first applied to taxes and arrears of taxes; and it was applied to proprietors of land who thus received a larger rent, which was computed upon the original agreement with the addition of one-fourth for each emission of 500 millions of assignats. The cultivator had his advantage in the high price of his produce. The history of the assignats, and all the tampering with them, would form matter for a volume. The emission of assignats added greatly to the sufferings of the Revolution; and all the efforts of legislation were impotent to struggle against a depreciation which was inherent in the nature of the thing.

The report on the new Constitution was presented on the 23rd of June (5th Messidor); and at the same time the news arrived of the descent of a body of emigrants on the coast of Bretagne. About 6,000 men, with provisions and ammunition, sailed for the French coast under convoy of an English fleet, commanded by commodore Warren. This expedition was the result

* Thibaudeau, 'Mém.,' i., 179, and his remarks on the discussions in the Committee on the new Constitution.

† Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' vol. ii., c. 9; Brussels edition.



VENDEANS SUBMITTING TO HOCHE.

of Puisaye's negotiations at London. The men for the expedition were got together from all quarters: some were prisoners of war; others were refugees from Toulon, whom the Comte d'Hervilly found in London. Puisaye, it is said, fabricated a great quantity of assignats to carry with him; and the Comte d'Artois gave him all necessary powers, which he was to exercise till the comte's arrival in France. The Comte d'Hervilly was associated with Puisaye by the English ministry, who had no great confidence in this adventurer, and d'Hervilly was to command the regiments until they landed. Puisaye took with him the bishop of Dol, who had a commission from Rome, a large body of clergy, and many Frenchmen who bore illustrious names, and served as volunteers. Admiral Hood (afterwards Lord Bridport), who was stationed with a fleet off the isles of Ushant to protect the invading squadron, fell in with the Republican fleet commanded by Villaret-Joyeuse, on the 23rd of June, and the French admiral, after losing several of his ships, was glad to take refuge in the port of Lorient. The emigrants anchored on the 25th of June in the bay of Quiberon, landed on the 27th near Carnac, and penetrated as far as Auray, where they were joined by a few thousand peasants; but they did not venture to lose sight of the fleet on the coast. Hoche, who was at Rennes, being intrusted with the pacification of the west, immediately marched against the invaders with a considerable force. On the 1st of July (13th Messidor), the Convention sent Tallien and Blad to join Hoche, and invested them with the powers which had been formerly given to the representatives of the people when on mission in the departments and with the armies. Puisaye and d'Hervilly could not agree, and were disputing about the command and the mode of operation. They at last agreed to retire into the long narrow peninsula of Quiberon, in which, protected by the English fleet on both sides, they would hold an impregnable position. The emigrants captured fort Penthièvre, which defended the entrance of the Peninsula (3rd July). Puisaye sent his emissaries all through Bretagne to stir up Charette, Stofflet, and all the insurgent leaders. Hoche fixed his camp at Sainte-Barbe, and thus blockaded the enemy. He had soon about 13,000 or 14,000 men and his artillery with him. The emigrants determined on offensive operations. Some detachments commanded by Chouan chiefs were landed at Sarzeau and Quimper, with instructions to fall on the rear of Hoche, while an attack was made on his front and flank by the main body. On the 16th of July, D'Hervilly and Puisaye quitted their strong post on the peninsula and advanced upon Hoche, who was ready to receive them. The Republican troops soon drove the emigrants before them: D'Hervilly fell mortally wounded when he was giving orders for a retreat, and the route was complete. Puisaye shut himself up in the peninsula, which it was almost impossible to enter, as it was protected by Fort Penthièvre and the English fleet. But Hoche had ascertained from some deserters that an entrance into the fort might be effected by wading breast-deep through the sea that washed the base of the rock, and thus reaching a path which led to the summit on which the fort stood; and he was assured by the deserters that their comrades in the garrison would open the gates to him. At midnight of the 20th of July, in the midst of a thick darkness, Hoche directed his 14,000 men against the peninsula, while 300 grenadiers undertook the perilous task of surprising the fort. The sky was covered with heavy clouds, the wind was blowing hard, and the swollen waves of the ocean were driven by the storm against the iron-bound coasts of Quiberon. The garrison, roused by the heavy tread of thousands of men approaching in the dark, fired upon them, and the ranks of the republicans were thrown into some confusion. But at daybreak they saw the tricolor flag floating on the ramparts, and victory was now certain. The republicans advanced into the peninsula, and drove the emigrants before them to the brink of the ocean. The ships which were off the coast had been dispersed by the wind, and with difficulty came in time to receive these unfortunate adventurers. Some contrived to reach the English vessels under a heavy fire; some were swallowed up in the waves. The English artillery directed against the republicans mowed down the emigrants also. The choice was death by drowning, or by the sword, or surrender. Many of the emigrants laid down their arms, but Hoche made no capitulation with them. He had not the power to do it; and he himself afterwards said he heard nothing of certain promises which general Humbert, who was in command under him, made to the enemy; nor could he have given his sanction to any such promises. The English commander, Warren, did all that he could to facilitate the embarkation of the defeated emigrants; but in the midst of this horrible confusion great numbers were drowned. The prisoners, to the number of about one thousand, were tried by a military commission at Vannes, which endeavoured to distinguish between those who had been enrolled against their will and the real emigrants, all of whom were shot. The Committees of Government were strongly solicited to save the prisoners; but the Committee of Public Safety, which was not at present composed of Montagnards, felt that they could not do otherwise than let the law take its course against Frenchmen who had entered France with arms in their hands.*

The remnant of the Chouans and Vendéans, encouraged by the presence of an English fleet, had risen again. Charette, Stofflet, and other chiefs, resumed their arms, and the guerilla warfare was re-commenced. Hoche was named commander-in-chief of the forces in the west, and received a reinforcement of 20,000 men

* It is difficult to decide if Hoche was blameable in this matter. The royalist writers say that he was. But Hoche was an honourable and generous man, and his own assertion will not readily be disbelieved.

from the Eastern Pyrenees. Above 100,000 republican soldiers formed a vast cordon, extending from Granville to Rochelle. The activity of the young French general frustrated all the attempts of the English to make a landing. A new royalist force, commanded by the Comte d'Artois, was landed by an English fleet at the Isle Dieu, but the prince hesitated to throw himself into La Vendée; and after six weeks' delay, the weather becoming very bad, the English ships withdrew, and conveyed the Comte d'Artois to England (15th November). Hoche now advanced through the insurgent country, skilfully disposing his force so as to separate the rebel chiefs; and by his prudent conduct, his mild treatment of the clergy, and his respect to the religious opinions of the people, he prepared the way for the final pacification of these disturbed provinces in the following year.

In this unfortunate expedition the royalists lost almost all the officers of marine and of the engineers, who were distinguished for talent. It was an ill-concerted plan. The English have been accused by some of the French writers of wishing to lead the emigrants to their destruction. The charge is absurd, for the English ministry wished for nothing better than to repair their disasters in Holland by success on the territories of France; and the English fleet gave every assistance to the emigrants in their fearful disaster. But it was one more lesson added to that of Toulon, for men not to trust to foreign aid against their own country.

While the royalists were waiting for their destruction on the rocks of Quiberon, Spain made peace with France. General Moncey had taken Bilboa and Vittoria, and was investing Pamplona; and the only hope of arresting the progress of the victorious Republic was by a peace. The terms were signed at Bâle on the 12th of July (24th Messidor). France restored all the places that she had taken from Spain, and Spain ceded to France the Spanish part of St. Domingo, which was no real gain to the Republic, for St. Domingo was in the hands of the insurgents. The peace with Spain caused great rejoicing in France, for a Bourbon had recognized the Republic, and two armies were now at her disposal, to turn against her enemies on the Rhine and in the north of Italy. The armies of Jourdan and Pichegru were ready to cross the Rhine, in face of the Austrians, whose force extended along the river from Bâle to Düsseldorf, below Cologne. The Austrians had a strong position: their right was protected by the forts of Düsseldorf and Ehrenbreitstein, which is opposite to Coblenz; and on their centre and their left by Mainz, Mannheim, and Philipsburg. With these advantages they were in a condition to make the attack, but the French were the assailants. On the 20th of Fructidor (6th of September) Jourdan passed the Rhine at Eichelcamp, Düsseldorf, and Neuwied, by a bold manœuvre, and he reached the Lahn by the 20th of September, by the road to Frankfort. Pichegru received at the same time orders to cross the Upper Rhine; and Mannheim, which was threatened with bombardment, surrendered to him before the end of September. The two French generals were now in a position to unite their forces on the east bank of the Rhine, in the valley of the Main.

CHAPTER LV.

DEFEAT OF THE SECTIONS.

The Committee of the Eleven began their labours on the organic laws of the Constitution of '93 on the 17th Floréal. Sièyes, who had been named a member of it, was also a member of the Committee of Public Safety; and as a resolution had been made that those members who belonged both to the Committees of Government and to the Eleven, should choose one or the other, Sièyes chose to belong to the Committee of Public Safety. He had a great reputation for constitution-making, but he was incapable of listening to the opinions of others. He gave his own opinion like an oracle, and then resumed oracular taciturnity: he would neither listen to objections, nor explain, nor argue.* The second reading of the text of the Constitution was heard on the 17th of August (30th Thermidor), and two days afterwards it was decreed that the Constitution should be presented for the acceptance of the people in their primary assemblies on the 6th of September (20th Fructidor). By a decree of the 5th Fructidor, the Convention resolved that two-thirds of the members of the present Convention should be retained in the new legislature; a measure which gave rise to violent tumults, and placed France in danger of again becoming royalist, or having a new reign of Terror. The Convention were almost unanimous as to the two-thirds, but there was a difference of opinion as to the mode in which the two-thirds should be determined. It was finally resolved to refer the matter to the people, together with the acceptance of the Constitution. Saladin, who had been a violent revolutionist in the Legislative, and as violent a re-actionist in the Convention, denounced to the people, in a pamphlet, the decree of the 5th Fructidor. The opposition

* As to the discussions in the Committee, see Thibaudeau, Mém.,' i., 177, &c.

began in the sections of Paris before they were convoked in the primary assemblies to deliberate according to law. On the 11th of Fructidor, Lacretelle the younger came to the bar of the Convention, in the name of the section of the Champs-Élysées, and insolently demanded the removal of the troops from the capital: it was a caricature of the famous address of Mirabeau. On the 12th, the section of the faubourg Montmartre came to demand the repeal of the decree by which five hundred members of the legislative body were to be elected from the Convention. The Convention responded (13th) by a decree which directed the electoral assemblies to commence their operations by choosing two-thirds of the present members of the Convention. This decree made the agitators agitate still more, and prepare for insurrection. Among the agitators were general Miranda, who had served under Dumouriez; general Servan; Marchena, Lemaître, former secretary of the council of finances; Quatremère de Quincy; Lacretelle the younger; Langlois, Richer-Serizy, and others. Roederer was also opposed to the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor.

The primary assemblies for the acceptance of the Constitution met on the 6th of September; and the section Lepelletier employed the first sitting in drawing up a manifesto, which, after various *considérants*, declared that "every citizen had the right of freely expressing his opinion on the Constitution presented for the acceptance of the people, as well as with regard to the decree of the 5th Fructidor, respecting the reelection of five hundred members of the Convention, and generally on all the measures of Public Safety." The Convention was informed of this measure, but nothing was done upon it; and the section Lepelletier went a step further. It came to a resolution, "that the only means of making all France acquainted with the unanimous opinion of the citizens of Paris, was, to have a meeting of forty-eight commissioners appointed by each of the primary assemblies, and to instruct these commissioners to draw up an authentic declaration in the name of all their constituents." The Convention met this resolution by a decree, that the "citizens who should assemble in a central committee, composed of commissioners named by the sections, and those who, under the pretext of being appointed by a primary assembly, should go from one commune to another, or should visit the troops, should be declared guilty of an attack on the sovereignty of the people." On the 22nd Fructidor some citizens came to complain at the bar of the Convention, that the intriguers who directed the sections of Paris, had excluded them from the primary assemblies. Most of the sections of Paris imitated that of Lepelletier; and on the 27th Fructidor, Dupont, of the Comédie Française, the spokesman of a deputation of the section of the Théâtre Français, informed the Convention that the primary assembly of this section had rejected the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor, but had accepted the Constitution. While the sections of Paris were rejecting these decrees, the departments were accepting them. The attacks of the sections drove the Convention to measures of self-defence; the Committees of Government released some of the terrorists who had been imprisoned several months before, and there was talk of again establishing the revolutionary laws in all their rigour. A deputation of the section Lepelletier demanded the trial of the two former ministers, Pache and Bouchotte; but they had just been set at liberty.

Since the 9th of Thermidor, the Thermidorians had left the Mountain and seated themselves on the *côté droit*, where they were reinforced by the seventy-three Girondins who had been re-admitted into the Convention. Tallien and Lanjuinais, Fréron and Boissy-d'Anglas, Legendre and Henri de la Rivière, Barras and Lesage d'Eure et Loire, Rovère and Louvet, the victors and the vanquished, the slaughterers and the victims, were all sitting and working together. But the alliance was not sincere; the Thermidorians were losing credit, and Tallien and his party would have been extinguished together with the Revolutionary Government, but for the revolt of the sections of Paris. The orators in the sections extolled the seventy-three: they abused the Thermidorians and the Mountain, whom they still treated as one party. They told Lanjuinais, Boissy, and others of the Gironde, that the acceptance or rejection of the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor ought to be a matter of indifference to them, for they would be sure of their re-election; and if the decrees were rejected, they would thus get rid of the majority in the Convention, which it was the object of the decrees to maintain. The greater part of the seventy-three remained silent, willing to let the sections take their course, for some of these men were already sold to the cause of royalty; and those who were not, compromised the safety of the Republic by making no resistance to the sections, who would have massacred the Convention, or at least have decimated it, as on the 31st of May; and the royalists would have remained in possession of the battle-field.

In the Republic there was a great majority for the acceptance of the Constitution and the two decrees. On the 23rd of September (1 Vendémiaire) the reporter of the Committee of Decrees proclaimed the result of the votes of the primary assemblies. Out of 958,226 votes, 914,853 had accepted the Constitution: 263,131 voters had given their opinion on the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor; 167,758 had accepted them, and 95,373 had rejected them. The whole number of persons, it is said, who might have voted, was five millions; but this is manifestly an exaggeration. However, a great number did not vote. The Convention, knowing the opinion of the armies to be in their favour, had allowed them to vote. The president of the Convention declared, in the name of the French people, the acceptance of the Constitution, which he also declared to be the fundamental law of the State; and the same declaration was made with respect to the decrees of the 5th and 13th, to which the electoral assemblies were bound to conform. The sections of

Paris opposed this acceptance, and were thus in hostility to the will of the nation. They pretended that the decrees had not been really accepted, and that it was doubtful if the Constitution had been; that there had been fraud in the returns, and that they had a right to verify them. They continued their meetings, organized their forces, and deliberated under arms: every section was a sovereign. They first insulted and threatened the Convention, and then prepared to attack it.

The Constitution of the year III, is important for the history of what followed.* It began with a Declaration of Rights, but it did not announce any common object or end of society. The Constitution of 1793 declared the "object of society to be the general happiness," a formula which has been much in vogue since that time among political writers.† It has the advantage of expressing, that society does not exist for some, but for all; and it therefore excludes, as not belonging to the end or object of society, every political institution which has strictly a limited object, or which is for the exclusive benefit, anyhow considered, of a number less than all. But, in other respects, it is as vague and deceptive as a general Declaration of Rights. The Constitution of the year III, enumerates four rights as belonging to man in society—"liberty, equality, security, property." Some of the members of the Committee of Eleven were opposed to a Declaration of Rights, because it would give rise to false interpretations, and would be the source of continual agitation. But these arguments did not prevail, and the Committee thought that they might remedy these inconveniences by a sort of commentary, or antidote, under the title of the Declaration of Duties (Thibaudeau). Accordingly, the Declaration of Rights is followed by Duties; the second article of which was, "Do not to others that which you would not have others do to you," and "Constantly do to others the good that you would wish to receive from them." Insurrection does not occur among the Rights or Duties of the Constitution of the year III. It was declared (Devoirs, Art. viii.), that all social order rested upon the maintenance of property. The universality of the citizens was declared to be the sovereign; but the number of citizens was limited by the following article: "Every man born and resident in France of the age of twenty-one, who has entered his name on the civic rolls of his canton, who has lived above a year on the territory of the Republic, and who pays a direct tax, land tax or personal, is a French citizen." Those were also citizens, without any condition of taxation, who had made one campaign or more for the establishment of the Republic. Foreigners also could become French citizens on certain terms. French citizens alone had the power of voting in the primary assemblies, and of being called to the functions established by the Constitution. The primary assemblies appointed the electors, and the electoral assemblies appointed the members of the legislative body. The division into departments (there were then eighty-nine) was retained: each department was divided into cantons, and every canton into communes. The colonies were declared to be integral parts of the Republic, and were subjected to the same Constitutional law. The colonies were declared to be divided into departments. The legislative body was divided into two Chambers—the Council of Five Hundred, and the Conseil des Anciens, which consisted of 250 members. The executive power was delegated to a Directory of five members, named by the legislative body. The Council of Five Hundred were to make by ballot a decuple list of members for the Directory, and to present it to the Council of Antients, who were to choose the five members by ballot out of this list. The members of the Directory were to be forty years old at least. This may suffice as an outline of the new Constitution; but it contained many other important articles.

Paris was still in a state of agitation, and the Convention was daily informed of the audacious designs of the sections. On the 3rd Vendémiaire, La Réveillère-Lépeaux made a report on this matter in the name of the Committees of Government, which led to a decree which declared the commune of Paris responsible for the safety of the national representatives, and gave the generals orders to keep the Republican columns in readiness to act. On the 10th Vendémiaire (2nd of October), the Convention fixed the 27th of October (5th Brumaire) for the opening of the sittings of the legislative body. This was followed by a decree for a funeral celebration "in honour of the friends of liberty who had died during the decemviral régime;" and the next day the members came with a piece of crape on their arms. The hall was prepared for the solemnity. Just as the ceremony was beginning, some petitioners from Valenciennes appeared at the bar to complain of the Assembly for allowing the national sovereignty to be usurped by 3,000 knaves who were agitating the sections of Paris. It became a question whether the ceremony should be postponed; but Tallien opposed the postponement, because "he wished to weep over the manes of Vergniaud, Condorcet, and Camille Desmoulins, before marching against those who disputed the power of the Convention." The ceremony was continued. There were funeral hymns and funeral discourses, followed by a report on the insurrection which was preparing; for while the Convention were singing hymns, the sections were making ready for action. The electors, who had been already named, met to the number of 100 in the Théâtre

* The two Constitutions may be compared in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxi., p. 400, &c., and xxxvi., p. 485, &c.

† The doctrine of "bonheur" is discussed by the editors of the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxii., Préface, which begins: "All the political schools, &c., affirm that the end and the limit of political labours for one and all, is happiness.—It is the prospectus by which, like charlatans in the streets, they tempt passers-by, attract them, and keep them at least some time;" that is, until the trick is found out; but that is not always the case. Bentham's 'Greatest Happiness Principle' is explained in the 'Introduction to the Study of Bentham's Works,' by J. H. Burton, Advocate.

Français (Odéon) under the presidence of the old duc de Nivernais, who seems to have been taken there much against his will. The Convention had passed a decree in the morning, that the primary assemblies of Paris should not meet after the 15th Vendémiaire, and the 11th was fixed for the opening of the electoral assemblies all through France; and another decree annulled all measures of any kind which were in opposition to this decree. The magistrates, whose duty it was to proclaim the decree, came when it was dark in front of the Théâtre-Français; but the crowd rushed out of the theatre, extinguished the torches, and the magistrates were dispersed amidst hootings and cries.

In this struggle between the Convention and the sections, the mass of those who were in easy circumstances remained perfectly unconcerned: merchants and men in business went on just in the ordinary way. But in the poorer quarters it was different; and the remnant of the insurgents of Prairial joined the party who covered their designs with the magic words of Country, Republic, and Revolution. The force of the sections was composed of companies of grenadiers and chasseurs of the garde nationale, formed of proprietors, shopkeepers, and others, who were rich enough to equip themselves, in all about 20,000 men. The rest consisted of the *basses compagnies*, who were only organized on paper, and were not called into action. The force of the sections was commanded by general Danican, who had served the Republic in La Vendée, and now put himself at the head of a royalist movement. He was restless and active, but had little capacity. The Convention had for its defence several battalions of the line, amounting to between 3,000 and 4,000 men, and 1,500 patriots, by which term we must understand many of the old Jacobins. It had also some cannon. Menou, general-in-chief of the army of the interior, whose head-quarters were at Paris, had the command of the forces of the Convention. He was a Republican, but a moderate man, and not suited for an emergency which required only daring. He was even accused of favouring the insurgents; but this does not appear to be true. By a decree passed on the night of the 12th to the 13th Vendémiaire, Barras was named commander-in-chief of the army of the interior in place of Menou, and he took prompt measures for repelling the rebels. "General Bonaparte," says Barras, in his report* on the conspiracy and rebellion which broke out on the 13th and 14th Vendémiaire (5th and 6th October), and on the military operations executed by the Republican army, "known for his military talents and his attachment to the Republic, was named on my proposal second in command." Bonaparte was now in Paris, and was already known to Barras as an officer of ability. He had been deprived of his command by Aubry, and came to Paris to seek his fortune. The Convention summoned to their aid the patriots of '89, "those former pillars of the Revolution," the Jacobins and the men of the suburbs, against whom they had lately employed force, and whom they had disarmed. They delivered arms to all those who presented themselves for the defence of the Republic and the Convention, and who were warranted by well-known citizens to be patriots of '89. The artillery was brought to Paris from the camp of Sablons, and all the approaches to the Convention were defended. But the sections had a force sufficient to overwhelm the Convention, if it had been well-directed. If, says Thibaudeau, the sections had taken possession of the streets and the houses which surrounded the Tuileries, they would have crushed the few soldiers who defended the avenues of the palace; but they presented themselves in compact and deep columns, which could neither deploy nor execute any manœuvre, and offered an excellent mark to the musketeers and the artillery of the Convention. The sections expected to take the Tuileries by an assault as they had done on the 10th of August. The generals of the Convention remained on the defensive during the morning of the 13th, notwithstanding the hostile movements of the sections, and their well-known intention to attack the Convention. Before commencing the combat, Danican sent to offer terms to the Convention, which were that they should disarm the patriots and repeal the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor. Danican receiving no answer ordered the attack, and the report of musketry was heard. Bonaparte, who did not undervalue the hazard of the combat, had 800 muskets carried to the Convention for the members to arm themselves, and to act in case of need as a body of reserve. The Assembly had now to fight a pitched battle with the commune.

It was about four in the afternoon when the sections had filled the Rue St. Honoré, and one of their battalions was posted on the steps of the church of St. Roch, in an advantageous position to fire on the canoneers of the Convention. Bonaparte was there, and lost no time. His artillery fired on the battalion, who replied by a discharge of musketry, and were answered with grape-shot. The sections were dislodged from the church after an obstinate resistance, and Bonaparte swept the whole length of the Rue St. Honoré with his canon. The sections were here driven back in disorder; but they were not yet beaten. Leaving an officer to follow up the success in this part, Bonaparte visited the Carrousel and other posts. The leaders of the insurgents had made a fatal mistake in their mode of attack; but they still hazarded another attempt. A compact mass of several thousand men advanced in column from the Pont Neuf towards the Pont Royal along the quai Voltaire, with cries of "Vive le roi!" according to the report of Barras. The artillery of the Convention was placed on the quai of the Tuileries, which is opposite to the quai Voltaire, and at the head of the bridge, directed right against

* Printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvii., 46. Nothing further is said of Bonaparte in the report of Barras. There is also a report on the events of the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th Vendémiaire, by Merlin of Douay, in the name of the Committees of Public Safety and General Security. 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvii., 32.

the assailants. At the word of command the deadly shot swept down the front of the advancing sections, while the cannon from the quai of the Tuileries took them in flank. The column rallied, and attempted to seize the cannon on the bridge; but again they were broken by the artillery, and finally dispersed.* It was about six in the evening when the battle was over, and the Convention remained masters of the field. Some of the sectionists who had intrenched themselves in the Place Vendôme, the church of St. Roch, and in the Palais Royal, or Égalité, were dislodged without difficulty. Some barricades were made, but they were taken at the point of the bayonet. On the 14th all was quiet; every trace of the battle had disappeared, the dead had been carried away, and in the evening the theatres were filled as if nothing had happened. The number of the killed is unknown. Some make it as low as 100, which is very improbable; others make the number of killed and wounded on both sides 300 or 400.

The Convention used their victory with moderation. Three military commissions were appointed; but they only condemned those who did not appear, and who afterwards, on presenting themselves before the criminal tribunal of the Seine, were acquitted. Menou was tried and acquitted. Thibaudeau appeared as a witness for the general's patriotism and fidelity. His real fault was his want of resolution and his aversion to shed blood; a charge that could not be made against the young general, who had shown what might have been done on the 10th of August, if Louis XVI. had been Bonaparte.†

Tallien and his friends soon quarrelled with their allies of the côté droit. Legendre, at a private dinner on the 17th Vendémiaire reproached Boissy d'Anglas, Lanjuinais, Larivière, and Lesage with their silence during the revolt of the sections, and with the eulogiums pronounced upon them by the royalists in their placards and journals. Lanjuinais endeavoured to justify himself; but, in speaking of the 13th Vendémiaire, he called it a massacre. Tallien flew into a violent passion, and charged Lanjuinais and his colleagues with conniving at the revolt of the sections, and threatened to denounce them to the Convention. Tallien, whose passion was perhaps only simulated, at last pretended to be pacified. On the 23rd Vendémiaire (15th October), Delaunay of Angers, who was now again in the Convention, made a report on the conspiracy of Lemaître. He stated, that the papers found on Lemaître proved the existence of a secret committee of emigrants at Bâle, who appeared to rely on the primary assemblies of Paris. The Convention decreed that Lemaître and his accomplices should be brought before a military commission at Paris. Some notes were found among the papers of Lemaître, which related to several deputies, Lanjuinais, Boissy d'Anglas, and others; and though they proved nothing, they served to throw suspicion on men who were re-elected by the general suffrage of France, and whom their enemies were afraid of seeing nominated members of the Directory. Sièyes assured the Committee of Public Safety that Barthélemy, who was minister in Switzerland, was in the royalist conspiracy; and Letourneur and Louvet, on the occasion of some check which the French arms experienced on the Rhine, said that Pichegru was acting the part of a traitor. Upon the motion for the printing of Delaunay's report, Tallien spoke from the summit of the Mountain, to which he and his friends had returned after a fourteen months' secession. He spoke with great vehemence, blamed himself for keeping silence so long as to the individuals who had encouraged the revolt of the sections, and moved that the Convention should form itself into a general committee; which was done. He then denounced the conspirators, Lanjuinais, Boissy d'Anglas, Henri Larivière, and Le Sage d'Eure-et-Loir. The sitting was private, but very tumultuous. The Convention came to a resolution, that there was no ground of inculpation against the members whom Tallien had denounced. On the next day Louvet, who acted in some degree in concert with Tallien, denounced Saladin and Rovère as the leaders or favourers of the revolt of the sections, and they were put under arrest. The papers found on Lemaître were read. Most of them seemed to have come from Bâle, and were evidently written by royalists, and several were from Louis XVIII.; but it was very difficult to draw any conclusions from them.

The report of Barras upon the 13th Vendémiaire had been read on the 30th Vendémiaire (22nd of October), and the Convention had named a committee of five members to "present measures of Public Safety." Tallien was named one of the five, and there was some rumour and suspicion that Tallien and his party were going to exercise a dictatorship; but if such a design existed, the execution was frustrated by Thibaudeau denouncing Tallien as the organizer of the royalist re-action, and as preparing a new tyranny. Tallien defended himself: he said that the victory of the 13th Vendémiaire had only resulted in profit to the vanquished; that there were on the election lists the names of officious defenders of Louis Capet, and men who had taken part in the late conspiracy. He ended by proposing the permanence of the Convention till the 5th Brumaire, the day on which the legislative body was to be organized. This was evidently an insidious proposal, and it was rejected. Tallien and his party had apparently the design of continuing the Revolutionary Government; and it appears that the English ministry rather expected that the new Constitution would be suspended. "If it is accepted by the people," said Pitt, "and put into execution with good faith, I see nothing in the principles on which it is founded which

* Barras only mentions generals Cartaux, Verdière, and Lestranges, as directing these operations. He does not mention Bonaparte, to whom, however, the merit of the day is due.

† It is sometimes stated that Bonaparte witnessed the attack of the Tuileries on the 10th of August; but he was not in Paris at that time.

would prevent me from concluding peace." On the next day, 24th of October (2nd Brumaire), Tallien made a report in the name of the Commission of Five, on the means of turning to the advantage of liberty the victory gained by its friends on the 13th Vendémiaire. It was a brief recapitulation of events since the date of the treaty of Pilnitz, and is utterly worthless as an historical document. The conclusion was simply this: there were three objects which had chiefly occupied the attention of the Committee of Five—the re-entry into France of the priests, denominated *refractory*, who preached disobedience to the law; the return of many emigrants, especially in the southern departments; and the "means of purging the Republic of the infamous royalists, without, however, again raising the scaffold, which was proscribed for ever:" and, finally, measures to "repress the voracity of the odious agiotage." The draft of a decree presented by Tallien was accepted, and it was definitively drawn up on the following day (25th of October). It was a kind of renewal of the measures taken against the enemies of the Revolution before the 9th of Thermidor. It was the last important act of the Convention.* The tenth article was this: "The laws of 1792 and 1793 against priests who were liable to deportation or imprisonment, shall be executed in twenty-four hours after the promulgation of the present decree; and the public functionaries who shall be convicted of having neglected the execution of these laws, shall be condemned to two years' imprisonment." The last act of the Convention (3 Brumaire) was an act of Terrorism.

The 26th of October, 1795, was the last day that the Convention sat. Barras resigned his command as general of the army of the interior. The Convention on this day decreed, that from the day of the date of a general peace, the punishment of death should be abolished in the Republic; and the Place de la Révolution received the name of the Place de la Concorde. An amnesty was also decreed for all persons in respect of all matters purely relating to the Revolution, if there was no charge against such persons in reference to the conspiracy of the 13th Vendémiaire. Crimes committed during the Revolution, and provided for by the Code Pénal, were punishable according to that Code; and if the offence was mixed, that is, consisted partly of crimes provided for by the Code Pénal, and partly of facts relating to the Revolution, the proceedings and judgment could only apply to the crimes provided for by the Code Pénal. Persons accused of peculation of public money and the like during the Revolution, could only be proceeded against civilly and for restitution. All this must have been a great relief to a number of men who merited punishment. Tallien, while taking care of himself, secured the safety of others. Fouché had been put under arrest on the 9th of August, upon various charges made against him for his conduct during his missions, though Legendre and Tallien had spoken in his defence. He was now relieved by the last act of the Convention; he was the greatest villain that the Revolution produced, the most blood-thirsty, the most greedy of money, the most dastardly, the most hypocritical. There were several classes excepted from the amnesty; those condemned to death *par contumace* for the affair of the 13th Vendémiaire; the priests who were deported, or subject to deportation; forgers of false assignats or counterfeit coins; and the emigrants, whether they had returned to the territory of the Republic or not. This was the law of the 4th Brumaire of the year IV. The Convention had reached its term; the President said, "The National Convention decrees that its mission is fulfilled, and its sittings are closed."

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvii., 85. The decree consists of seventeen articles.

The Convention lasted three years, one month, and four days. Its turbulent career need not be retraced; its crimes will never be forgotten. But it saved France from invasion, repelled the enemy with heroic courage, extended the frontiers, and left Belgium a part of the Republic. It established a uniform system of weights and measures, the Institut, the École Polytechnique, and the Conservatoire des Arts and Métiers, put the public debt in order, and laid the foundation for a new Code Civil. In the midst of foreign war and internal discord, France was still improving. It was relieved from the heavy chains of old feudal domination. War and intestine tumult are the striking facts of history, but the daily occupations of the millions who compose a great state attract little attention. Agriculture began to improve, the consequence of the destruction of feudal rights, the sale of national property, and the breaking up of large estates. The depreciation of the assignats was a calamity to all who received fixed payments, large proprietors, rentiers, and public functionaries. But the cultivators and the farmers gained by it: a sack of wheat, in spite of the law of the maximum, and the penalty of death against transactions being settled in specie, would always bring what it was worth. The law only served to raise prices, as laws against usury raise the interest of money. The over-abundance of paper money contributed to its circulation and to the activity of commerce; for everybody wished to part with it, and nobody would keep it. A man would rather have anything than paper money of uncertain value. It was, however, a state of affairs that could not continue, and it caused much misery while it lasted. But the assignats had served a purpose: they had fed and sustained the Revolution.*

* Thibaudeau, 'Mém.' i., 54.

CHAPTER LVI.

THE DIRECTORY.

It was about six years since the Revolution had commenced. The violence of the tempest had demolished the external fabric of the monarchy, but it had not destroyed all the sentiments and opinions which were connected with it. There were still thousands of men in France whose interests and whose prejudices were hostile to the Revolution. The nobles and the clergy formed the chief class of emigrants; but there were still many former nobles and priests who remained in France, and preferred the danger of suspicion to expatriation. There was a considerable part of the population, the richest and the best instructed, who never were Republicans, and had not been converted even by the reign of Terror. All parties were weary of the sacrifices that the Revolution had required of them, of its turbulence, and of the uncertainty of the future. For those classes who had been in easy circumstances under the old monarchy, the contrast was striking and painful, and quiet on any terms was a thing that they longed for. The Revolution had, in fact, spent its energy; and the boldest, the most sincere, the most honest, the most fanatical, had perished on the scaffold, in the civil wars, or on the frontiers. The Jacobins had disappeared. The army alone retained the devotion which animated the old masses of the Revolution; it was now better organized, well commanded, and it was victorious. It was the instrument which was to settle future difficulties. But the crimes and the blood shed in the south proved that the spirit of re-action was in full activity, while that of the Revolution was becoming faint; and opportunity was only wanted for the rising party to show what it would do. The Convention saw clear enough the danger with which they were individually threatened by the re-actionary spirit of the younger class, which might easily be directed to the restoration of monarchy. And though there might be in the Convention a large number of men who would not have opposed the re-establishment of kingly power if they could have secured their own interest under it, yet the danger of such a change being effected by a counter-revolution, was enough to render them suspicious and vigilant. With some it was regard to their personal safety, with others it was a sincere desire to maintain the Republic, which led to the decree that the departments should choose two-thirds of the new legislative body out of the members of the Convention.

The departments chose only 379 deputies out of the members of the Convention instead of 500; and if to this number of 379 were added the members for the colonies, who were provisionally to continue their functions, there remained 104 members to be chosen in order to complete the two-thirds. It was provided by the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor, that the Conventionals who were re-elected should form themselves into an electoral body, in order to choose the remainder of the two-thirds from among their former colleagues, if the departments did not choose the full number. When the 104 were elected, all the names of the deputies who were above forty, and married or widowers,* were put in an urn, and 167 names were drawn out to compose two-thirds of the Council of Antients. The same method was adopted with respect to the new deputies who had been elected, and out of them sixty-three† were chosen to complete the number of the Council. The two bodies being formed, the Council of Five Hundred took possession of the Manége, and the Council of Antients remained in the room at the Tuileries which had been occupied by the Convention. There remained the choice of the Directory. The Five Hundred were to make a list of fifty names, and present them to the Council of Antients, who were to choose five out of them. The leaders in the old Conventional party prepared a list among themselves, and agreed to abide by it. The list contained only six well-known names out of fifty: this was in effect to dictate the choice to the Council of Antients. The list was adopted by the Five Hundred. When it was presented to the Antients, Dupont de Nemours, formerly a member of the Constituent Assembly, exposed the manœuvre; but it was useless to attempt resistance, for the list was made conformably to the law. On the 1st of November, the Council selected La Reveillère-Lépeaux, Sièyes, Rewbell, Letourneur de la Manche, and Barras. Sièyes refused to accept the office, and Carnot was chosen in his place. The Directory, on the 14th Brumaire, published an address to the French people, in which they declared their firm resolution "to consolidate the Republic, and to give to the Constitution all its activity and force." The address, which may be presumed to be the opinion of a majority in the Convention, expressed a wish for the re-establishment of peace and order in the interior; but it showed fear of, and hostility to, the royalists, and to the fanatics "who continually inflame people's imagination."

The commencement of the Directorial Government had great difficulties. Among the new third that had joined the legislative body, a large part was in favour of royalty, though they might be well enough disposed to a representative system, and altogether opposed to the old régime. But a government in which there is a difference of opinion as to the form in

* This was required by the Constitution, art. 83.

† 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvii., 103. Sixty-three seems to be a mistake. Eighty-three would be required.

which power shall be exercised, though this is not a question of supreme importance, has difficulties to contend with, not the less because they are rather about form than about substance. The elements of opposition to the Directory in the two bodies were abundant, and needed only time and opportunity to develope them. Nor was the personal character of the members of the Directory calculated to give them the support of public opinion. Barras, the most notorious among them, was a man of no principles and of large expense. He had been a Montagnard, and had assisted at the siege of Toulon and the massacres which followed. Rewbell was one of the representatives at Mainz when it was surrendered, and there were doubts about his honesty in that transaction. Lépeaux was a mild-tempered man and a Republican; he affected a taste for botany, and was a favourer of the sect of Théophilanthropes, who were for a time the amusement of Paris. Letourneur was an officer, a former member of the Legislative Assembly and of the Convention; a man who had no taste or talent for civil administration, but a man of good character. Carnot had talent and reputation in his special department, but he had been a member of the Committee of Public Safety during the reign of Terror. The ministers chosen by the Directory did not add much to their reputation. Merlin of Douay was minister of justice, and admiral Truguet for the marine; the others are too insignificant to mention.

The first thing which the Directory wanted was money. Coin had disappeared during the reign of Terror, and the assignat alone circulated, maintained by the law which gave to it its nominal value under pain of death. But after the 9th Thermidor silver came out of its hiding-place to war with it, and free competition, joined with other causes, precipitated the depreciation of the paper money. In Brumaire, 1795, the louis d'or was worth 3,000 francs in assignats, which is sufficiently explained by the fact, that twenty-seven milliards in assignats had been issued. A pound of sugar cost 400 francs in assignats, a pound of soap 230, and a pound of candles 140 francs in assignats. The demand of the Directory for 3,000 millions in assignats for the current and urgent expenses was nothing unreasonable; and it was granted, after some opposition from the Council of Antients (22nd Brumaire). There was at this time a great outcry in Paris against the agioteurs or jobbers in assignats, and the Directory closed the Bourse.

A great number of journals were now published, and royalist opinions were freely expressed. The Parisians, who were worn out by so many years of hope and suffering, who had looked for their happiness to insurrections and paper constitutions, were now occupied with providing for their daily bread; and they had become completely indifferent to the two opposite parties, and even accused the Revolution of being the cause of all their miseries. The democratic party, to whom the name of Jacobins was given, because they claimed to be the representatives of this famous society, was not very numerous, and had not recovered from their terrors. They had, however, a few journals, such as the 'Tribun du Peuple,' by Babeuf, and others; but they were little read. They even ventured to make a popular society; and the liberality of a man who had hired a part of the old convent of Sainte-Geneviève, placed the refectory gratuitously at their disposal. Patriotic discourses were delivered, and there was a considerable concourse of people, for admission was easy. Two thousand members soon joined the new society. But there were secret meetings to which few were admitted, such as that in which Babeuf presided. From the vicinity of the place of meeting to the Pantheon, the society was called the club of the Pantheon. The royalists had their meetings also, but they were less public, and little was known about them.

Of the royal prisoners in the Temple there remained only one. The daughter of Louis XVI. had seen her father, her mother, and her aunt leave the Temple for the scaffold, and her young brother had died of slow, lingering disease. The Directory negotiated an exchange of the princess for the deputies Quinette, Bancal, Lamarque, Camus, and the minister Beurnonville, whom Dumouriez had delivered up to the Austrians; and for three other French prisoners, one of whom was the ex-representative Drouet. The princess set out from Paris on the 28th Brumaire; and the minister of the interior went to the Temple, and conducted her to the carriages which were to convey her to Bâle, where the exchange was to be made. On their return to Paris, the prisoners presented themselves (January, 1796) to the Councils, and the presidents expressed the satisfaction which the representatives of the nation felt in seeing them once more. They made a report on their captivity, and the bad treatment which they had received in the Austrian dungeons, to which their pale faces bore testimony. Drouet, the man who had arrested Louis at Varennes, and had been made prisoner at Maubeuge when on a mission, took up nearly a whole sitting of the Five Hundred with a narration of his sufferings during his captivity.

The temper of the Five Hundred was tried by the events of 17th Brumaire (8th of December, 1795). The Marseillais denounced the authors of the atrocities committed in the south during the re-action, and drew a horrible picture of mutilated corpses, streets stained with blood, and the dungeons of St. Jean smeared with the brains of the most courageous Republicans. They denounced Cadroy, Chambon, and Mariette, as the instigators of these barbarities. Their denunciation was bold, uncompromising, and precise. Cadroy denied the charge. Isnard made a bold defence for the accused, and told the story well of the troubles of Toulon, and of the horrible murders at Marseille, which, he said, were committed by some ferocious men at a moment when nearly all Marseille was busily engaged in giving a triumphant reception to the troops and the representatives who were returning from Toulon. His defence was specious, and may be true,

but an inquiry would have been more satisfactory than the resolution of the Five Hundred. They rejected the denunciation as calumnious, and declared that there was no ground for deliberating upon it. Isnard's speech was ordered to be printed.

The re-actionists were encouraged, and the 'Réveil du Peuple,' which was their signal in the south, was sung in the theatres. The democratic journals, and especially that of Babeuf, now began to extol the Mountain, and even Robespierre, of whom Babeuf had been one of the bitterest enemies. The democrats called for a revolutionary reaction. The Directory interfered, by forbidding the 'Réveil du Peuple' to be sung, and stopping the distribution of some of the boldest of the royalist journals.

The Committees for the verification of the powers of the deputies finished their labours in January, 1796. The report of the Committee of the Five Hundred, which was made by Genissieux, proposed to exclude certain members as relatives of emigrants, others as being entered on the lists of emigrants, and for other reasons. The discussions on these matters occupied the Five Hundred during the month of January and part of February. The Five Hundred were by no means strict in applying the law of the 3rd Brumaire. J. Aymé and Mersan de Loiret were excluded, and some others were suspended. The Council of Antients terminated the verification for their chamber in a few days. When the 21st of January was approaching, there were men in the Councils who dared to speak against the celebration of this anniversary, and some of the journals deplored the event, and while they pitied the victim, condemned the executioners. However the Five Hundred passed a resolution for the observance "of the anniversary of the just punishment of the last king of the French," and the Antients confirmed it. The ceremony took place on the 1st Pluviose (21 January, 1796), and was in no respect different from the ceremony as observed during the Convention; but though outward signs were the same, things were much changed. On the 12th the Directory, with the consent of the two councils, appointed a minister of police, which the state of public opinion as to the permanence of the new Constitution, the mutual exasperation of parties, and the necessity of a strict surveillance, seemed to require. Merlin of Douay was appointed to organize this branch of administration, and he was replaced as minister of justice by Genissieux. Thus the almost unanimous consent of the two councils established the ministry of General Police, which "was destined to become the instrument of every despotism, and the common terror of the royalists and of the friends of liberty."

There were three matters which principally occupied the councils: the restoration of order to the administration, to accomplish which it was necessary to restore order to the finances; to check all opinion which should tend to unsettle the actual state of affairs; and to strengthen the government. It was considered necessary, above all, to keep the press in check, and to prevent all popular assemblies and meetings of all kinds, which had a political object. This question was moved in the Council of Five Hundred: it was Delaunay who first cried out against the license of journalists, and called for the consideration of the question, whether circumstances did not require a law to limit the freedom of the press; but nothing was done. The police, however, soon gave proofs that it was in existence and active. On the 4th of March (9 Nivose) the Directory informed the Five Hundred, by a message, that they had just shut up several political societies, the names of which were given, as the Salon des Princes, La Société du Panthéon, and others. It was Bonaparte, now commander-in-chief of the army of the interior, who executed the order for closing the club of the Panthéon, and carried off the keys. The message stated, that in these societies all kinds of opinions were maintained: some of the members were for a dictatorship, some for royalty, the Constitution of '91, the Constitution of '93, an agrarian law, and so forth; but the real ground of this measure of the Directory, was the fact that the most fiery of the speakers at these meetings were listened to and applauded, whenever they attacked the existing government. The Councils and the Directory were afraid that all the turbulence of Paris, though expressing itself in so many forms and aiming at different ends, was really conspiring to one end, to overthrow the government and destroy the Republic; and it was under this opinion that the two Councils empowered the Directory to send away from Paris a crowd of foreigners and unknown persons, who were assembled there. It was in fact a measure against "the suspected;" but a measure which the history of Paris since 1789 has shown to be a proper one, if it be not abused. A great city, in which a language is spoken that is familiar to all educated people in Europe, becomes the rendezvous of those who have nothing to hope for except through the loss of others and the disturbance of order. About the middle of April, upon the recommendation of the Directory, a very severe penal law was enacted against those who preached in favour of royalty, the Constitution of '91, plunder of property, the massacre of the legislative body, and against those who should be present at the meetings in which these offences should be committed. Cochon was now minister of police, and he was vigilant, for he well knew the danger that threatened the existence of the government. It was not long before the Directory informed the Councils (9th of May) that they had detected a conspiracy, the existence of which had been suspected for some time. The object of the conspiracy, said the Directory in their message, was to overthrow the Constitution, massacre the legislative body and all the members of government, with all the constituted authorities of Paris, and to deliver up Paris to indiscriminate plunder. The Directory announced that they had already arrested several of the conspirators; and they were sorry to add, that Drouet, a member of the Five Hundred, was among them.

Drouet had been elected by the Five Hundred, after his return from his captivity, to fill one of the vacant places in that body.

All that the Directory asked for was granted immediately by the Councils. It was not exactly known what the danger was, but the majority supposed that they had escaped some imminent peril, and in their gratitude and their fears they would have given the Directory anything that they chose to ask for. It was decreed that all former members of the Convention, who had not been re-elected, all functionaries who had been removed from their offices, all officers who were without employment, and many others, should quit Paris in three days, and remain at the distance of ten leagues at least, under pain of deportation. This conspiracy is said to have originated in the prisons where great numbers of patriots were confined after the 9th Thermidor and 1st Prairial. Here was formed a sect, called the sect of the Equals. When these men received their liberty after the 13th of Vendémiaire, they set about giving unity to their plot. The directors were Babeuf, Buonarotti, Fontenelle, and some others. Babeuf was obliged to keep himself concealed, but he attacked the Directory in the 'Tribun du Peuple.' With the view of preparing people for their schemes, the club of the Panthéon was established. The great object was the destruction of the new Constitution; but it was necessary to set up something in the place of that which they intended to destroy, and as Babeuf had the chief influence in organizing the new constitution of things, the conspiracy was called the conspiracy of Babeuf.* His design was to overthrow the whole social fabric, and to build up another founded on the principle, that individual property is the cause of slavery, that society ought to be considered as a community of property and of labour, and that the object of society should be to equalize labour, to give equal enjoyment to all, and so forth. The public were prepared for this great change by pamphlets and writings of various kinds, and by Babeuf's journal. When the club of the Panthéon was closed, Babeuf, Buonarotti, Antonelle, and others, established a secret Directory of Public Safety, as a means of rallying the patriots, and giving them an impulse towards the general object. This Directory published an analysis of the doctrines of Babeuf, and twelve agents were appointed to organize the twelve arrondissemens of Paris; others were sent round the cafés and public places to stir up the people. A journal called the Enlightener ('L'Eclaireur') undertook to diffuse Babeuf's doctrines among the poorer classes. Greater publicity was given to these insurrectional writings even by the royalist and ministerial journals, which copied them as samples of madness and audacity; but they thus gave them a wider circulation than they would otherwise have had. The secret committee prepared an acte d'insurrection, or instructions for an insurrection, with the motives and objects of it. This acte was a very attractive prospectus. The overthrow of the constituted authorities was a necessary preliminary, which was to be followed by various important measures, as the foundation of a new order of things: the distribution among the defenders of the country and the unfortunate, of the property of emigrants, of conspirators, and of the enemies of the people; the immediate location of the unfortunate in the houses of the friends of the power that now exists; restoration of the property of the people deposited in the Mont de Piété; adoption by the people of the wives, children, fathers, mothers, brethren and sisters of citizens who should perish in the insurrection. This was a direct appeal to all the robbers and bandits of Paris; and it was followed up by the central committee communicating with a military committee, to which Fyon, Rossignol and others belonged. These men brought them into connection with some Montagnards, formerly members of the Convention, who were also preparing a movement. All the names of these Montagnards are not known, but Amar, Javogues, and Robert Lindet, are mentioned among them. The minister of police made several attempts to seize the conspirators together, but failing in this he arrested them separately on the 21st Floréal (10th of May). The government had been for several days before informed of the designs of the conspirators by Georges Grisel, who was one of them. The papers which had been seized were examined, and from time to time communicated to the Five Hundred, and extracts from them found their way into the journals. It is said that the publication of this plot for the overthrow of all existing institutions excited general disgust against the conspirators, whose doctrines were as anarchical as those of Hébert and his associates, whom Robespierre had crushed.* Babeuf, on being examined at the ministry of police, admitted all the papers, which were shown to him, but he would not name any of the conspirators.

This affair occupied the two Councils for several weeks. The arrest of Drouet, a member of the Five Hundred, was a grave question. It was at last settled that the accusation against him should be admitted, and that he should be heard before the Five Hundred. He denied all knowledge of the conspiracy, but it was finally decided (20th of July) that there was ground for examining into his conduct; and Drouet and his accomplices were sent to be tried before the high court of justice, which, for the occasion of this trial, was fixed at Vendôme. Drouet escaped from the prison of the Abbaye, and there was suspicion that the Directory favoured his escape. The rest of the prisoners, who were numerous, were taken to Vendôme. Among them were Vadier, Amar, Choudieu, Ricord, Antonelle,

* Thibaudeau, 'Mém.,' ii., 5. "Conspiration Anarchiste de Babeuf." The history of this affair was published at Brussels, in 1828, by Ph. Buonarotti, one of the principal actors in it.

* The acte d'insurrection, which was found among Babeuf's papers, is printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvii., 158. Nothing could be more explicit, nor more villainous.

Rossignol, Babeuf the leader, Buonarotti, Felix Lepelletier, and others.

The design to destroy the existing government, in which Babeuf had failed, was actually attempted to be executed in the beginning of September, when six or seven hundred armed men went in a body to the troops at Grenelle, and endeavoured to seduce them by cries of "Live the Constitution of '93; down with the Committees; down with the new tyrants." The officers were however forewarned, and the troops were not disposed to mutiny. The insurgents were attacked, some were killed, and others wounded and made prisoners. The Five Hundred, upon the recommendation of the Directory, determined that the prisoners should be tried by a military commission, for there were 132 prisoners, and it would be very inconvenient to proceed against them by the ordinary forms. Some of the prisoners were acquitted, some were sentenced to deportation, and a considerable number were condemned to death and shot. Among those who were executed, was the ex-conventional Javogues, who well deserved his fate. The patriots and terrorists, or by whatever name they may be called, were disconcerted by this affair of the camp of Grenelle, and their energy seemed to be totally destroyed. The fear of this party had hitherto made the two chambers act with apparent unanimity on almost every question.

CHAPTER LVII.

BONAPARTE.

Under the Directory the French government assumed a kind of orderly appearance, and even of splendour. The Directors were installed at the Luxembourg, and Barras did the honours. The saloons of Barras were the resort of generals of fortune, of men who had enriched themselves by speculation and peculation, of those who began to think that the government had attained a certain degree of stability, and were willing to take anything that they could get. There was great looseness of morals under the Directory. The freedom of divorce caused great licence, and marriage, it was said, had become a kind of concubinage. Proposals were made in the Five Hundred to alter the law, which allowed divorce, and even to repeal it. A committee was appointed to consider the matter, and a report was made, which gave rise to animated discussions.

The high society, as it was called, was adorned by the beauty of Tallien's wife, the grace of Madame Beauharnais, and the brilliant talents of Madame de Staël. Bonaparte married Madame Beauharnais; and other adventurers looked for wives either among women who belonged to the former class of nobles, or in families which had risen to wealth during the revolution, —for fortunes are made as well as lost in times of political agitation.

The question of the assignats was always uppermost. The three milliards of assignats which were allowed to the Directory upon entering on office, did not produce above a hundred millions of francs in value. The demand of the Directory for this sum was made on the 15th Brumaire, in the year 4. The enormous issue of assignats that had been made, and the various tamperings with the circulation, render it extremely difficult to state the facts clearly. A report was made to the Five Hundred, stating the whole amount of assignats "issued by virtue of decrees, and fabricated by orders of the Committee of Finance up to the 8th Brumaire, of the year 4," at something less than 30,000 millions. But after deducting assignats that had been burnt, and making other deductions, the amount in circulation on the 15th Brumaire was about 19,000 millions. The government paper, however, was not all that was in circulation: "there were billets de commune, from the amount of two liards to five livres, issued by every commune in France; we have seen some of these notes, which are now very rare; they were called billets de confiance, billets patriotiques, mandats, bons." * To meet the public necessities, which were still urgent, notwithstanding the recent issue of the three milliards, a forced loan of 600 millions was resorted to, after the example of the Revolutionary government; and this loan was to be raised from the richest classes, and paid either in coined money or in assignats, at the rate of the hundredth part of their nominal value. Thus, 200 millions of the forced loan, if all paid in assignats, would have brought in 20,000 millions, or the whole of the paper which was in circulation. But in paying the government annuitants, the same rate was not adopted, and the annuitants received only ten for one. The land-tax and the duties which were farmed were to be paid half in assignats and half in produce; and the custom-house duties half in assignats and half in coin. In Belgium, the forced loan and the taxes were to be paid in coin, for the assignats had not circulated to any extent in Belgium. The forced loan, it was supposed, would bring in at least a considerable part of the paper money, and some coin. There would still remain the resource of issuing new assignats, which would become more valuable by the absorption of part of the old assignats. It was also determined that part of the public property should be scheduled, which was a tedious operation. Houses

* Poujoulat, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' ii., 200; and Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' as to the assignats generally.



in towns, and lands of less amount than three hundred arpents, were to be sold immediately; and the rich spoils of the Belgian clergy. All the former royal palaces, except Fontainebleau, Versailles, and Compiègne, were also to be put up to auction; and the movables of the emigrants. There were means enough to settle all the difficulties of finance, if the government had simply taken the assignat for what it was worth, which was very little, issued no more, and come back to specie payments. The large mass of the assignats had never been worth their nominal value: the government which issued them got only for them what they were worth at the time; and though it is said that they were at par with silver in 1793, when the amount in circulation was comparatively small, this is a statement that cannot be believed.

To anticipate the forced loan, and the other sources of income, the government issued promissory notes to the amount of 60 millions, which were to be paid with the first coin that should come into the treasury; but it was with great difficulty that these notes obtained a circulation. The produce of the forced loans came in very slowly; and the government again applied to their ordinary resource, the plate of the assignats; and the whole amount issued finally amounted to 40,000 millions. The assignat was now reduced to about the two hundredth part of its nominal value, for an issue of 20,000 millions hardly brought in to the government 100 millions' worth. The operation had now come to its natural term. A franc in an assignat was worth next to nothing; and no more could be done with them. They were either refused by sellers, or taken at their value. Here was another opportunity of making a settlement by taking the assignats for what they were worth. There was really only 200 millions' worth of paper in circulation, and the redemption of that amount was all that had to be provided for. Everybody had lost something by the assignats; and as they could never have their nominal value, the simplest way was to settle the matter by taking them at their present value, and issuing no more.

But it was determined to issue a new paper, called mandats, to the amount of 2,400 millions, to represent 2,400 millions of national property, which was the security for them. Thus the mandats actually represented a certain amount of property, taken at the valuation of 1790, and the only change, it was supposed, that could take place would be in the value of the property itself. The office of these mandats was to bring in the assignats, for every piece of property might be bought at a fixed price in mandats, without any auction or bidding. The plate of the assignats was broken on the 19th of February, 1796. Forty-five milliards, and five millions of assignats had been issued; but by the forced loan and other means the circulation had been reduced to thirty-six milliards, and it was supposed that it would be soon reduced to twenty-four milliards. These twenty-four milliards of assignats, reduced to one-thirtieth part, would represent 800 millions; and it was decreed that they should be exchanged for 800 millions of mandats, or, in other words, that the assignat should be liquidated at one-thirtieth of its nominal value, which was a great deal too much. Six hundred millions of mandats were to be issued for the public service; and 1,000 millions were reserved for future necessities. This was a new creation of assignats under a new denomination. As the value of the mandat was made thirty times that of the assignat, and there were twenty-four milliards of assignats in circulation, which were to be covered by 800 millions of mandats, there remained 1,600 millions of mandats, which, valued at thirty times the assignats, made an addition of forty-eight milliards of assignats to the circulation. Thus, in fact, the whole value of the national property was fixed at seventy-two milliards of assignats. The mandats were created on the 16th of March. The national property was forthwith put up to sale, and transferred to those who offered the value in mandats. All the arbitrary measures adopted to maintain the value of the mandat were ineffectual, and there were no means of making it equal in value to coin. In a short time the mandat of 100 francs fell to 15 francs, but it rose to 30, 40, and in some places to 88 francs. Many sales were immediately effected; and those who could buy up the mandats had the means of making large fortunes. But the further depreciation of the mandats themselves could not be long deferred. There was national property to the amount of 2,400 millions hypothecated to answer to the like amount of mandats, but a piece of land which in 1790 was valued at 100,000 francs, did not sell now for more than about one-third of that sum, and it was not possible that the mandats could be worth more in the market than the land was. The violent measures of 1793 could not be resorted to in order to maintain the mandats at par with silver; and all private transactions were now carried on in coin. Silver, which had been buried or carried out of the country, appeared again. People used that circulating medium which was adapted to their wants, and they could not be compelled to use one which had only a nominal value. Wages were paid in coin, and in the markets silver alone circulated. The mandats came into the hands of speculators, who took them from the government and sold them to the purchasers of national property; or they got them from public functionaries, public creditors, soldiers and others, who were reduced to great distress by being paid in a nominal value, which they had to exchange for a much smaller real value. The armies in Italy and Germany were living at the expense of the people among whom they were, but the soldiers in the interior suffered great privations, and the whole service was disorganized. While the community was recovering from the effect of the paper money, simply by having nothing to do with it, the government which lived upon it, and all who received their pay from the government, were in the greatest distress, notwithstanding the aid of some millions of money which Bonaparte sent as the fruits of his Italian campaign. It would be tedious to trace the history of the mandats; after falling so much below their nominal value, they became almost

as worthless as the assignats had been. Finally, all the taxes were paid in coin; and there was an end of the paper money. The result of the forced loan, and the mode in which the national property was at last sold, for the government did not keep its promise as to the disposition of the whole of this property, belong to a financial history of the Revolution. The lesson is instructive, and the experiment will perhaps never be repeated in any country, or under any circumstances.

The French government resolved in 1796 to carry the war into Germany and Italy, as the surest means of removing military operations from the frontiers, forcing the enemy to peace, and supporting the armies by letting them feed on other people. Some overtures for peace had been made by the British cabinet through their agent in Switzerland, but they were not of a nature to lead to any result; and one of the conditions on which France insisted, the acknowledgment of Belgium as a part of the French territory, was sufficient to stop all negotiations. The English minister Pitt came to parliament for a new loan to continue the war; and the British cabinet attempted to draw the king of Prussia from his neutrality. But Frederick-William was too wary to get himself into new difficulties. Part of his force was in Poland, to secure his acquisitions there, for the third partition of this country had been made in 1795, and Austria, Russia, and Prussia took what they had not already got, and put an end to the nationality of Poland. Russia had sent no forces yet against the Republic. At the close of 1795, Kellermann had been replaced in the command of the army of Italy by Schérer, who with Masséna and Augereau defeated the Austrians at Loano, on the coast of the gulf of Genoa, on the 24th of November, 1795. But this success was not followed up; the French troops had not penetrated into Piedmont, and the Directory being dissatisfied with Schérer, gave the command of the army of Italy to Bonaparte, who was now twenty-six years of age. He was appointed in February 1796, in March he married Josephine Beauharnais, and a few days after he set out to take the command of his army. He was a man rather short of stature, pale and thin, with a face tolerably handsome. His manners in society were constrained, though not timid. His conversation, his appearance, and his whole bearing, showed that he was not like other men. A woman, who was a nice observer of character, has recorded the impression made on her by the young general.*

Jourdan was kept in the command of his army. Pichegru had been negotiating with the prince of Condé, who was stationed on the Rhine with a corps of emigrants; and his treasonable correspondence was suspected. He was replaced by Moreau, who had hitherto held the command in Holland. The embassy to Sweden was offered to Pichegru, but he refused it. Beurnonville, who had just been released from his long captivity, was put at the head of the army in Holland. Hoche was sent for to Paris by the Directory to concert a plan for the pacification of the insurgent provinces, and the three armies of the coast of Cherbourg, of Brest, and of the West, were placed under his command, with the name of the Army of the Ocean.

Bonaparte arrived at Nice the 7 Germinal (27th March) 1796, with money enough to pay the soldiers part of their arrears, and to supply the immediate wants of the army. The French army, about 42,000 strong, was posted on the Riviera, west of Genoa. On the side of the enemy were the Austrian general Beaulieu with 30,000 men, and Colli, who was the brother-in-law of the poet Alfieri, with the Austro-Sardinian force of 22,000 men. Bonaparte directed an attack against the enemy's centre, consisting of 10,000 men, under the Austrian general Argenteau, whom he routed at Montenotte, and thus cut off the communication between Beaulieu and Colli. Beaulieu was beaten successively at Millesimo and at Dego, and after six days' fighting Bonaparte was on the summit of the Apennines, and had effected a complete separation between Beaulieu and Colli. He had taken forty pieces of cannon from the enemy, who had also lost a great number of men. Leaving a division to keep Beaulieu in check, Bonaparte turned against Colli, and after several battles drove him to Mondovi, where he was again beaten. Victor Amadeus III. alarmed at the approach of the French under their victorious general, concluded an armistice with Bonaparte on the 28th of April, and placed in the hands of the French three of his strongest places—Coni, Ceva, and Tortona, or Alessandria.* On the 15th of May peace was signed at Paris between the Republic and the king of Sardinia.

Beaulieu, after leaving Acqui on the Bormida, and attempting to seize Alessandria and Tortona, crossed the Po at Piacenza, followed by the French army (7th of May). The French beat the Austrians at Fombio, which is on the road from Piacenza to Milan, and compelled them to retire to the Adda. The duke of Parma, alarmed at the approach of the Republicans, made a treaty with Bonaparte, and engaged to deliver two millions of francs and seventeen hundred horses. But Bonaparte did not let Beaulieu rest. He passed the bridge of Lodi over the Adda in spite of the fire of twenty pieces of cannon, and Beaulieu retreating behind the Mincio, threw a strong garrison into Mantua, and then retired behind the Adige towards the Tyrol. By taking possession of Cremona, which offered no resistance, Bonaparte was safe from all attack from Mantua, and at liberty to march upon Milan, which he entered on the 15th of May. The petty princes were frightened by the rapid success of the French, and the envoys of the duke of Modena signed a convention by which they agreed to pay into the army-chest 7,500,000 francs, to furnish munitions of war to the amount of 2,500,000 francs, and to deliver up twenty of the duke's valuable paintings. This rapid success was due to the ability with which Bonaparte executed the plan of the cam-

* Madame de Staël, 'Considérations,' &c. iii. c. 26.

* Letter of Bonaparte to the Directory from Cherasco, April 29, 1796.

paign, to the bravery of the soldiers who had been disciplined in the campaigns of the Alps and the Pyrenees, and to the men who commanded under him—Masséna, Lannes, Berthier, Augereau, and others, some of whom were distinguished by their military talents, and others by their intrepid daring.

But the victorious career of the French army was disgraced by violence and pillage. The men were savage and brutalized. Bonaparte professed his desire to repress these outrages; he told the Italians that he came to break their chains, and he promised to respect their property and their religion; but these promises were not kept. His proclamations to his army were in the inflated style which always characterized his bulletins. His success was enough without this embellishment.

There was a party favourable to the French, because they were favourable to any change that might be for their advantage; but the mass of the people were indifferent. Republican notions existed only in a few heads. It is said that the occupation of Milan was signalized by ceremonials insulting to religion. The army also had to be maintained out of the country, and the Directory at Paris wanted money. A contribution of twenty millions was laid upon Lombardy; a heavy burden, which fell chiefly on the rich and on the clergy. Salicetti, well known during the history of the reign of Terror, accompanied Bonaparte as one of the commissioners with the army. The general and the commissioners broke into the Monte di Pietà of Milan, the depository of plate, jewels, and other valuables, which were placed there as pledges for money lent on them. This kind of robbery, which afterwards became common with the French, greatly exasperated the Milanese. The French not only laid their hands on the property of the archduke, ex-governor of Lombardy, and on the public property, but even private persons were plundered: the French seized horses and provisions, and whatever else they wanted. These excesses led to insurrection in several places. The country people round Pavia crowded to the city, and being joined by the lower classes, rose against the French who were there and killed some of them. Bonaparte hurried to Pavia with a small force, and broke open the gates. Most of the peasants made their escape; but to strike terror into the Italians, Bonaparte gave up the unfortunate city to pillage,* though the chief part of the citizens had taken no share in the insurrection.

Bonaparte crossed the Mincio at Borghetto, after defeating a body of troops placed there by Beaulieu to defend the passage. The old Austrian general, having provided for the defence of Mantua, was now in the mountains of the Tyrol. Bonaparte seized the Venetian town of Peschiera, at the extremity of the lake of Garda, which the Austrians had occupied and abandoned. Beaulieu had taken possession of it upon hearing that Bonaparte had been admitted into the Venetian town of Brescia, but Beaulieu assured the Venetians that he entered Peschiera merely to secure his army and the approaches to the Tyrol. Bonaparte made the Austrian temporary occupation of Peschiera, a pretext for demanding to be let into Verona, and his threats induced Foscarini, the Venetian governor-general of the mainland, to order that city to be opened to the French, who entered Verona on the first of June. Bonaparte's letter to the Directory upon the occupation of Verona is a sufficient proof of his duplicity. He also made it a ground of complaint against the Venetians that Louis XVIII. had been allowed to reside at Verona, though the Venetians, upon the demand of the Directory, had ordered Louis away early in April, 1796. The conduct of the Venetian government was feeble and irresolute, and there were traitors in Venice; but the impending danger made them draw their forces together; and this furnished the French with a fresh pretext for treating Venice as a hostile power.

After blockading Mantua, Bonaparte, in obedience to the instructions of the Directory, undertook to deal with the pope, Pius VI., who had not acknowledged the French Republic. Augereau entered Bologna on the 19th of June, and a heavy contribution was levied on that city, and also on Ferrara and Ravenna. The Pope was compelled to come to terms, and to pay dearly for an armistice, which was signed on the 24th. Twenty-one millions of francs, valuable works of art, and many manuscripts, were the price of this respite. Bonaparte had become a collector for the French Republic; and there were now French commissioners in Italy to select the finest paintings, sculptures, and literary treasures, to enrich the galleries and libraries of Paris. The grand duke of Tuscany was at peace with France, and was the first prince who had recognised the French Republic; but his port of Leghorn was full of English property, and it was too good a prize to be neglected. Bonaparte came unexpectedly from Bologna to Leghorn, but the English merchants had warning in time to send off most of their vessels, and the greater part of the English had embarked in them. Bonaparte seized, however, a large amount of property, and leaving general Vaubois in command at Leghorn, he went to Florence. As the French had seized Leghorn, the English admiral Nelson took possession of Porto Ferrajo, in the island of Elba, which also belonged to the grand duke; the excuse for which was, that Bonaparte would have taken it if the English had not. His correspondence with the Directory during this period shows his great sagacity and circumspection, and his total want of principle. He proceeded towards his objects with the deliberation and coolness of an old experienced politician, more prudently than the Directory, but not less scrupulously.

Beaulieu was deprived of his command, and the Austrian government sent against Bonaparte another veteran general, Wurmser, with a new army, formed of

* "Three hours," says Thiers, who softens down the affair. The pillage was for twenty-four hours, according to other authorities. "They were scarcely a thousand men," says Thiers, "and they could cause no great disaster in a town so considerable as Pavia." This is ridiculous, and unworthy of a man of sense.

divisions drawn from the Rhine and of fresh troops. Bonaparte returned to Lombardy, and took the field with about 30,000 men, the rest being employed in the siege of Mantua, or dispersed in different garrisons. The Austrians advanced in three divisions. The right descended along the west side of the lake of Garda, under Quasdanowich, defeated a French division at Salò, near the lake, and reached Brescia on the 29th of July. The centre and left, under Wurmser, followed the two banks of the Adige. The point to which all the Austrian movements tended was Mantua, which Wurmser reached. But in the meantime Bonaparte, taking advantage of the separation of the Austrian divisions, fell upon Quosdanowich, whom he defeated and drove back into the highlands. Upon hearing of this misfortune, Wurmser left Mantua, by the road to Brescia, and routed a French division at Castiglione, which is about half-way between Mantua and Brescia. Quosdanowich again came down upon Salò, and thence advanced as far as Lonato, and was within fifteen miles of Wurmser, whom it was his object to join. Bonaparte's safety depended on preventing this junction; and after two battles near Castiglione, in which the Austrians sustained greater loss than the French, Wurmser retired into the Tyrol by the valley of the Adige; and crossing the mountains, reached Bassano, in the valley of the Brenta. Davidowich was left to guard the pass of Roveredo, in the valley of the Adige, but the French reached Roveredo on the 4th of September. Bonaparte pushed on to Trento, crossed the mountains into the valley of the Brenta, and fell upon the astonished Austrian general, in his position at Bassano (8th of September), and defeated him. Wurmser lost an immense quantity of baggage. There was no safety for him except in reaching Mantua. He fled faster than the French could pursue through Vicenza and Legnago, and crossing the Adige, made a successful retreat to the strong fortress of Mantua, in which he shut himself up. Thus the second Austrian army was beaten and dispersed.

At the close of September, Bonaparte was in Milan. His letters to the Directory show the horrible sufferings of the inhabitants of the rich country of the Po during the French invasion. The Directory now wished to exact harder terms from the Pope, but the Pope refused, and suspended the payment of the contributions. Bonaparte disapproved of these hasty measures: he was for protracting the negotiations; not to get less in the end, but to wait till Mantua was taken and the road was clear to the south. The Directory at last gave the general full powers to negotiate with the Pope, and Bonaparte sent him a message, to the effect that he was not ambitious to destroy the Holy See, but to save it. The Pope, however, waited for the result of another campaign. The king of Naples was more frightened than the Pope, and he made peace with the French Republic. As to the duchy of Milan, the Directory had yet come to no determination, for the reverses which the French arms had sustained in Germany might make it necessary to restore Lombardy to the emperor, in consideration of what the Republic wished to keep on the left bank of the Rhine. But as a Republican movement in Italy might be of some use to the French, a manifestation was got up, or promoted, in the small town of Reggio, in the duchy of Modena, and a tree of liberty was planted there. On the 2nd of October Bonaparte wrote to the Directory, to recommend that they should declare the armistice with the duke of Modena at an end, on the ground that he had not paid all his contributions. Bonaparte did not wait for an answer to his dishonest proposal; and on the 6th of October the French troops occupied the city of Modena. A congress was assembled at Modena, composed of deputies from that city, Bologna, Ferrara, and Reggio, and they were formed into a Republic, styled the Cispadane. His complaints of the peculations of the commissaries and contractors for the army, of their robberies and pilferings, of the misery of the soldiers, and their want of common necessaries, make a striking contrast between the administration of the Directory and that of the old Committee of Public Safety, who, as one said, who knew them and did not like them, governed well, though their administration was cruel and stained with blood. Bonaparte urged the Directory to dismiss the knaves, who were fattening on the spoils of the Italian campaign.

Neither the courage nor the resources of the Austrians were exhausted. A fresh army issued from the mountains in two columns: Alvinzy advanced by the road of Friuli, and Davidowich by the high road of the Tyrol. The combined force amounted to about 60,000 men. Bonaparte had received no reinforcement. Serrurier was blockading Mantua; Vaubois guarded the passes of the Tyrol; Masséna and Augereau occupied Verona and Legnago; and the French reserves covered the Mincio. Bonaparte determined to attack Alvinzy before he could join Davidowich, and he fell upon his advanced guard near Bassano. But as Alvinzy was coming up, he retired on Verona, where he learned that Davidowich had driven Vaubois before him, and had advanced as far as Rivoli. Davidowich remained inactive after his success, and Alvinzy followed Bonaparte, who attacked the Austrians at Caldiero, near Verona, on the 12th of November, and after sustaining considerable loss, retired into Verona. He wrote to the Directory on the 14th of November, complaining of the pitiable condition of his army. But the French general had resources in his talent and his daring. The day but one after the battle he left Verona in the night by the gate of Milan, as if he were going to retreat; but he marched down the right bank of the Adige to Ronco, where he had made a bridge, by which he carried his army over to the other side. He was now in a marshy tract, in which there were only two roads; one, which was on the left, led to Caldiero, where the main force of the Austrians was stationed; the other, on the right, following the course of the Alpone, which joins the Adige below Ronco, led to the bridge of Arcole over the Alpone, and then



DEATH OF GENERAL MARCEAU.

following the left bank of the Alpone, led to the village of Villanova, whence the road ran by another bridge over the Alpone to Caldiero. From his position at the bridge of Ronco, Bonaparte commanded two roads, both of which led to the position of the Austrians, who being at Caldiero, were between Verona and Villanova. The Austrian stores and reserve were at Villanova, which it was Bonaparte's design to carry with his right column, and at the same time to fall on the Austrians at Caldiero with his left. But Augereau, who was sent at the head of the right to cross the bridge of Arcole, met with a vigorous résistance (15th November), and Alvinzy making a retrograde move reached Villanova, and strengthened the forces which defended the bridge of Arcole. The French had made repeated attacks on the bridge of Arcole, but a shower of balls and grape drove them back. Bonaparte himself seized a standard and headed his grenadiers to force the bridge; but all their efforts were useless. On the 17th, Augereau crossed the Alpone below Arcole, Masséna occupied the road to the left, and general Robert led the troops towards the fatal bridge. Robert was killed, and his column driven back to the bridge of Ronco. But a fresh attack was made, and Masséna advanced upon Arcole, which was now evacuated. Augereau also had crossed the Alpone below Arcole. The whole French force was now over the river, and fell upon Alvinzy. Bonaparte sent some trumpeters into a reedy marsh on the enemy's left, with orders to make a charge with a great sound of trumpets. Masséna and Augereau at the same time charged the Austrian line; and at this moment the French garrison issuing from Legnago, by Bonaparte's orders, showed themselves to the enemy. The Austrians retired, after a contest which had lasted above sixty hours.* Alvinzy retreated towards Vicenza, but Bonaparte followed no farther than Villanova, where crossing the Alpone, he passed through Caldiero to Verona. He had succeeded in making Alvinzy give up his intended attack on Verona, and he was now at leisure to attack Davidowich, who was driven up the valley of the Adige into the defiles of the Tyrol, as far as Ala and Roveredo. Alvinzy placed himself on the Brenta, between Padua and Bassano. The Austrians had a much superior force to the French, but the abilities of the French general had rendered superior numbers unavailing, by bringing the enemy to battle on the causeways in the marshes of the Adige.

The brilliant success in Italy was balanced by the reverses of the French arms in Germany, where Jourdan and Moreau were opposed to the Archduke Charles. Jourdan, at the head of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, commenced operations in June, 1796, on the right bank of the Rhine, and advanced to the Lahn, but he was driven back by the archduke, and recrossed the Rhine at Neuwied. Moreau, who commanded the army of the Rhine and Mosel, surprised the fort of Kehl opposite to Strassburg, and carrying his army over the Rhine, attacked the Austrian general Latour at Rastadt. Upon this the archduke fell back upon the Danube, followed by Moreau. Jourdan, now finding no enemy to oppose him, again crossed the Rhine, took Frankfort and Nürnberg, and advanced towards Bohemia. The princes of Suabia and Saxony were alarmed, and made peace with the Republic. The archduke, after fighting a battle with Moreau at Neresheim, had crossed the Danube, which gave him the opportunity of attacking either of the French generals, who were separated by a great interval. He quitted Ingoldstadt on the 16th of August, and leaving a sufficient force to keep Moreau in check, made a rapid march upon Jourdan, and fell upon him at Amberg, on the Naab, a small stream which flows southwards into the Danube. Jourdan retreated, and reached Schweinfurt on the Mayn on the 29th of August, and thence retired to Wurzburg. Here he was again attacked by the archduke on the 3rd of September, and defeated. He still continued his retreat, and on the 10th of September got behind the Lahn. In this campaign the young general Marceau was killed, to the great regret of the whole army. Moreau was south of the Lech and of the Danube, when he heard of Jourdan's retreat to the Lahn. He was in the midst of Bavaria, and he had to make his way to the Rhine. General Latour, with 40,000 men, was in his way, and he might expect to have the archduke with almost an equal force on his rear. But he had an army of 60,000 men who had confidence in their commander, and had suffered no defeat. He ascended the Danube, with his parks of artillery and baggage in the front, and his rear-guard repelled the advanced guard of Latour, who followed him step by step, but did not venture to attempt to cut off his retreat. Moreau made his way through the Black Forest without sustaining much loss, and after giving Latour a decisive defeat at Biberach, he reached the valley of the Rhine on the 12th of October; but he had two battles to fight before he could carry all his men across the river. He finally reached Strassburg. The Directory had ill-concerted the plan of the German campaign, and it was a failure. The archduke availed himself of the defects of the plan to drive one of the French generals before him; but he let the other escape. Moreau gained a great reputation by his retreat, which was conducted with coolness and intrepidity, though the risk and danger of it have been exaggerated.

Hoche was employed to terminate the civil war in the west, which he effected by his military talents and his moderation. He promised and gave security to the royalist officers, who laid down their arms; he protected the clergy, and at the same time he scoured the country with his moveable columns. On the 28th of December, 1795, Charette got together, at La Rouillère, about 5,000 men. Hoche sent general Travot, who was well adapted for the kind of warfare, to pursue him with light infantry and cavalry, and to allow him no rest. The peasants, who were weary

* The map in Thiers' 'Hist.' shows the position of Bonaparte and the Austrians, with respect to one another.

of the war, pointed out to the Republican officers the roads that Charette took, and the places where he sought refuge. His numbers were soon diminished, and reduced to forty or fifty men. He was hunted like a wild beast, and it is said that in his wanderings he committed some atrocious murders. Stofflet was also in arms in Upper Anjou, but he had not many followers, and the few that he got together were soon dispersed. He was at last delivered up to Hoche by some of those in whom he trusted, taken to Angers, and shot (26th of February) in the presence of an immense assemblage of people. Charette did not escape much longer. On the 22nd of March he fell into an ambuscade laid for him by Travot; but with a few resolute men, who still adhered to him, defended himself with the most obstinate courage, and was not taken till he had received several sabre wounds. He was carried to Nantes, where he was shot on the 27th of March. The death of this formidable chieftain, whose untameable spirit had so continued the unequal contest and caused so much misery, was the end of the civil war; and Hoche drew off his troops into Bretagne to reduce the Chouans to order. Some of them submitted, and those who did not were driven towards the ocean by the cordon of Hoche, which extended from the Loire to Granville. The nearer they were driven to the sea, and the greater their privations, the more obstinate were the Chouans in their resistance. Many of them were destroyed, and the rest submitted. With a force of 100,000 men well distributed over the country, Hoche maintained tranquillity, and his men lived in some comfort, without being a heavy burden on the people. But the general had now a more difficult task than to put down the rebels: he had to restore peace to a country long distracted by civil war and the outrages of robbers, and agitated by violent political passions. His firmness, prudence, moderation, and humanity, commanded fear and respect; and the clergy, whose affections he had gained by his conciliatory conduct, aided him in his pacific measures, and kept him well-informed of everything that was going on. The government declared that Hoche and his army had deserved well of their country. From the beginning of April, 1796, the western provinces were tranquil, and La Vendée was finally subdued when Bonaparte was commencing his victorious career in Italy.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE THÉOPHILANTHROPES.

About the end of October, 1796, Lord Malmesbury was sent by the British Government to Paris to treat with the Directory about the terms of a general peace. The Directory was represented in these negotiations by the minister, Delacroix. The English ministry desired peace, and they supposed that the concurrence of the allies could be obtained, if the basis of the negotiation was settled. The basis which the English ministry asked for was mutual compensation or restitution of conquests; but this involved insuperable difficulties. The Directory could not consent to the restitution of Belgium and Luxembourg to Austria, nor to give up the French conquests from the German states on the west bank of the Rhine. There was also the question of the evacuation of Italy by the French. The English had taken from the French the islands of Martinique, Sainte Lucie, and Tobago, which England was ready to restore, but she objected to the French retaining the Spanish part of St. Domingo. The negotiations came to no result; and on the 19th of December, 1796, the Directory sent the English ambassador a peremptory order to quit Paris in forty-eight hours.

The war continued during these negotiations. In 1794 the English had taken Corsica, but they abandoned it in 1796, and the French again got possession of it. Hoche, who had been employed in the inglorious war of La Vendée, burned for a nobler theatre on which to display his talents. Ireland was considered the weak part of the British empire, a country in which the mass of the people were Roman Catholic, and discontent and the elements of revolt were abundant. A squadron had long been preparing in the harbour of Brest, and the design to attempt a landing in Ireland was no secret. Fifteen vessels of the line, twenty frigates, and numerous transports, carrying in all about 20,000 men, left Brest on the 16th of December, under the command of the admiral Morard-de-Galles. Hoche was in the same vessel with Morard-de-Galles. A storm separated the admiral's ship and others from the squadron, which, on the 24th of December, 1796, entered Bantry Bay. This was the place of debarcation; but the bad weather rendered a landing difficult, and the commander of the expedition was not there. The French fleet sailed back to France; and on the arrival of Hoche in Bantry Bay, he found that he was a general without an army. This ill-concerted expedition to a foreign shore at such a season of the year was a miserable failure.

In January, 1797, the Five Hundred were informed, by a message from the Directory, accompanied by a report from the minister of police, Cochon, of the discovery of a new conspiracy. This was a royalist conspiracy, of which the leaders were the abbé Brotier,

a mathematician and literary man; Duverne de Presle, formerly an officer of marine; an agent named Poly, and one Villeurnoy. Their object was the restoration of royalty and the establishment of Louis XVIII. on the throne.* The plan of execution was an insurrection. If any of the Directors escaped, and did not return under the promise of an amnesty, a price was to be set on his head. The plan was absurd and senseless, the work of men with heads as weak as Babeuf's. Some pitied the men; others considered them the victims of the police; but the Directory looked on the matter as a serious affair, and sent them before a military commission. Eighteen were tried; fourteen were acquitted; and the chiefs, who have been already named, were condemned to death; but the commission, by virtue of the authority which they had, commuted the sentence for a term of imprisonment. As there is no doubt of the existence of a plan to overthrow the government, the mode in which the royalist conspirators were dealt with, forms a striking contrast with the severe treatment of the conspirators who entered the camp at Grenelle. That there were men in the two councils not averse to the restoration of royalty, and a large party in the country also, appears pretty clear from the history of this affair, and the debates in the councils which it occasioned.

A long report was made to the Council of Five Hundred, by Jean Debry, on this conspiracy.† It spoke of an Orleanist faction as still existing; and we may conclude that among the opinions in favour of royalty, the name of the family of Orleans had been mentioned; not that there was really an Orleans' party organized, but that some thought that a member of this family might fill the throne with more advantage to France than the elder branch of the Bourbons. One object of the report of Jean Debry was apparently to influence the approaching elections; and during the elections there was published in the 'Rédacteur,' an official journal, on the 12th of April, 1797, a proclamation of Louis XVIII. to the French. The Directory published the prince's manifesto, as they declared in the 'Rédacteur,' to show that there was no doubt that a mad project existed to overthrow the Republic and the Constitution, and that there were royalist agents engaged in the execution of this conspiracy. The Directory had punished the Republican conspirators severely, and perhaps with some feeling of regret. The royalist conspirators had got off better than the Directory wished, and it was the royalists that they feared in the elections. Accordingly the Directory proposed to the councils that the electors, named by the primary assemblies, should take the oath which the law required from public functionaries. The proposition was carried, after much debate and by no large majority, in both councils. It was decreed that when the electoral assemblies should be provisionally constituted, every elector should make, in an audible voice, the following declaration: "I promise attachment and fidelity to the Republic and to the Constitution of the year 3; I undertake to defend them with all my power against the attacks of royalty and of anarchy."

The government endeavoured to influence the elections; and there was great activity displayed by all parties. One-half of the two-thirds of the conventionals, who had been retained in the Five Hundred, was to go out and be replaced by a new third, chosen by the people. The elections commenced the 9th of April, and were very tumultuous in some places. It seemed as if they would be on the whole unfavourable to the republicans. During these elections, a man named Poule discharged a pistol at Siéyes, and slightly wounded him. This affair was magnified in the Five Hundred into the indication of a conspiracy, and Poule, it was said, was an agent of Louis XVIII. But it turned out that he was a half-crazy fellow, who, from being a monk, had become a soldier: he had visited Siéyes, a countryman of his, to ask for alms, and being ill-received, he attempted to shoot him. There was, therefore, not much to be made of this affair against the royalists in the elections. The result of the elections was rather favourable to opposition reaction, or royalist reaction, as it was termed. After the elections the members of the Directory met in a secret sitting on the 30th Floréal, and proceeded to determine by lot which of the five members should go out of office, according to the terms of the Constitution. The lot fell on Letourneur. People would have been better pleased if the lot had fallen on Barras, who was revelling in the midst of sensual pleasures. He was as near as he could be what a vicious prince is, who has the means of indulgence at command. He had a kind of court of men of blasted reputation, and loose women; and as his expense was large, he had to supply it by every means that he could devise. He had all the vices of a tyrant, but not vigour enough to make himself one. During the eighteen months of power the Directory had committed many faults, and had shown no capacity, such as would command public confidence. But their administration had been successful, and circumstances had favoured them: paper money had disappeared, and made way for silver; La Vendée was tranquillized; the French were victorious in Italy; at peace and in alliance with Spain; with only one really formidable enemy left, but one whom they might ever despair of subduing, an enemy whose sea-girt shores repelled invasion, whose fortress was the Ocean. Paris was embellished with the spoils of conquered countries. The Romans despoiled Greece of her treasures of art to adorn their capital; and the French, whose education favoured the aping of the conquerors of the antient world, sought to make of Paris the depository of the arts of Europe. Monge, Berthollet, Thouin, and Barthelemy, were busy in clearing Italy of the choicest labours of the creative genius of the peninsula; and the rich treasures of

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvii., 182—204; Thibaudeau, Mém. Conspiration Royaliste,' &c., ii., c. 9.

† 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvii., 212—241.

Holland and of the Low Countries were already in the Museums of Paris. The best pictures of Paul Potter, the ever-living portraits of Vandyck, were carried off from a people who valued these treasures more than money. The masterpiece of Rubens, the Descent from the Cross, was taken from a people who have always been among the most devoted of the servants of the Catholic church, to be set up among another people whose rulers had rejected Christianity.

The Théophilanthropes have been mentioned. There were men who felt that a nation without a religion was deprived of the chief part of its social existence; and one man endeavoured to supply the want by establishing a system of natural religion. The founder of Théophilanthropie was J. B. Chemin. In 1795 he published a small book as a kind of religious guide for families, which was called 'Manuel des Théanthropophiles,' or the 'Manual of those who love God and man.' The modest author sought for no popularity or distinction; but the enthusiasm of some of his readers urged him to form a society, and a house was offered to him for the new worship. The word Théanthropophiles was soon exchanged for the form Théophilanthropes. A committee was appointed, who adopted Chemin's Manual, and instituted religious worship after their fashion, on the days of rest. They had no priests; they avoided everything which could give them the appearance of a sect; their doctrines and worship were intended to be universal. They first met for their religious celebrations in January, 1797. Two or three houses were soon insufficient for them: they got a church or two, and finally most of the churches in Paris. The worship spread into many communes of France: it required no apostles, nor explanation; everybody could understand it. "There was," says a French writer,* "nothing new in this doctrine: it was Christianity without its mysteries and sacraments, the traditions and the ceremonies of the Christian religion: the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, love of our neighbours—this was the whole of Theophilanthropy: the exercises consisted only of reading, hearing religious discourses, and singing religious hymns; a head of a family presided at every celebration." There was no baptism; the father or a near relation declared a child's name, while he held up the child towards heaven: the father promised to teach the child his duties towards God, his neighbour, and his country. If there were a godfather and godmother, they promised, in case of need, to be in the place of a father and a mother to the child. The ceremony of marriage was simple: after the civil ceremony was gone through, the religious ceremony was performed before the congregation. There were no prayers for the dead, but there were ceremonies adapted to the solemnity of the event. A tablet was placed in the church, with this inscription: "Death is the passage to immortality;" an expression which Robespierre had used in his last address on the 8th of Thermidor. An urn covered with foliage was placed before the altar, and the head of the family said of the deceased, "Let us preserve the remembrance of his virtues, and forget his faults; may this event be to us a warning to be always ready to appear before God, the supreme Judge of our actions." Great numbers were attracted by the fine music. There were hymns for many occasions, and for all the great national festivals, such as the Foundation of the Republic, of the Sovereignty of the People, of Agriculture, of Liberty. A hymn to the Supreme Being, which was sung during autumn and winter, delighted everybody both by the words and the music. It began:

'Père de l'univers, suprême intelligence.'

It was the work of Théodore Desorgues, a republican poet, who died in 1808, in the hospice of Charenton, whither he was sent for writing a song on Napoleon. Gossec furnished the music for this hymn. Lépeaux favoured the Theophilanthropes, and often assisted at their religious ceremonies, but he was not the founder of the new worship, as it is often stated.

Besides the Manuel, Chemin published other books for the use of the worshippers in the new religion. There is a collection of these writings, under the title 'Code de religion et de morale naturelle.' Chemin also supplied discourses for the particular seasons and occasions, and the matter for the readings at each religious meeting. These readings were a selection of maxims and morals taken from the Bible, the Koran, Confucius, Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, and the emperor Marcus Antoninus, and from some French writers. "The Gospel was not forgotten: Jesus Christ appears in this compilation between Plutarch and Seneca: one has not the courage to find fault with the good man who was the founder of Théophilanthropie, because his intentions and his teaching breathe only the love of goodness; we even see in these religious assemblies a sort of transition between the senseless festivals of the Revolution and the return to the Christian faith; the people, so long fed with horrible principles, again became acquainted with the doctrines of God and of the immortality of the soul, with the notions of charity and of devotion, and thus were insensibly prepared for the glorious and perfect doctrines of revealed religion: however, the organization of the worship of the Théophilanthropes, as it contained nothing very serious and very imposing, could not, we suspect, have had the least success without the attraction of music." (Poujoulat.) The worship was to most people only a spectacle, and at the last people got tired of it. A consular order of the 12th of Vendémiaire, of the year X., forbade the Théophilanthropes to assemble in the public churches; but they were already nearly destroyed by ridicule.

* Poujoulat, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' ii., 217.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE EIGHTEENTH FRUCTIDOR.

The new third took their seat in the councils on the 20th of May (1st Prairial,) 1797; and it was soon clear what was the disposition of the majority in the Five Hundred. It was proposed to rescind a resolution of the previous session, by which several deputies had been removed, Job Aymé among others, who were suspected of royalism, and the proposition was carried. The Five Hundred elected Pichegru for their president, who, it was well known, was hated by the Directory. A royalist tendency prevailed among the Five Hundred. In fact there were three parties in the councils,—a party for the Directory, the Constitutionals, and the Royalists; and the Royalists were pretty nearly a majority in the Five Hundred. In the Council of Antients the Constitutionals were the majority. Whenever the object was to oppose the Directory, the Constitutionals and Royalists in the two councils acted together. Barbé-Marbois, a man of good character, was elected president of the Council of Antients.*

The club of Clichy was the meeting-place of those men who wished to terminate the Revolution; it was the centre of the Royalists. Here they concerted their plans for securing a majority in the two Councils, and here they fixed upon the new member of the Directory. They agreed to vote for Barthélemy, who was then the French ambassador in Switzerland, and had negotiated the treaty of Bâle. He was the nephew of the author of the 'Voyage d'Anacharsis.' Barthélemy had a great majority in the Five Hundred, and was also elected by the Antients, upon which he was declared a Director, and summoned from Switzerland to sit at the Luxembourg. The friends of the Directory also had their club at the hôtel Salm, which they called the Cercle Constitutionnel; and Madame de Stael, who had witnessed and execrated the horrors of the Revolution, gave the Directory the support of her talents. She was an admirer of Benjamin Constant, a distinguished speaker at the club of Salm, a man of talent and lively imagination, who was aspiring after celebrity. Talleyrand also frequented the club: he had been an exile; he was without money, and was seeking to make his fortune. Necker's daughter introduced the former bishop of Autun to Barras, who made him minister for foreign affairs (1797), in spite of the opposition of Carnot and Rewbell. Talleyrand, on his return, was not at first well received by the five original directors: they had all voted for the death of the king, and the day of the 21st of January was with them the test of a man's political faith. It is said that Talleyrand, being questioned about this matter, replied, "If I had been then in the Convention, who can tell what I should have done?"

* Thibaudeau, 'Mém.,' ii., p. 163, &c.

The part which Madame de Stael played at this period was that of an intriguer: "in the morning she received the Jacobins; in the evening, the emigrants; and at dinner, everybody."*

The opposition to the Directory in the Five Hundred soon displayed itself: the condition of the finances and the situation of the colonies, especially of St. Domingo, furnished materials. In the Five Hundred, Vaublanc made a report on St. Domingo, in which he drew its wretched condition in strong colours. The Directory itself was divided. Carnot and Barthélemy were not the kind of men to be cordial with Barras, nor with Lépeaux, the Théophilanthrope.† Still they acted in concert to resist their enemies of the opposition; and with this view they had established the Constitutional Club, and availed themselves of the aid of their own newspapers; for the royalists had a numerous body of writers, who were now bold enough to attack the revolutionary party. The Directory also tormented the committee of finance of the Five Hundred for money. Message after message came from the Directory, complaining of the want of money for the public service. In the provinces, the Directory had also the support of many popular societies, formed after that of the Cercle Constitutionnel: they were in fact new revolutionary clubs. Six weeks had not elapsed from the opening of the new session before it was manifest that there must be some great change.

The Directory were first attacked on the matter of expenditure. The government was bound by the Constitution to render an account of the money which they handled; but it was remarked, that the accounts of all the ministers except Cochon, the minister of police, were deficient in clearness. No account was given of the employment of 100 millions in mandats, which had been placed at the disposal of the executive for secret service, and the public concluded that the money had been improperly employed. In the year IV. the journals had cost near 15,000,000 in assignats, 1,300,000 in mandats, and 61,000 in coin. The expense of subsistence for the departments and for Paris had cost 3,500 millions in assignats, 152 millions in mandats, and near five millions in coin. Gilbert-Desmolières the great opponent of the Directory in matters of finance, made a report to the Five Hundred, in

* Madame de Stael herself says that she introduced Talleyrand to Barras through a friend, by whom she means Benjamin Constant. (Considérations,' &c., iii., c. 25.)

† The editors of the 'Hist. Parlem.,' call Lépeaux "an atheist, the head of a sect; he detested religion, as a man hates a personal enemy." But the Théophilanthropes were not atheists, and one can hardly suppose that they would have an atheist for their head. Besides, it does not appear that Lépeaux was the head of the sect.

which he estimated the expenditure of the year IV. at 1,500 millions. This expenditure had been covered to a very small amount by the employment of assignats; 120 millions of mandats had done the work of 100 millions of coin. A considerable sum had been raised by the sale of furniture, plate, jewels, among which was the diamond called the Regent, which had produced seven millions of francs; the contributions levied on the country of the enemies of the Republic had produced 240 millions. The expenditure had been enormous; and the luxury of Barras and his friends in power was supposed to have contributed to it.

On the 7th of Prairial, judgment was pronounced against Babeuf and his accomplices by the high court of Vendôme. Babeuf and Darthé were condemned to death; and Buonarotti and others to deportation. Vadier was condemned to imprisonment; and a considerable number were acquitted. Babeuf and Darthé stabbed themselves, or attempted to do it, for the facts are in dispute. However, they were both executed the day after. Babeuf on the scaffold declared his affection for the people, and recommended his family to them.

The law of the 3rd Brumaire, of the year IV., had put the relatives of the emigrants under a kind of political interdict; but on the 21st of Prairial (9th of June), 1797, the council of Five Hundred settled in one sitting a question, which had been often discussed in the previous session; the law of the 3rd Brumaire was repealed as to the provisions for excluding certain classes of persons from public employments. But the repeal went further than this, and declared that all the members of the legislative body, and all the functionaries, who had been suspended by certain articles of the law of the 11th Frimaire of the year V., should exercise their functions. This was a decided anti-revolutionary measure, and yet the Antients assented to it. On the 29th of Prairial, Camille Jordan made a report on the police of religion. The Five Hundred had received numerous petitions on this subject; some asking for the churches to be restored, others for the use of bells. Some of these petitions had the signatures of above two hundred communes. Jordan proposed to grant all that was asked; but the men who belonged to the Dantoniste and Hébertiste faction, who formed the court of the Directory, would not listen to such a proposal, and all that Jordan got was the nicknames of Camille Carillon, and Jordan-les-Cloches. This was the way that the philosophers of the day treated those who did not accept their doctrines. But Dubruel, in the Five Hundred, carried a motion for repealing the laws which imposed the penalty of imprisonment or deportation upon priests who had not taken the oath, or were accused of incivism, and also the repeal of the laws against those who concealed them; and that those who had fallen within the penalties of these laws should be restored to the privilege of citizenship. The Antients assented to the motion of Dubruel the 3rd of Fructidor. This was a great victory obtained over the fanaticism of the Revolution, a victory which the majority of the Committee of Public Safety, in the plenitude of their power, could never gain.

It was now generally said that it was the design of the councils to overthrow the Directory, and there were many circumstances which gave probability to the report. The Directory were attacked for mal-administration. Dupont de Nemours said in the council of Five Hundred, "that there was a deplorable arrear in a number of payments of urgent necessity, that the public functionaries had not been paid at Paris and in the departments for three or four months; and yet the Directory had at their disposal during this time receipts to the amount of ninety-seven millions of crowns, without reckoning the contributions levied by the armies in foreign countries, which were twenty millions at least, and perhaps double. On the other hand, the army of Italy, instead of costing anything, brought money into the treasury; that of the North was almost entirely supported by the Batavian republic, and the armies of Hoche (who now commanded the army of the Sambre and Meuse) and of Moreau were partly living on the enemy." In the midst of all this wealth, he said, there was nothing but complaints of poverty, and everything was going to ruin; public annuitants and public functionaries unpaid, hospitals and prisons unprovided for; he attributed this misery to a shameful extravagance in incurring expense, and to a want of due care in such payments as were made. The councils might deserve some credit for their opposition to the malversation of certain members of the Executive, but other motives less honourable prompted them to attack the Directory.

The constitutional party in the councils was alarmed at the prospect, for the royalists had now a majority in the Five Hundred. Just before the 14th of July, upon the usual motion being made by Jean Debry for the celebration of the day, a deputy uttered these words:—"Yes, let us celebrate the overthrow of despotism, but let us remember that a despotism a thousand times more terrible rose upon the ruins of the first; and not to forget it, let us unite in the same festival the remembrance of the day in which demagogic despotism was annihilated." The language of the Royalists seemed to presage a new revolution. The journalists on the side of government saw no resource except a coup d'état, and they appealed to the energy of the Directory. A voice came over the Alps to encourage the potentate who held his court at the Luxembourg; a proclamation from Bonaparte to his army, inspired, as some suppose, by Barras. "Soldiers," said the general-in-chief of the army of Italy, "it is the anniversary of the 14th of July; you see before you the names of our companions in arms, who have died on the field of honour for the liberty of their country.—Soldiers, I know that you are deeply affected at the misfortunes which threaten our country, but our country can run no real danger; the same men who have made it triumph over united Europe are there; mountains separate us from France; you will cross them with the rapidity of the eagle, if it were necessary, to main-

tain the constitution, defend liberty, protect the government and republicans. Soldiers, the government watch over the deposit of the laws which is entrusted to them; the Royalists, as soon as they shall show themselves, will have lived. Have no fears, and let us swear by the manes of the heroes who have died by our side for liberty, let us swear on our new colours, implacable war to the enemies of the Republic and of the Constitution of the year III."

The Constitutionals thought that they could ward off the danger by uniting with the Directorial party: they wished to effect a change in the ministry, and they applied to Carnot and Barthélemy, who agreed with them. Carnot proposed the measure to his brother directors, but Lépeaux and Rewbell opposed him, and Barras sided with them against Carnot and Barthélemy. A complete division was thus caused in the Directory, and the majority of three set about arranging things in the way for securing their power. They began by dismissing the ministers who were agreeable to the Constitutionals, and among others, Cochon, Petiet, and Benezech. This was the occasion on which Talleyrand was introduced into the ministry by Madame de Staël, who thus put him in the way of fortune, a goddess whom he ever worshipped, and who never deserted him. Hoche was appointed minister of war, but as it was found that he had not the requisite age, general Schérer took his place. François de Neufchâteau was made minister of the interior. The choice of the Directors fell upon men who would do whatever they were bid. In the saloons of the ministry it was now freely said that Carnot, Barthélemy, Cochon, and others were Royalists,—a significant intimation that something was preparing. The Constitutionals were indignant at the way in which Barras had treated them, for it is said that he had promised them to act in concert with Carnot and Barthélemy in the choice of new ministers. An intimate friend of Carnot said that unless vigorous measures were immediately taken, all was lost; he meant that Barras should be arrested or impeached. Several of the Constitutionals met, and discussed their danger. Portalis affirmed that the Directory had formed a design against two of their own body and against the Councils; and there were troops, which formed a part of Hoche's army, which had approached near Paris. The greater part of those who met were of opinion that they should attack the Directory, but they had no force at their command; and the conference ended in nothing. The Directory in the mean time were strengthening themselves by getting round them all the men who were accustomed to revolutionary movements. They called in the voice of the soldiers to their aid, who hitherto had been content with fighting. Bonaparte's proclamation on the 14th of July, if it was not suggested by the Directory, served their purpose. Berthier, the chef-d'état major-général of the Italian army, sent from Milan to all the administrative bodies of the departments a printed account of what had passed in the several divisions of the army: the cry of all the soldiers, he said, was, "Implacable war against the royalists, and inviolable fidelity to the Republican Government and to the Constitution of the year III." All the divisions of the army sent in addresses to the Directory. They saw that their only chance of maintaining themselves was to accept the aid that was offered. But there was danger in accepting the proffered assistance, and the Directory were jealous of Bonaparte. They had created a power which threw their own in the shade; they had made for themselves a master. Bonaparte had compelled the Directory to recall their commissioners: he had refused to divide his command with Kellermann; he would command alone, or not at all: he would have neither equal nor superior. The Directory had to choose between a counter-revolution and the support of Bonaparte; and they chose to rely on the army; and thus they prepared the way for the future empire. Bonaparte told the Directory, in a letter, that "they and the country had no army more devoted to them than the army of Italy."—"As for myself," he said, "I employ all my influence here to restrain within limits the burning patriotism which is the distinctive character of all the soldiers of the army, and to give it a direction favourable to the government." The Directory wished Bonaparte to come to Paris, but he was too prudent to act over again the 13th Vendémiaire; and he had agents who could do his work there. He sent his aide-de-camp, Lavalette, and generals Augereau and Bernadotte, to Paris; Augereau, on the pretext that he had some private business to look after; but he carried with him the addresses of the divisions of the army. Bernadotte brought colours taken from the enemy, and was recommended by Bonaparte as "one of the firmest friends of the Republic." Bonaparte was waiting for his time. He would have nothing to do with the quarrels in Paris; he sent Augereau to conduct this war of "pots-de-chambre," as he called it; and the man whom he sent was fit for the service. The Directory named Augereau, who had come on private business, to the command of the 17th military division (Paris). The true conclusion is, that he came for this purpose. Other military arrangements were made with a view to the approaching coup d'état; among which one of the most striking was the union of the 8th military division to the army of Italy; the consequence of which was, that Lyon was under the command of Bonaparte. The Directory were strengthening themselves on all sides: the Councils had some generals, but no troops; and they were too much disunited to agree about anything.

The approach towards Paris of considerable detachments from the army of the Sambre and the Meuse created great alarm in the councils. It was said that the troops had already approached nearer to Paris than the limit fixed by the Constitution.* A message from

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxvii., 289, &c. Conseil des Cinq-Cents, Séance du 30 Messidor, and Séance du 2 Thermidor (20th July, 1797.)

the Directory, signed by Carnot as president, admitted that four regiments had approached within eleven leagues of Paris, their destination being a distant place; but they attributed this to some mistake of a commissary, and had given orders that the troops should change their route. But this explanation was not satisfactory, nor did the Council believe it to be true. Carnot had been kept in ignorance of the movements of these troops till it was no longer a secret to anybody. The two Councils agreed in a message to the Directory, in which they asked for the name of the person who had given marching orders to the detachment of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and also for the number of troops, and the names of the several corps within ten leagues round Paris on the 1st of Messidor. The Directory, who had really sent for the troops, intended that Hoche should command the force which they were collecting round Paris, but Hoche was not the man to be made the mere tool of the Directory. He sent his aide-de-camp, Cherin, to Paris, to watch the state of affairs; and he came to Paris himself, but dissatisfied with everything there, he returned to his army. On the 17th of Thermidor a report was made to the Five Hundred on the movement of the troops, from which it appeared that 27,000 men had been ordered to march to Paris, and that both men and soldiers made no secret of the object of the movement being an attack on the Councils. The report was followed by a fresh message to the Directory, who on the 23rd made a long answer, which was a kind of manifesto. The reason of the movement of the troops, as they alleged, was the formation of an army at Brest; but if this was true, they might have said it before. The rest of the answer related to the addresses sent to the Directory from the armies, and to the causes of all the troubles: they said that they "hoped to save France from the dissolution towards which it was hurried, to extinguish the torches of civil war, and to save persons and property from a new revolution." * The Directory were acting with duplicity; the Royalists were longing for a counter-revolution; and between the two the Constitutionals were paralysed. Hoche was certainly privy to the movement of the troops; but if his own statement is true, he supposed their destination to be Brest. He says, "I ordered the troops, pursuant to the instructions of the government, to march to Brest by way of Alençon; and the minister of war was officially informed of the movement." The fact appears to be, that neither Hoche nor the Directory told the whole truth. On his return to his camp at Wetzlar, on the occasion of the celebration of the 10th of August (23 Thermidor), Hoche said, "My friends, before you lay down your arms, we shall perhaps have to secure the tranquillity of the interior, which fanatics and rebels to the Republican laws attempt to trouble." The only army that took no part in the quarrels at Paris was that of Moreau, the army of the Rhine and the Mosel. The Directory were not pleased with the silence of this army, and they sent to complain of it. Moreau replied in a sensible letter, that he was employed in improving the condition of his troops, and that he was sincerely devoted to the Republic. The Directory affected to be satisfied, but they circulated an address, in the name of the officers and soldiers of Moreau's army, which was to the same effect as the addresses of the army of Italy. But Moreau, in confidential letters, disavowed this address. Such an impudent forgery gives us a fit measure of the character of the majority of the Directory.

A last attempt was made at a negotiation between the Constitutionals and the Directory, and Madame de Staël was employed to gain over Thibaudeau, who met her and Benjamin Constant; but this interview, and another with Benjamin Constant and some of the Directorial party came to no result. On the 30th of Thermidor seventeen pieces of cannon were brought from Meudon to the École Militaire, and the garrison of Paris was strengthened by some cavalry. Augereau complained of reports being circulated as to the danger to which the Councils were exposed, and declared that he would answer for their safety with his head; but nobody believed him. The club of Clichy accused the Constitutionals of being sold to the Directory, and the partizans of the Directory accused them of conspiring with the club of Clichy. There was nothing but rumour and false reports. Things were in this state when a report was made by Thibaudeau (4th Fructidor) to the Five Hundred, on the late message of the Directory. Tronçon-Doucoudray made his report to the Antients on the 3rd.* The Directory were not pleased with the reports, and Lépeaux took advantage of the opportunity of making an address to the envoys of the Cisalpine Republic at Paris, to pour forth all his bitterness. This Théophilanthrope forgot the name which he bore; and his violence put an end to all hopes of reconciliation. General Kléber, who was now at Paris, and Bernadotte, were furious against the Five Hundred. Kléber did not esteem the Directory, and he had little confidence in Bonaparte; but he was devoted to the Republic, and ready to fight with the Royalists.

On the 13th Thermidor Duprat denounced to the Five Hundred a 'Declaration to his constituents,' signed Bailleul, the name of one of the deputies. It was a hostile manifesto against the legislative body, which it declared to be execrated by the nation, and specially the Five Hundred: "the last-elected members were partly shameless royalists, leaders of Chouans, emigrants, protectors of assassins, and conspirators." Nothing was done upon this denunciation; but during the debate Tallien was attacked, and he defended himself with ability. The Councils having no unity of purpose, were spending their time in fruitless debates, when the 17th and 18th Fructidor arrived. On the

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvii., 323; Thibaudeau, 'Mém.,' ii., c. 23. Carnot did not sign the answer of the Directory, and Barthélemy made some remarks on it. It was drawn up by Lépeaux.

* Thibaudeau's reports in his 'Mémoires,' ii., 367.





GENERAL AUGEREAU SALUTED BY THE LEGISLATIVE GUARD.

17th of Fructidor, Thibaudeau went to a little theatre in the evening to amuse himself, and wait quietly for what he expected. As he was seated there an unknown man opened the door, and said that he was entrusted to bring him something. It was a packet containing the proclamations and placards of the Directory, which the next day covered the walls of Paris. One of these placards contained the offer made to Pichegru, when he was on the Rhine, by the prince of Condé in the name of the king, and the answer of Pichegru. The next morning Thibaudeau learned that his own name was among that of the députies who were to be arrested. It was about three on the morning of the 18th Fructidor (4th of September) when the alarm-cannon was heard; this was the signal for the execution of the design of the Directory, and Augereau was their agent. Near ten thousand men, most of them troops of the line, occupied the neighbourhood of the Tuileries, with a formidable train of artillery. Ramel commanded the grenadiers of the Legislative body, about 800 in number. He was summoned to give up the Pont Tournant, which communicated between the garden and the Place Louis XV., and he refused; but his own men gave up the post, and all the approaches to the Tuileries were soon in the possession of Augereau's force. Some of Ramel's men were disposed to do their duty; but others who had been worked upon by the agents of Barras, were ready to join the troops of the Directory. Augereau tore Ramel's épaulettes from him, and he received rough treatment from some furious Jacobins. Augereau, however, rescued him from their hands, and sent him to the Temple. The sound of the cannon and the heavy step of the soldiers startled all Paris: but there was no resistance: everything was performed "as quietly as the ballet of an opera." A single charge of powder settled the matter. Barras was the director of the ceremonies on this occasion, which was just suited to his taste. Carnot was in bed, but he contrived to save himself by escaping through a door of the garden of the Luxembourg, of which he had the key. Barthélemy was arrested and carried to the Temple, where he found Pichegru, Barbé-Marbois, and others. About eight in the morning some of the deputies came to the halls of the two Councils, and the respective presidents occupied their chairs; but they soon received notice to quit. Driven from the chambers, they assembled again, and with their presidents at their head, traversed in silence the crowd collected about the Tuileries, and presented themselves at the doors. They asked for admission; they were refused; they insisted, and they were repulsed, and pursued till they were dispersed.

The members of the two Councils who belonged to the party of the Directory met in a fresh place: the Antients in the amphitheatre of the École de Santé, and the Five Hundred at the Odéon. They sent

notice to those of their colleagues who were not involved in the proscription, and when their numbers were sufficient, the debates began. Both bodies declared their sittings permanent. The Five Hundred voted everything that Barras dictated, and the Antients approved. The only debates of any interest were at the Five Hundred. "The measures that have been taken," said Poulain-Grandpré, "the place in which we are, everything tells us that our country has been in great danger, and that we are still in danger; let us thank the Directory, for to them we are indebted for the salvation of the State." He moved the appointment of a committee of five members to concert measures for securing the salvation of the State and the preservation of the Constitution of the year III.; and the committee was appointed. Sièyes was one of them, and Boulay de la Meurthe was another. The Directory sent a message to the Councils, containing an account of the conspiracy. The Committee of Five knew what was wanted, and they proposed to the Five Hundred to cancel the elections in forty-eight departments, and to select for deportation the most dangerous deputies. The Five Hundred cancelled the elections for the forty-eight departments which were named, and the deputies for these departments were excluded from the legislative body. All the functionaries elected by these departments, such as judges and others, were also deprived. A list of members for deportation was proposed, and after a few names were struck from the list, (Thibaudeau, Dupont de Nemours, and others,) the rest were condemned to deportation to such place as the Directory should choose. Fifty-three deputies were thus summarily disposed of. Cochon, the minister of police, and Ramel, had the same fate. Not a single voice was raised against these measures, which the Antients accepted and confirmed, after a message from the Directory, which intimated that they must be quick. Some of the condemned deputies made their escape, but the Directory seized fifteen, and sent them off to Rochefort in carriages secured by iron bars. They were taken through the country like so many wild beasts, and their keeper was general Dutertre, an ignorant and brutal man. Barthélemy, the director, was among them, and he was accompanied by Letellier, a faithful servant, who would not leave his master. Some of them were destined for Cayenne, and others for the Isle d'Oléron. Of the guilt of Pichegru, who was among the fifteen, there was no doubt. Moreau had evidence of it in his possession, but he did not communicate it to the Directory until the 19th Fructidor, in a letter to Barthélemy. The letter fell into the hands of the Directory, who published it. This evidence completely established the treason of Pichegru, but it compromised his friend Moreau in more ways than one. Moreau was summoned to Paris, and disgraced.*

The journalists did not escape, and they were a numerous body. The proprietors and editors of forty-two journals were condemned to deportation; and the Directory were empowered for the future to suppress all journals which they might consider dangerous.† Clubs were permitted, but the Directory could close them when they liked. The organization of the National Guard, which had just been decreed by the Councils, was suspended. The recent measures in favour of emigrants and priests were repealed. The Directory had a party in the Councils who acted in concert with them: the rest obeyed under the influence of terror. "When I entered the Odéon," says Thibaudeau, "on the 19th, the physiognomy of the Assembly was as gloomy as the ill-lighted theatre in which they sat; terror appeared in every face; a few members only spoke and debated; the majority remained impassive, or appeared to be only there to assist at a funeral ceremony,—in fact, their own funeral."

Merlin of Douay, a jurist, and François de Neufchâteau, were chosen for the new directors. The report of J. Ch. Bailleul, the author of the 'Declaration,' to the Five Hundred, on the conspiracy of the 18th Fructidor, was not read for six months after.‡ It was headed by a text taken from the communication of Duverne de Presle, an agent of Louis XVIII., to the Directory, in which he said, "Many attempts have been made to re-establish the throne; nothing has discouraged the royalists." This is true; the royalists never lost their hopes, and many of them were sacrificed in their attempts. The report of Bailleul may be tolerably just in the main: there was a royalist conspiracy, but the violent measures of the Directory struck both the innocent and the guilty. Carnot, who was calumniated in Bailleul's report, replied to it from his retreat in Germany.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvii., 451; Thibaudeau, 'Mém.,' ii., c. 28.

† A list of these journals is given in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvii., 385.

‡ 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvii., 388—436. Carnot's answer is entitled 'Réponse de L. N. M. Carnot, citoyen Français, un des fondateurs de la République,' &c. It was absurd to treat Carnot as a royalist. "Me," said Carnot, "who have voted the death of one king, caused the rest to tremble, and made a breach in the imperial throne." Bailleul is the author of the 'Examen Critique des Considérations de Mde. de Staël.' The motto in the title-page is appropriate: "Modo vir, modo femina." Bailleul's chapter on the 18th Fructidor is worth reading.

CHAPTER LX.

CAMPO FORMIO.

BEFORE Bonaparte heard of the revolution of the 18th Fructidor at Paris, he had finished the war in Italy. In January, 1797, Alvinzy, who had received reinforcements, advanced with his force in two columns. Forty-five thousand men followed the roads along the Adige and the Lake of Garda, while Provera, with 20,000 men, was advancing towards Mantua by the road of Vicenza. An obstinate battle was fought between Bonaparte and Alvinzi, at Rivoli, between the Adige and the Lake of Garda, in the early part of January, 1797, and Alvinzy retired up the Adige, pursued by the French as far as Trento.* Provera reached Mantua, and attacked the French besieging army (Jan. 15), and Wurmser made a sally upon the French lines; but Bonaparte hurried from the field of Rivoli, and Provera was compelled to surrender. The Austrians lost a great number of men, and a great quantity of baggage and munitions in this winter campaign. The remnant of the Austrian army retired behind the Piave, and the archduke Charles took the place of Alvinzy. Bonaparte now entered the Papal states, and met the pope's soldiers at the bridge of the Senio, on the road from Bologna to Rimini. This feeble force was easily dispersed, and the French reached Ancona, and Loreto, famed for the sanctuary of the Virgin. The French plundered the sanctuary of what had not been carried away, and the wooden image of the Madonna was sent by Bonaparte to Paris, who said, in a letter to the Directory, "I send you the Madonna with the relics." According to Bonaparte's account, the spoil of Loreto amounted to a very large sum. The Santa Casa, or Holy Chapel, which, according to the legend, had been transported through the air from Palestine to Italy, was rich in gold and silver offerings, the gifts of kings and princes, and in rubies, diamonds, and pearls. The Directory were eager to destroy the pope's temporal power, but Bonaparte followed his own views: he cared not for the Directory. He protected the people in the papal states; and he issued an order from Macerata in favour of the refractory French priests who had taken refuge in Italy. On the 19th of February, cardinal Mattei and the other commissioners of the pope, met Bonaparte at Tolentino, to sign a treaty of peace. The pope recognized the French Republic, yielded the legations of Bologna and Ferrara to the Cispadane Republic, and formally ceded Avignon, which had been wrested from the papal see some years before. The French were to hold Ancona till the general peace: and the pope agreed to pay thirty millions of livres. These terms were rather hard; but they were not all. The delivery of the works of art, and the manuscripts, comprised in the former treaty, was required. The pope engaged not to make any alliance with the enemies of the French Republic. Bonaparte wrote a letter to the Pope from Tolentino, in which he congratulated himself on having been able to contribute to his repose, and begged his holiness to believe in his desire to give him, on every occasion, proof of his respect and veneration. At the same time he wrote to the Directory, saying, "The commission of savants has had a good harvest at Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Ancona, Loreto, and Perugia; all this shall be immediately forwarded to Paris: when this is added to what will be sent from Rome, we shall have everything that is fine in Italy, except a small number of objects, which are at Turin and Naples." The conqueror of Italy showed his contempt for his presents by such a phrase as "all that."*

Mantua capitulated to the French in the month of February, 1797; and the brave old soldier, Wurmser, obtained honourable terms. The French found an immense quantity of munitions of war in Mantua. The fall of this strong fortress terminated the war in Italy, the successful issue of which was owing to Bonaparte's military talent, aided by the information which he received about the Austrian movements. He had abundance of money at his command to purchase treachery; and there were men among the Austrian inferior officers who meanly sold themselves. This is not merely a conjecture; nor is the fact disputed by some of the most impartial French writers.

The archduke Charles had taken the fort of Kehl, on the Rhine, in January, 1797. In February he was received at Vienna with great rejoicings, and active preparations were made for a campaign against the French in Italy. Bonaparte anticipated the Austrians. He advanced to the banks of the Piave, near the frontier of Italy, where he was joined by Bernadotte, with an army from the Rhine. From the Piave Bonaparte advanced to the Tagliamento, which he crossed with little resistance from the Austrians. It was still winter (the month of March) when the French forced the passes of the Alps in the midst of the snow.

* Any attempt to describe military movements in a few words must be a failure. Military historians can alone do it; and good maps on a large scale are necessary to understand them. There is a useful sketch of the campaigns of Bonaparte in Knight's Weekly Volume, 'Napoleon Bonaparte,' &c., by Mr. Vieusseux. It does not affect to be more than a sketch, but it will be useful to those who have no military histories, or no leisure to read them.

* The Romans began their career of artistic plundering in Sicily: "Marcellus, captis Syracusis, quum cætera in Sicilia tanta fide et integritate composuisset, ut non modo suam gloriam, sed etiam majestatem Populi Romani augeret, ornamenta urbis, signa tabulasque, quibus abundabant Syracusæ, Romam devexit." Liv. xxv., 40.

Masséna, who commanded the French centre, defeated the archduke at Tarvis, in the Julian Alps, on the 24th of March. Joubert advanced by the Tyrol, took Botzen, and marched towards the Drave. Bernadotte, with the right column, took Laybach and Trieste. Bonaparte passed through Villach, on the Drave, and reached Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, on the 31st of March, whence he wrote to the archduke to ask him to come to terms. This proposal was not accepted; and Bonaparte, after defeating the archduke at Neumarkt, reached Judenburg on the Muhr early in April. He was now within a fortnight's march of Vienna; and he pushed his advanced guard as far as Leoben, which is about eighty miles direct distance from the Austrian capital. In the negotiations which followed, Bonaparte displayed his usual sagacity and skill; and the preliminaries of peace were signed at Leoben on the 18th of April. The emperor agreed to give up Belgium, to recognize the Rhine as the boundary of the French Republic, and to surrender the duchy of Milan to a Cisalpine republic, which Bonaparte contemplated. He was to be indemnified for these concessions by the Venetian provinces of Istria, Dalmatia, Brescia, and part of the territory of Venice. Bonaparte said, in his letter to the Directory: "We must not conceal it from ourselves, that though our military position is brilliant, we have not dictated the conditions." In fact, Bonaparte was afraid to advance farther into the Austrian dominions; for he was threatened with the Hungarians on his right, and his rear was not secure against the Tyrolese and Venice. The Directory at Paris ratified the preliminaries of peace, though not in such terms as showed their complete satisfaction.

The republic of Venice, whose territory had served as battle-ground for the Austrians and French, had kept neutral; but neutrality did not save her. Bonaparte had already garrisons in Peschiera, Verona, Bergamo, Brescia, and other Venetian towns. An insurrection against the Venetian government was got up in Bergamo and Brescia, the result of which was that these cities declared their independence of the Venetian government. The French next took possession of Crema without any ceremony. All these three places are west of the Mincio. Bonaparte was in the mountains of Carinthia at the end of March, when he heard of the revolt of Brescia and Bergamo; and here he was visited by the envoys of the Venetian senate. Though he may not have stirred up the revolt, there is no doubt that the French in Italy had done it. He professed to the Venetian envoys his desire to keep peace with them; but he was only seeking to gain time: it was not convenient to quarrel with the senate till he had come to terms with the archduke. He would do nothing to help Venice against the revolted cities; nor did he consider it expedient that Venice should be allowed to send troops to put down the rebels at Bergamo and Brescia, who had professed a disposition to join a new republic, south of the Alps, of French creation. The whole western territory of Venice was soon filled with disorder; for the country people were attached to the Venetian government, and rose against the insurgents. The exactions and oppression of the French exasperated the country people, and some French soldiers, it appears, were killed. Bonaparte took advantage of these circumstances to send a threatening letter to the Venetian government: he had just made an armistice with the Austrians (9th of April), and was confident that he should bring them to terms of peace. His great object, to gain time, had been accomplished.

Verona contained a French garrison. The authorities of the town wished to save the place from the fate of Brescia, and made preparations to defend it against the insurrectionists, who were coming against it. Placed between the French in the town, who were in possession of the forts and the gates, and threatened by rebels from without, who must have considered the French rather as friends than as enemies, it was impossible that the unfortunate citizens of Verona should escape. It seems somewhat doubtful how the quarrel began. The French are said to have commenced firing on the town from the forts (April 17); and for several days a furious contest raged within the walls of Verona. It was terminated by the approach of General Kilmaine, who commanded at Milan: Verona surrendered, and was plundered. Some of the leaders of the people were shot, and the Venetian troops in Verona were made prisoners.

The government of Venice sent a deputation to Bonaparte in reply to his threatening letter. They found him at Grätz, on the 25th of April, ready to deal with them in his own way; for he had now signed the preliminaries of Leoben. They could not make him listen to reason; and they were told that their antient republic was near its end. An unfortunate circumstance gave the French general ground for declaring war against Venice (May 2). The republic would not allow armed vessels belonging to the belligerent powers to enter their harbour; and a French ship, which was seeking refuge in the Lido against the pursuit of some Austrian frigates, was fired upon by the Venetians; and the captain and part of the crew were killed. It seems likely enough that there was some misunderstanding as to the intentions of the French ship; but there was no opportunity given of setting the matter right.* The symbols of Venetian power—the flag of Venice, and the lion of St. Mark, disappeared wherever the French were; and French troops received orders from Bonaparte to advance against Venice. Seated in the midst of her lagunes, with numerous galleys and gun-boats, an immense quantity of artillery, and a strong force of Slavonians and natives, the antient mistress of the seas might have made a formidable

* Thiers, 'Hist. de la Rév. Franç.,' (1797), gives the French version of this affair, and also of that of Verona, which the French call "Pâques Veronaises." The French affirm that the Veronese massacred some of the sick French in the hospitals.

resistance. But treason, cowardice, and disunion put the finishing stroke to a system of government that was worn out. The Doge and all the functionaries abdicated; and they sent away their troops. The old constitution was abolished, a new municipality was established as a provisional government (16th May), and a French force was introduced into Venice. Bonaparte had gone to Milan, where the Venetian plenipotentiaries came to sign a treaty confirmatory of the revolution which had just been effected. Thus fell the oldest government in Europe.

From Milan, Bonaparte published an order for levying a heavy contribution on Verona and the territory, for seizing the gold and silver in the churches, and all the paintings and other works of art. The execution of this merciless robbery was entrusted to Augereau, who had some rough notions of honesty and fair dealing; and he informed Bonaparte that Verona was already so thoroughly pillaged, that there was little more to be had. The general-in-chief having no military enterprize on hand, had time to correspond with the Directory about the secret articles in the treaty of Leoben. He himself proposed to the Directory to give up Venice to the emperor, after first taking all the ships and plundering the arsenal. The Austrians immediately occupied Istria and Dalmatia: the French sent troops to take possession of Corfu and the other Ionian islands, which belonged to Venice. The provisions of the preliminaries of Leoben were equally disgraceful to Austria and to France. In Genoa also there was a revolution. This antient state, less exclusively patrician than Venice, contained a violent democratic party, who had always favoured the French. In the month of May the democratic party, aided by numerous foreigners, and probably encouraged by the agents of the French government, made an unsuccessful attempt at an insurrection, in which some lives were lost, and a few Frenchmen were killed. Bonaparte, who was now governing more like a tyrannical Roman proconsul than a general-in-chief, required satisfaction from the Doge of Genoa, and a change in the constitution. The satisfaction was a money-payment of four millions to France, and a change of the constitution into a more popular form. The peasants of the country districts disliked change at Genoa as much as those of the Venetian territories, and they rose against the new order of things. But an undisciplined mass is easily put down: the peasants were shot or sent to the galleys; and a French division, under General Lannes, occupied the fortifications of Genoa. Bonaparte now constructed a new republic out of the Cispadane Republic, and the Lombard territory, and some other portions of North Italy, to which the title of the Cisalpine Republic was given, with a constitution like that of France. The new republic was proclaimed on the 9th of July. All this was done without the concurrence of the Legislative body at Paris, and only one voice was raised against it. Dumolard, in the Five Hundred, asked why the Council had not been informed of the events which had changed the political condition of Venice and of Genoa? what right the Directory had to regulate these matters without consulting the Legislative body? He proposed a message to the Directory on this subject. Bailleul and some other members maintained that the conduct of the executive was strictly constitutional. However the matter was referred to a committee; which greatly annoyed both Bonaparte and the Directory. But the committee does not appear to have made any report.*

The conferences for the final adjustment of peace between the French Republic and Austria were begun at Montebello, but removed to Udine, in Friuli, on the north-east frontier of Italy. General Clarke went there as the plenipotentiary of the French Republic, for the Directory had associated him with Bonaparte in the final settlement of the terms of peace. The negotiations went on slowly; and it seems that the emperor was not so eager to make peace as the party in the cabinet which had hurried on the preliminaries of Leoben. The events of the 18th Fructidor helped to determine the Austrian cabinet, which had been speculating on the divisions between the French Directory and the Legislative body. After the revolution at Venice, Bonaparte had secured the papers of a French emigrant, D'Entraigues, who was then in Venice. Some of these papers deeply implicated Pichegru, and Bonaparte sent them to Paris. There was, however, other evidence against Pichegru, as it has been already shown. Bonaparte, though he despised the Directory, saw clearly that if they did not make the Legislative body yield, a revolution might be effected which would not require his services any longer; and accordingly he sent Augereau to Paris to do the work of the Directors. Bonaparte received letters from Augereau, Bernadotte, and Talleyrand, after the 18th of Fructidor. Augereau said, "At last, my general, my mission is fulfilled, and the promises of the army of Italy have been performed this night," (18th Fructidor); which seems to be a sufficient admission of the purpose for which Bonaparte sent him to Paris. He also informed Bonaparte that general ambassador Clarke was recalled, for a thousand reasons, among which "we may enumerate his correspondence with Carnot, which has been communicated to me, in which he called the generals of the army of Italy by the name of robbers." Such a truth would of course be very disagreeable to the generals; yet Bonaparte defended Clarke, and recommended him to the Directory for employment. He knew that Clarke was an honest man, though of no great ability. On the 26th Fructidor, Bonaparte wrote to the Directory, and sent them a proclamation which he had issued relative to the events of the 18th. "You may rely," he said, "that you have here 100,000 men, who are by themselves sufficient to cause the measures to be respected which you shall adopt in order to fix liberty on a solid basis: what matters it that we gain victories, if we are outraged in our own country? One may

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvii., 280.

say of Paris, what Cassius said of Rome, What matters it that she is called queen, when she is on the banks of the Seine the slave of gold and of Pitt?" This was the absurd style which Bonaparte could adopt, when it suited his purpose. He was now playing the hypocrite, one of the chief characters in the French Revolution.

Fresh negotiations for peace were commenced between Great Britain and France before the 18th of Fructidor; and Lord Malmesbury and the French plenipotentiaries were busily employed in exchanging notes at Lille, when the Directory got their victory over the Legisl[illegible] willing to give up the [illegible] which they had taken, but not to give up [illegible] Spain and Holland, both [illegible] France: they would not [illegible] the Cape of Good Hope, [illegible]ch England had taken from the Dutch [illegible] of Trinidad, which had been [illegible] French had other minor demands, which the [illegible] minister had no power to consent to; and on the [illegible] of September, Lord Malmesbury received abrupt orders to leave the French territory.

The emperor Francis was easier to deal with. He was going to surrender what he had really lost and could not hope to recover, and he was to be indemnified at the expence of Venice, which Bonaparte insisted that the Directory must give up, or they would have no chance of peace with Austria. The emperor sent Baron Cobenzel with full powers to treat with the French on any terms which should be agreeable to justice and the position of the two parties to the peace: justice to others was no part of Cobenzel's instructions. Bonaparte and the Austrian plenipotentiary met near Udine, at the end of September, and the negotiations commenced. Bonaparte immediately wrote to Talleyrand to inform him of the turn that affairs were likely to take. Talleyrand had been already in communication with Bonaparte: he had discovered his abilities, and probably his ambition, and he worshipped the rising sun. But the Directory had long been jealous of Bonaparte; and Bonaparte saw that the 18th Fructidor was not a final measure. His imperious conduct in Italy, and the tone of his letters, alarmed them. By appointing Augereau to the command of the army of Germany, they thought they should set up a rival to him. They also wrote to Bonaparte (2nd Vendémiare) to tell him that he must not spare Austria; that her perfidy, and her communications with the late conspirators were manifest: the letter contained several absurd statements, which Bonaparte knew to be untrue. Bonaparte replied two days after, and complained of reports brought by an officer from Paris, that people there were uneasy as to the way in which he might have received the news of the 18th Fructidor; this officer also brought a kind of circular from Augereau to all the generals of division; and he had also a letter from the minister of war addressed to the chief of the commissariat, which empowered him to take whatever money he should require for his journey. He said, it was plain that the government was behaving towards him pretty much as they had done to Pichegru, after Vendémiaire, of the year IV. He begged them to accept his resignation: "No power on earth shall compel me to continue to serve, after this horrible mark of the ingratitude of the government, which I was very far from expecting: my health, which has been greatly injured, imperiously requires repose and tranquillity." This was not the first time that Bonaparte had offered his resignation; he had tried the experiment before, and he knew that the Directory would not accept the [illegible] which he had no wish to give up. [illegible] to whom they could venture to [illegible]ent of the Austrian war, if it should [illegible]. At least, they were not bold enough to accept his dissimulated resignation,—a measure which a prudent man never takes when he knows that he has men of firmness to deal with. Some other expressions in Bonaparte's letter are remarkable. There is no doubt of his deep dissimulation: "The situation of my mind also requires that it should be again blended with the mass of the citizens; for too long a time has a great power been confided to my hands; I have always made use of it for the good of my country; so much the worse for those who do not believe in virtue, and who may have suspected mine: my recompense is in my conscience and in the opinion of posterity." The Directory, in their reply, apologized, explained, did everything but accept the resignation. They also sent to him Bottot, an agent of Barras, who had some difficulty in restoring him to good humour; and the Directory wrote again (30th Vendémiaire) in a tone of apology and conciliation. Their letter contains the following remark: "In your observations on the strong tendency of people's minds towards a military government, the Directory recognize a friend of the Republic, as enlightened as he is zealous: nothing is more sacred than the maxim, 'Cedant arma togæ,' for the maintenance of republics: it is not one of the least glorious traits in the life of a general at the head of a triumphant army, to show himself so attentive to a matter of so much importance." Bottot, on his return to Paris, wrote to Bonaparte, to tell him that the Directory were all admiration and affection for him. "Perhaps," he says, "the government commit many faults; perhaps they do not always see things in so true a light as you do; but with what republican docility they have received your observations!" Bottot showed him what the Directory had done to gratify his wishes. They had even erased from the list of emigrants, Bourienne, Bonaparte's old schoolfellow, and now his secretary. "Enlighten the Directory," said Bottot; "I repeat it, they have need of instruction, and they expect it from you." They had not to wait long.*

Bernadotte, who was now with Bonaparte at Passeriano, near Udine, advised Bonaparte to make peace;

* Thibaudeau, 'Mém.,' ii., c. 31.



and this was Bonaparte's own disposition. The Directory did not really wish for peace, for they thought that the continuance of war was favourable to their own power. It was a prudent measure of the general of the army of Italy, after such success, not to hazard the risks of another campaign, for which he could not rely on much assistance from home. The snows were already on the mountains of Friuli, and an attempt to reach Vienna through the passes would be hazardous; nor could he expect the support of the army of the Rhine, which was at so great a distance from the Austrian states. The treaty was signed on the 17th of October, 1797, at Passeriano, though it was dated from a small place situated between the two armies, called Campo Formio. By the treaty of Campo Formio, the emperor recognized the Rhine as the boundary of France, in which was of course included the surrender of the Low Countries; he agreed to give up the strong fortress of Mainz, and consented to France keeping the Ionian islands. It was agreed that the Cisalpine Republic should consist of Romagna, the Legations, the duchy of Modena, Lombardy, the Valteline, and the territories of Bergamo, Brescia, and Mantua, as far as the Adige. The emperor agreed to give the Breisgau to the duke of Modena, in place of his duchy. The emperor received Dalmatia, Istria, and the rest of the Venetian territory in Italy as far as the Po and the Adige, with the city of Venice, which was thus handed over without her consent, to indemnify the emperor for his losses. Berthier and Monge set out to Paris on the 18th with the treaty, and the Directory ratified it. They had no good reason to be dissatisfied with the terms, though Bonaparte had disobeyed his orders with respect to Venice. Talleyrand was very complimentary to Bonaparte: in a letter which he wrote after the arrival of the treaty at Paris, he could hardly find terms sufficient to express his admiration of the "peace-making general." It was one of the conditions of the peace of Campo Formio, that Lafayette should be released from his five years' captivity at Olmütz.

About fourteen days after the revolution of Fructidor, Hoche died at the age of twenty-nine years. He was now the commander of the united army of the Sambre and the Meuse and of the Rhine, which was called the army of Germany. There were rumours that he died by poison, but it is said that he was worn out partly by fatigue and partly by his mode of life. Some attributed his death to the Directory, without any evidence at all. The Directory, in a letter to Bonaparte, while he was in Italy, accused the royalist conspirators of poisoning him, or at least threw it out as a probability. His obsequies, which were celebrated in the Champ-de-Mars, were one of the great spectacles of the Revolution. He was interred without any Christian ceremonial, as if France was no longer Christian. The 'Chant du Départ' and the 'Marseillaise' were the hymns which accompanied the general to his grave. His father was the chief mourner. The President of the Directory said on the occasion, "Let the Republic be our idol, the Constitution of the year III. our holy ark;" and yet the Directory had lately laid sacrilegious hands upon it. Hoche rose from the ranks in the French Guards to the position of a general of the Republic, and he educated himself. He had great talents, and was humane and generous. He was ambitious too, and his premature death removed one who might have been a rival of Bonaparte, and yet a true republican. He never had a theatre worthy of his talents. He crossed the Rhine at Neuwied, and gained a victory at the head of the army of the Sambre and Meuse; but the preliminaries of Leoben stopped his advance. Placed in the command of the army of Germany after the 18th Fructidor, after Moreau was superseded, a brilliant career seemed open to him, which his sudden death interrupted. The Directory gave the command of the army of Germany to Augereau, and thus got rid of a man who was beginning to be troublesome, and had no qualities to recommend him except those of a rough soldier.*

* The estimate of Hoche by Thiers seems to be just and judicious. 'Hist. de la Rév. Française, Directoire,' 1797.

CHAPTER LXI.

ROME AND THE POPE.

A Congress was summoned at Rastadt, in the present duchy of Baden, for the final settlement of the affairs of Germany and peace with France. Bonaparte was named by the Directory as a commissioner for the Republic, with Bonnier and Treilhard. Before he left Italy he had taken the precaution to stipulate that the Austrian troops should not enter Palma Nova until the French were in possession of Mainz. Bonaparte passed through Turin, where he was well received by the king of Sardinia; and in his progress from Turin through Switzerland to Rastadt, he received the congratulations of the Vaudois. Everybody was eager to see the victorious general. He showed his imperious temper immediately on his arrival at Rastadt, by refusing to acknowledge Fersen, whom Sweden had sent as her representative to the Congress, on the ground of Fersen's former connection with the French court. But the tedium of diplomatic negotiations did not suit Bonaparte; and after exchanging the ratifications of the treaty of Campo Formio, and making the necessary arrangements for the occupation of Mainz by the French, he set out for Paris. He arrived there on the

5th of December, and went to a house which he had purchased in the Rue Chantereine, afterwards called Rue de la Victoire. But all Paris were impatient to see the man whose unbounded ambition and pride were concealed beneath a modest and unassuming exterior, partly the result of deep calculation and dissimulation, partly of contempt for everybody and everything. Talleyrand, henceforth the great master of political ceremonies, presented Bonaparte to the Directory; and a splendid fête was prepared for the reception of the general and the treaty of Campo Formio. The place was the great court of the Luxembourg, and the day the 10th of December. The Directory, the public functionaries, and an immense number of spectators, took their seats and impatiently waited the arrival of the general, whose very person was a stranger to some of them. An altar was raised in the middle of the court to the Patrie, to France, over which hung the colours taken from the enemy. Talleyrand introduced him to the sound of cannon. The sensation that was produced by Bonaparte's appearance was long remembered. Slender and pale, with a fiery eye and an antique cast of face, there was something that announced a man whose mission was to command and not to obey; one, of whom Paoli, his countryman, is reported to have said, when he was a boy, "Thou art one of the men of Plutarch, a man of the antient times." The simplicity of his dress and manner formed a striking contrast with his reputation. The Directory, the five kings of the Luxembourg, seated on an elevated platform, felt themselves shrink into insignificance before the conqueror of Italy, the founder of Republics. Talleyrand made an address in a style intended to flatter Bonaparte, though he declared that the glory of the general belonged not to him, but to the Revolution, and to the armies of the Great Nation. If he had not concerted his speech with Bonaparte, he knew how to flatter him in the way most agreeable to his ambitious views. He spoke of his detestation of luxury and splendour, his love of the sciences, his fondness for Ossian, because those sublime compositions detached his thoughts from the earth. "Ah," said Talleyrand, "far from fearing what some might choose to call his ambition, I feel that it will perhaps some day be necessary for us to solicit him, in order to withdraw him from the charms of his studious retirement: all France will be free; perhaps he never will be: such is his destiny." That which Talleyrand called his ambition was already known and feared; and the wily minister, whose penetration has never been surpassed, foresaw the destiny which he thus shadowed forth in mysterious and oracular words. Bonaparte replied in a brief address, which consisted of short sentences, unconnected, disjointed, without any effort at embellishment. He concluded by saying, "I have the honour to present to you the treaty signed at Campo Formio, and ratified by his majesty the emperor. Peace secures the liberty, the prosperity, and the glory of the Republic. When the happiness of the French people shall be founded on better organic laws, Europe will become free." Barras replied in a diffuse and tedious harangue, and concluded with inviting the conqueror of Italy to go and gather fresh laurels in England. A hymn by Chénier was sung; and Joubert, who had commanded in the Tyrol, and Andréossy, a distinguished officer of artillery, then came forward, bearing the colours which the Directory had given to the army of Italy at the close of the war. They were covered with a long inscription in letters of gold, which recorded the triumphs of the army; and among other exploits, the artistic robberies of Bonaparte,—the masterpieces of Michael-Angelo, Guercino, Titian, Raphael, and others; and the victories gained in eighteen pitched battles, beginning with Montenotte, and ending with Neumarckt. Joubert and Andréossy made their addresses, to which Barras replied; and the generals received the embrace of the president of the Directory. When Barras was embracing Bonaparte, the other four directors, by a kind of involuntary movement, threw themselves into the arms of the general-in-chief.*

The Directory appointed Berthier general-in-chief of the army of Italy; Hoche and Moreau were replaced by Augereau and Hatry, and Bonaparte was to command the army of England. Whether the Directory seriously entertained the project of a descent upon the shores of Great Britain may be doubted; but it served them as a pretext for getting money, and the Councils decreed a loan of thirty millions. Patriotic gifts were also made, as in times past, and many of them were accompanied with energetic addresses.

The 18th Fructidor had destroyed the influence of the Councils, who gave the Directory all the power that they asked for. New functionaries were placed in the departments which had been subjected to the decrees that immediately followed the late Revolution; and the military commissions were employed about the emigrants who had re-entered France. There were executions in several places, but it was observed that those cruel measures were applied generally to obscure persons. The laws as to deportation were put in execution against the priests who had not taken the constitutional oath. It was even proposed in the Five Hundred to banish from the Republic all nobles, of every class, but this was not carried. Some of the journals observed that the measure would apply to Barras and to Bonaparte. Barras was a noble, but it does not appear that Bonaparte had any nobility except what he conferred on himself. It was, however, decreed by the two Councils, that all ex-nobles should be in the same condition as foreigners; and, in

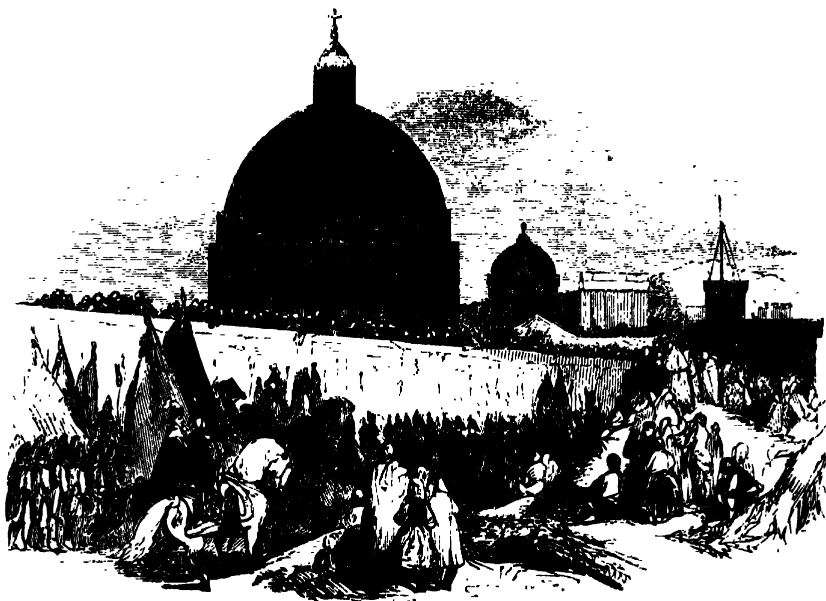
* "Let us not," said Thiers, "blame the weakness of our fathers; this glory reaches us only through the midst of the clouds of time and of misfortunes, and yet it transports us. Let us say with Æschylus, 'What would it have been if we had seen the monster himself?'" The French are peculiarly unfortunate in their classical allusions. Thiers, or his printer, is here guilty of the mistake of putting Æschylus for Æschines, (Pliny, 'Epist.,' ii., 3.)—See Thibaudeau, 'Mém.,' ii., c. 32, and Mdle. de Staël, 'Considérations,' &c., on the reception of Bonaparte at Paris.

order to obtain the rights of French citizens, they were required to conform to the terms of the tenth article of the Constitution, which determined the manner in which foreigners might become Frenchmen.

On the 14th of Brumaire the Councils fixed the budget for the year VI. at 616 millions, of which more than two-thirds were appropriated to the army and navy. The expenses of the Directory were fixed at somewhat more than 2,700,000 francs. The army was fixed at the complement of 528,000 men, and 82,000 horses; and the navy at 23,000 artillery-men, 55,000 sailors, and 20,000 workmen. The taxes were not sufficient for this enormous establishment, notwithstanding the supplies from Italy. The consolidated debt was reduced by two-thirds, in place of which two-thirds notes were given, which were receivable in the purchase of national property. The stamp-duties were increased, and stamps were placed on the journals; the duty on foreign tobacco was increased; lotteries were again established; and a tax on roads. Great Britain and France were running the same career; loans and fresh taxes were the chief financial operations in both countries. War is an expensive game for all parties: and it brings in its train lavish expenditure.

The Council of Five Hundred had removed its sittings to the Palais Bourbon. Having now little or nothing to do, they discussed about their costumes, and the debates were warm. They were like a council of women met to set the fashions. The members of the Councils assumed the senatorial purple of the Romans, a sort of burlesque of the antique, which made them ridiculous: "the Directory had the dress of chivalry or of feudality, and the Councils that of Greece or Rome: nothing was more grotesque than La Réveillère in this dress (he was deformed), nothing more ridiculous than certain deputies under this drapery. The Directors thought themselves Bayards, and the representatives, Aristides and Catos; the mantles of chivalry and the antique draperies were more favourable to painting and sculpture; and there might be a director or a deputy who was not insensible to the pleasure of being transmitted to posterity by the chisel of Houdon or the pencil of David" (Thibaudeau).

The state of France at this period is well depicted by Thibaudeau. At the elections for the year VI. he went out of the legislative body, to resume his profession of an advocate. But it was necessary to have the sanction of the minister of police. He looked for the law which required this formality, and found none; but it was useless to make this objection. After some difficulty he got admission to the minister, who told him that he must prefer his petition in writing. He sent it in writing; a few days afterwards he was informed that it must be on stamped paper. He sent it on stamped paper; but the chief clerk of this department informed him that it must be registered. He went to register it, but the clerk would not open the door. Thibaudeau had taken the precaution to have a deputy with him. "I am a representative," said Thibaudeau's friend. "Ah, that makes a difference,"



ENTRY OF THE FRENCH INTO ROME.

replied the clerk, and the petition was registered, and he was told to take it to the sécrétariat-général, whence it would be sent to the proper office. His troubles did not end even here. This is enough to show the absurd restrictions which, after a violent revolution, were established under the reign of liberty. France had a constitution, and a man could not reside and practise as an advocate in Paris without the consent of a minister.

In January, 1798, the French soldiers evacuated Venice, and the Austrians took possession of the city and of the territory as far as the Adige. The Venetians were not acquainted with the articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, and the democrats were rejoicing in the prospects of a real Republic. But Bonaparte had sold them, and the only favour he did Venice was, to deliver it up naked and defenceless. The arsenal and dockyards were stripped by general Serrurier, the ships of war sent to sea, and those that were not sea-worthy were broken up or sunk. The new municipality were indignant at the treachery of their republican allies, from whom the inhabitants of the mainland had suffered so much, and to whom they had made heavy contributions. Bonaparte, unfeeling and regardless of everything except the object that he aimed at, after returning from Passeriano to Milan, at the close of 1797, simply informed Villetard, the French chargé d'affaires at Milan, that the French troops must quit Venice, and that the Austrians would enter: and in reply to a letter of remonstrance from Villetard as to part of his orders, he said, that the Venetians were not fit for liberty, but that they might defend themselves if they chose.

The Pope was busily employed in raising the money which he had promised to pay; and the opulent Roman families contributed largely towards the contributions. The French government was a pitiless creditor, and the demands for money were frequent and urgent. The French ambassador at Rome was Joseph Bonaparte, the eldest brother of Napoleon, who had begun his career of fortune by marrying the daughter of a wealthy merchant of Marseille. The ambassador's palace at Rome was a centre for all those whose heads were exalted by revolutionary ideas; and besides other foreigners, there were many young Frenchmen now at Rome, who came to study the arts, but were more occupied with propagating democracy. The papal government complained to the French ambassador of the public preaching of revolutionary doctrines by his countrymen; but the ambassador took no notice of the complaints. On the 28th of December, 1797, a number of armed Italians, headed, it is said, by some Frenchmen, and wearing the tri-colour cockade, showed themselves in the streets. The ambassador did not encourage this demonstration, which it was evident would result in nothing. According to some accounts, the papal troops dispersed the insurgents, some of whom fled for refuge to the ambassador's palace, but the gates were not opened to them. The ambassador and general Duphot came out, and placed themselves in front of the insurgents, probably to save their lives, or to cover their escape. Whether Duphot provoked the papal troops or not, seems uncertain, but they fired, and he fell dead. Even the court of the embassy was forced, but the papal troops went no further. The papal government is charged by some writers with taking no notice of this affair for many hours; though it appears that cardinal Giuseppe Doria made a speedy apology to the French ambassador, and he wrote also to the same effect to the papal representative at Rome. But the ambassador would accept no excuse, and he immediately withdrew to Florence, whence he addressed a letter to the Directory about the affair at Rome, which even some French historians do not hesitate to call a mass of lies.* The Directory replied by ordering general Berthier, who was now at the head of the army which occupied the March of Ancona, to advance upon Rome. He encamped under the walls on the 29th of January, 1798. His instructions were, to listen to no offers of negotiation—a fact which is sufficient evidence against the French and their ambassador; for the death of the French general could not be alleged as an act of treachery or of hostility to the French, since it took place during the suppression of an insurrection against the papal government. Berthier was very unwilling to undertake the march against Rome, but he discharged his mission with as little severity as he could. He entered the eternal city, without meeting with any resistance, on the 15th of February, 1798. The restoration of the Roman Republic was proclaimed by the citizens assembled in the Campo Vaccino; and Rome had a Directory of seven members, whose secretary was a Frenchman, once a curé of Versailles, an apostate, and one who voted for the king's death. Like hungry birds of prey, Jews and agents of the Directory followed the army to purchase the plunder. Berthier soon left for Paris, and Masséna, who was greedy and unprincipled, succeeded to the command. There was no murder, it is said, but there was pillage without restraint; and the chief robbers were the superior officers. They laid their hands on every thing that they could find: the Vatican, the palaces, the villas, the churches were rummaged. Pictures, statues, works of antient art, sacred vessels, and priestly vestments were seized. A flock of Republican vultures descended upon the regenerated Roman capitol, and plundered to the tune of the Marseillaise. The horse of Marcus Aurelius had the tri-colour cockade fixed on his ears.

The pope, a venerable man of fourscore years, was treated with studied indignity. All his private property was taken, even to his pontifical vestments. A Swiss Calvinist, who accompanied the army, named Haller, stripped the pope even of the rings of his fingers. His pastoral staff was taken from him, and sent to the

* It seems impossible to ascertain the truth as to such events as these in the history of the French Revolution. The unfairness of the narrative of Thiers may be detected under his glozing phrases and his suppressions.

Directory. It was proposed to him to assume the tri-colour cockade, with the promise of a pension for life; but he refused both the cockade and the money. He was hurried from the Vatican on the 20th February, in a dark and stormy night, and carried into Tuscany. In the midst of all his sufferings and ill health he preserved his firmness and his dignity. The Directory required the duke of Tuscany to banish him from his states, and his refusal cost him his dukedom. The pope was finally taken through Parma, Placentia, and Turin, and thence, through Briançon to Grenoble, carried across the Alps in a litter, half dead. The sufferings and constancy of the aged pontiff revived the Catholic feelings of France; the young girls of Grenoble, clothed in white, went out to meet him, and strewed the way to the city with crowns of flowers. Valence was his resting-place, where he died in August, 1799.*

The French army of Rome was in a miserable state. The pay of the soldiers and officers was in arrear, and the rich spoil, which some of the French historians consider as booty of war, ought to have been sold to pay the army; but the soldiers and inferior officers got nothing, and the prey was the profit of a few. There was a mutiny against Masséna, and some of the officers, who met in a church, declared that they would not serve under him. The lower classes, who had taken little part in the Revolution, were disposed to rise upon the French, and Masséna led his troops out of Rome, after putting a garrison in the castle of St. Angelo. The Directory recalled the man of pillage, and sent four commissioners, one of whom was Monge, to organize the revived Republic. Masséna was ashamed of himself, and justly feared that he should be punished. He wrote to Bonaparte, saying, "What will become of me, my general? I have recourse to your kindness; an embassy would save me the unpleasantness of returning to France for some time. I have nothing to reproach myself with: but public opinion— " These hypocritical professions are characteristic of the French Revolution.

A group of Republics,† among the ancient governments of Europe, fenced in by mountains, rivers, and lakes, had hitherto felt little of the violence of the Revolution, though one of them, Geneva, from its proximity to France, had been in danger (1792). The Swiss had cause of complaint in the early years of the Revolution, but there were many reasons for keeping quiet: and when the war broke out in 1792, between France, Prussia, and Austria, the cantons declared themselves neutral. The French had infringed the neutrality of Switzerland, by taking possession of the bishopric of Bâle, for the bishop was an ally of some of the Swiss cantons, and under the protection of the confederation. French revolutionary ideas made their way into Switzerland, and there were agents ready to propagate them. In 1794, Geneva had its reign of terror, like that of France; but in the following year the old constitution was re-established, and the citizenship was given to all the natives of the canton. After the 18th Fructidor, 1797, the Directory, having got rid of Barthélemy, who was liked by the Swiss, and was well disposed towards them, turned their eyes upon Switzerland. The invasion of Switzerland was a project of Rewbell, who was prompted by Bonaparte. The motives were, some supposed military advantages in the possession of Switzerland, but the deposits of money known to exist at Bern, Zürich, and other Swiss towns, was the temptation.* A pretext for entering Switzerland was found in the relation of the Pays de Vaud to the canton of Bern, of which Vaud was a subject; and near the close of 1797 the Directory took up the petition of some emigrants from Vaud, who were at Paris, and signified their intention to protect them in the maintenance or recovery of their rights, by virtue of certain antient treaties. French troops also advanced to the frontiers of Vaud, while another body of French occupied Bienne and Neuville, close to the frontier of Bern. A message from the Directory commanded the government of Bern to send away Wickham, the English minister, who, to prevent all further trouble on this head, withdrew to Frankfort. This only made the Directory more insolent, and one demand came after another. Switzerland had already experienced what the French might do; for Bonaparte, before he left Italy, separated the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio from the Grisons, on which canton they were dependent, and attached them to his new Cisalpine Republic. The French had an agent at Bâle, one Mengaud, a relation of Rewbell, who was employed in disseminating republican notions according to the French pattern. The diet of the confederation was sitting at Aarau, in January, 1798, when the members swore, each in the name of his canton, to maintain their alliances, and to protect one another; but they separated without taking any measures to meet the approaching storm. Many of the deputies soon after assembled in Bern, and the force of the confederation, amounting to 26,000 men, was ordered out. But the French had already revolutionized the Pays de Vaud, from which General Ménard, with 15,000 men from the army of Italy, had driven away the authorities of Bern. He established a provisional government at Lausanne, which he pretended was done with the approbation of the people, though it is certain that a very small minority were in favour of the change. The irresolution of the authorities of Bern hastened their ruin: they made apologies and explanations to the French Directory. They also appointed a commission to draw up a plan of a new constitution, the basis of which was to be equal rights to all. Many other of the town cantons followed the example of Bern. But the

* Poujoulat, ii., 294, &c.

† Vieusseux's 'History of Switzerland,' Period vi.

* Thiers ridicules the notion. Perhaps the direct object was to revolutionize Switzerland, but the object was to raise money too, at least to feed part of the army at the expense of other people: money was sent to Paris also.

French were not satisfied with this; they wanted a general revolution in Switzerland,—the establishment of a republic, one and indivisible. The whole country was in a state of ferment. Ménard was succeeded in the command in Switzerland by General Brune, who arrived at Lausanne in February, 1798. Brune was a man of courage, but he was also a man of duplicity and cunning. He had passed through various fortunes: first of all a compositor in a printing-office, he had been a journalist on the monarchical side, a Jacobin, a friend of Danton, an officer under Dumouriez in Belgium, a terrorist, a protégé of Barras, and a general of division in Italy. He was peculiarly fitted for a mission which required craft and dissimulation: he parleyed, and affected to negotiate; he said that he had no object but to secure the happiness of Switzerland by a better political organization. The Bernese troops were commanded by D'Erlach, a brave officer, but his movements and the ardour of his troops were paralyzed by the irresolution of the government of Bern; and the French emissaries sowed disaffection among the Swiss soldiers by making them believe that their government was going to sell them. Brune was only seeking to gain time, and when his force was raised to 45,000 men, he showed his hostile intentions. At the beginning of March he attacked Freiburg, and the Bernese who were posted at this place fell back on the frontiers of their own canton. On the 5th of March Brune attacked the Swiss under General Graffenried, at Laupen, on the Saane, between Freiburg and Bern, but he was driven back. D'Erlach, however, was defeated by a French division under Schauenberg at Frauenbrunnen; and the Swiss troops were finally collected close to Bern. A bloody battle was fought before the city, in which women and peasants, mingled in the ranks, made a desperate but unavailing resistance against the French artillery and cavalry. Bern surrendered, and all the gold and silver in the treasury, to the amount of thirty millions of francs, was seized by Brune;* he took off all the cannon, arms, and ammunition, which was sent to France. Some of the guns were sent to Toulon, and were used by Bonaparte in his Egyptian expedition. Brune, who is said to have filled his own pockets with the plunder of Bern, was rewarded by being promoted to the command of the army of Italy, and Schauenberg remained in command in Switzerland. A fresh agent, Le Carlier, a former member of the Convention, was sent to Switzerland by the Directory, who began with imposing a heavy contribution on Freiburg and Bern. Zürich had no quarrel with the French, and it changed its constitution; but this did not save it from a visit and a contribution. A vigorous resistance was made to the French in the mountain cantons of Schwyz, Uri, Glaris, and Zug, and the French lost several thousand men. But courage was overpowered by numbers, and the brave mountaineers were compelled to submit. Before the end of July, a new constitution for the Helvetic Republic was proclaimed at Aarau, which comprised all Switzerland except the Grisons, who were too near the Austrian territory to be compelled to join it. They were invited, but they declined the invitation. In October there was a French envoy at Chur, the capital of the Grisons, who was endeavouring to teach the people the true republican doctrine, and a French division was ready to enter the country as soon as all was ready for them. But the Grisons called in the Austrians, whose troops came and wintered in the country.

Holland was distracted by various parties, constitutionalists, Orangists or favourers of the Stadtholder, federalists or partisans of the old provincial divisions, and furious Jacobins. The national assembly had been unable to frame a constitution, and General Joubert, who had commanded under Bonaparte in Italy, and Delacroix, former minister for foreign affairs, were sent to help them. Joubert commanded the army of Holland. Some deputies, who had protested against the acts of the Assembly, met at an hotel (22nd of January, 1798), and there, with the aid of the French troops, they performed the 18th Fructidor over again. They excluded some members from the assembly, imprisoned others, and formed the assembly into a kind of convention. In a few days a constitution like that of France was framed and set in motion. There was a Directory, and a legislative body, which seemed at this time to be considered the perfection of political organization.

France was now surrounded by a number of republics, whose movements, like those of satellites, were to be subservient to the bright planet, which was the centre. On the north was the Batavian republic, bordering on Belgium, now a part of France; on the south-east the Helvetic Republic; along the Riviera, and planted on the sea, was the Ligurian Republic, once the republic of Genoa; and the Cisalpine, which Bonaparte had constructed in Italy. The Roman states, too, had been regenerated: the Roman Republic was revived and pillaged at the same time. Venice was extinct.

The interior of France had never been tranquil since the 18th of Fructidor. There were insurrections in the department of Gard, at Carpentras, and at Tarascon; robbery and assassination were not uncommon. On the 4th Pluviose the Directory, upon a report of the minister of general police, declared Lyon and the three suburbs of La Croix-Rousse, Guillotière, and Vaise in a state of siege. This measure was founded on the allegation, among others, of leaders of the companies of Jesus and of the Sun, assassins of the south, deserters, and robbers, having found shelter in Lyon and its suburbs. Many other communes were declared in a state of siege for like reasons. The Directory suppressed every journal that displeased them, whether

* "It was only eight millions," says Thiers: "the French seized the funds of the government, which is the ordinary consequence, and the least disputed consequence of the law of war." He explains in his own way how the quarrel arose: "it was in Switzerland that all plots devised against the French Republic had been formed."

it was a royalist journal or not; two-and-twenty is stated as the number which was suppressed. The Directory at first allowed the clubs a show of liberty, but when they discovered that the opinion of the clubs was against them, they shut up those where the members spoke too freely, but they did not venture to close all. The elections for the year VI. were very tumultuous; many of the electoral colleges split, and each part named deputies. The Directorials were alarmed. The republicans placed their hopes on the arrival of the new members to the legislative body. On 13th Floréal, the Directory sent a message to the Five Hundred, which began in these terms: "You have requested the Directory to inform you of the circumstances which have accompanied the elections of the year VI., and to inform you of the plans which the anarchists have adopted to make themselves masters of them." The anarchists were described to be the men who, on the 8th of Thermidor, were the agents of Robespierre, and who, since the 9th of Thermidor, had figured in all the movements, and joined in all the plots. Bailleul, who did the work of the Directory in the Five Hundred, made a report, in the name of the Five, on the measures to be taken with respect to the elections of the year VI., a great number of which it was proposed to annull; and the proposal of the committee of Five was adopted, article by article.* The antients confirmed the measure of the Five Hundred on the 22nd of Floréal, whence it was called the law, or the coup-d'état of 22nd of Floréal. François de Neufchâteau retired from the Directory, and was replaced by Treilhard, who was one of the plenipotentiaries at Rastadt. Jean Debry took Treilhard's place at Rastadt.

* The project of the commission is printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxvii., 488. It was a very arbitrary proceeding. The elections made at Paris by a minority sitting at the Institut were declared valid, and those made by a majority sitting at the Oratoire were declared null.

CHAPTER LXII.

EGYPT.

Bonaparte was at Paris, with nothing to do, a position which, to his restless spirit, was intolerable, and a cause of anxiety to the Directory, who feared him. An invasion of England was talked of, and Bonaparte was appointed to the command of the army of England. In February, 1798, he made a rapid inspection of the coast from Boulogne to Antwerp, and then returned to Paris. He had at that time no serious thoughts of invading England, which was an enterprise that promised more danger than glory. He had long had another favourite scheme, the occupation of Egypt, and had written about it to the Directory when he was in Italy. Talleyrand approved of it; and early in 1798 the Directory gave Bonaparte full powers for preparing the expedition. The conquest of Egypt suited Bonaparte's taste; it was an antient land, a country of the east, full of historical recollections, the key of the Red Sea, the high road to India, which it would open to the French. The expedition was kept a great secret. Bonaparte recruited all that would serve his purpose, officers, soldiers, artists, men of letters, mathematicians, naturalists. He took general Menou with him, as if to show his contempt of the Directory, who had disgraced him, on account of the affair of the 13th Vendémiaire. Kléber, who detested Bonaparte, accepted a command under him, "to see," as he said in his coarse way, "what the little blackguard had in his belly." He sailed from Toulon on the 19th of May, with thirteen vessels of the line, numerous frigates and corvettes, and four hundred transports,—in all, near five hundred sail whitened the ocean. The heights about Toulon and the shores were covered with spectators, and resounded with the shouts of the army and the sound of cannon.* Admiral Brueys commanded the fleet, which got safe out of Toulon, as the English blockading squadron had been blown away. It carried above 40,000 men, besides sailors, and a number of savants, whose names have become illustrious in Europe.† On the 9th of June, Bonaparte's fleet appeared before Malta, which the French designed to seize; and Bonaparte, who never scrupled to avail himself of intrigue, had already, by an agent, prepared the knights of Malta to surrender. La Valletta and the forts, with all the formidable artillery and the ammunition, were given up to the French; and the Order made over the sovereignty of the island and of Gozo to the French Republic. They had the means of making resistance at least till the arrival of Nelson's fleet, which was looking after the French.

Nelson, who suspected that the expedition was destined for Egypt, reached the coast before the French, but not finding them there, he sailed away. It is said that the two fleets actually crossed on the night of the 22nd of June, during hazy weather. So narrowly did the whole French armament escape destruction. Bonaparte reached Egypt on the 1st of July, and landing his troops, attacked Alexandria. Yet the sultan was at peace with France, and there was a French chargé-d'affaires at Constantinople, and a Turkish ambassador

* Compare the departure of the ill-fated Athenian expedition to Sicily. (Thucydides, vi., 30, &c.)

† There is a list of the savants in Poujoulat, ii., p. 311.

at Paris. Alexandria was taken by assault. Bonaparte told the people that he was come to release them from the tyranny of the Mamlooks, who, under their beys, were the real governors and oppressors of the country, of which the sultan was the nominal lord. The Mamlooks formed a numerous and formidable body of cavalry, equipped in splendid style. Kléber, who was wounded at the assault of Alexandria, was left there with 8,000 men; Menou occupied Rosetta. The main body of the army marched towards Cairo, the capital of Egypt, above one hundred miles distant from Alexandria. Their course was through Damanhour, to the west bank of the Nile; and a flotilla from Rosetta ascended the river. The soldiers had expected to find in Egypt the promised land, but they came at a season when all was bare and desolate. To their right was the still and silent desert, without trees, without verdure, without water. Before them lay a dreary flat, parched with a burning sun; they marched beneath a cloudless sky, from which not a drop of rain descended. On the left was the dull yellow stream of the Nile. It was a country of ruins, and nature herself seemed to be dead. The army was dispirited and mutinous, and it required all the enthusiasm and arts of the commander-in-chief to keep up the drooping courage of his officers and his men. At Rahmanieh, on the Nile, the army found the flotilla; and on the 13th of July the French came in sight of the Mamlook cavalry at Chebreis, commanded by Mourad-Bey. The Mamlooks despised the French infantry; they thought that they should sweep from the earth these little men, whose arms were only the musket and the bayonet. The French formed in squares, with their artillery at the angles, and the Mamlooks fell upon them with the fury of a tempest. But the terrible discharge of fire-arms, and the serried front of steel, taught them that they had a new kind of enemy to contend with; they retreated before these living fortresses, leaving several hundred dead on the field, and a rich booty for the conquerors. A dead Mamlook was a prize, for he was richly caparisoned, and he carried his money at his belt. On the 21st of July the army was in sight of the great pyramids of Jizeh. On the west bank of the Nile, and opposite to Cairo, at a place called Embabeh, Mourad-Bey had formed an entrenched camp, constructed with no skill. A large flotilla and a frigate protected the enemy's camp on the river-side. Twelve thousand Mamlooks, all well mounted, formed the centre; and the left, consisting of 8,000 mounted Bedouins, rested under the platform on which the pyramids stand. "Soldiers," said Bonaparte, pointing to the pyramids, "forty centuries look down upon you." Before the French, on the other side of the river, were the minarets of Cairo, the wealthy entrepôt which promised them a rich reward after their painful march. Mourad-Bey and his Mamlooks came like lightning on the French, and fell upon the square commanded by Desaix. They were received by musketry and grape; and after a fruitless attempt to break this square, they fell on that commanded by Regnier; but all their courage and impetuosity were unavailing against the discipline of the Franks. The defeat of the Mamlooks secured the victory; the camp was stormed, and the men driven into the river. Many hundreds of the brave Mamlooks were killed, and more were drowned in the Nile. For several days after the battle, the French soldiers were fishing up the dead bodies, in order to strip them. Mourad-Bey fled into Upper Egypt, whither he was followed by the division under general Desaix. Ibrahim-Bey, who watched the battle from the other side of the river, fled towards Syria. Mourad-Bey set fire to his flotilla on the river, and a rich booty was thus lost to the French.

The day after the battle Bonaparte crossed the river and entered Cairo (25th of July). He affected to treat the natives with great clemency; he told them that he came to deliver them from the oppression of the Mamlooks. "Fear not," he said, "for your families, your houses, and your property, and above all for the religion of the Prophet, to which I am a friend." He formed a divan of the sheiks and ulemas in order to organise the administration. The army found rest and abundance in the great city of Cairo, and conducted themselves tolerably well. The Arabs admired the wonderful general whose fire had dispersed the invincible cavalry of Egypt, and thanks were given in the mosques for their deliverers who had come from the west. But the rejoicings of the French were interrupted by an unexpected calamity. Admirable Brueys, not being able, or not venturing, to take his fleet into the neglected harbour of Alexandria, had moored it in the Bay of Aboukir, where Nelson attacked Brueys on the 1st of August. After a terrible conflict, the admiral's ship, the Orient, exploded, and Brueys and his men were blown into the air: eight vessels struck, two made their escape, and of two others which went aground, one was burnt and the other was taken. The carnage was tremendous: the French probably lost two thousand men, and their fleet was destroyed and dispersed. Bonaparte, with his usual want of generosity and disregard to truth, threw all the blame on Brueys, and he affirmed that he had given him orders to sail for Corfu, but there is good reason for disbelieving his statement. Bonaparte was not discouraged by the loss: "We must," he said, "do great things; we will do them: we must found an empire; we will found it." The French fortified Jizeh, and repaired the citadel of Cairo. The Institut of Egypt was formed, and established at one of the palaces of Cairo. The savants, who accompanied Bonaparte, explored the antiquities of Egypt, measured the pyramids, and made drawings of the wonderful monuments of the country. The soil, the climate, the natural products, the zoology, were carefully examined; and thus was laid the foundation of the great work on Egypt, which, whatever may be its imperfections and errors, is a lasting monument of the French occupation of Egypt.

The Christians of Egypt expected the favour of

Bonaparte; they thought it was a Christian army and a Christian general that had overthrown the followers of Mohammed. But Bonaparte knew that he could not maintain tranquillity in Egypt without maintaining the religion of the country, and he paid his respects to the muftis and imans. He professed his admiration of their faith and their prophet: he even talked of becoming a Mussulman, which he certainly never intended; but General Menou embraced the faith of Mohammed. Menou was a weak man, who thought that one religion was as good as another, and that as a Mussulman his administrative business would be easier. The season for the rising of the Nile was come, and Bonaparte accompanied the Mussulman priests to the Nilometer in the isle of Roudah, near Cairo. But the good understanding of the French general and of the natives was interrupted by the news that the Sultan had declared war against France. Bonaparte had kept up the delusion of his being a friend of the Sultan by allowing the Turkish flag to wave by the side of the French flag, but the declaration of war was a proof that he had been lying to the Egyptians. On the 21st of October an insurrection broke out in Cairo, in which some Frenchmen were killed; but the rising was put down in a few days, not without a great massacre of the Mussulmans; and many who were taken prisoners were beheaded, and their bodies thrown in sacks into the Nile.

Jezzar, as he was called, the pasha of Acre, received the sultan's orders to commence hostilities against the French, and he seized El Arish, on the frontiers of Egypt. In February, 1799, Bonaparte, with about 12,000 men, marched upon El Arish, which surrendered; on the 25th of February he took Gaza in Syria, and early in March, Jaffa was stormed. The garrison of Jaffa, to the number of three thousand men, were made prisoners, and the French did not know what to do with them. To have turned them loose unarmed would not have been any great risk to the French, but it was decided in a council of war that they should all be shot. They were led to a sandhill near the sea, and despatched with the musket and the bayonet. Bonaparte had written to the Pasha of Acre, to ask him to become his friend, but the Pasha shut himself up in his fortifications, where he was strengthened by Sir Sidney Smith and two English ships of war, which were anchored in the gulf of Acre. On the 18th of March the French commenced the siege of Acre without any heavy artillery; the place was well defended, and every assault thinned the numbers of the besiegers. An army from Damascus crossed the Jordan to relieve Acre, and in the plain of Esdraelon, between mounts Hermon and Tabor, Kléber, with a small force, had to resist the attack of 30,000 Mussulmans, against whom he bravely maintained his ground till Bonaparte and Murat came to his assistance, and the enemy was completely routed. Bonaparte passed the night at the convent of Nazareth (18th of April,) and was present at the celebration of a Te Deum in the church of Nazareth.

The French had made repeated attempts to storm Acre, and had sustained great loss: there was no prospect of taking the place, for it had received reinforcements, and a Turkish fleet was conveying troops to Egypt, which was in a disturbed state. Bonaparte retreated from Acre on the night of the 21st of May. He fired all the country in his rear; the path of the retreating army was a scene of desolation. He had not horses enough to carry all the sick and wounded, and those who were unable to walk dropped one by one on the way. The convent of Carmel had been made into an hospital, and the sick, on hearing that their comrades were going to leave them, attempted to follow. They fell exhausted in the solitudes of Carmel, and the monks of St. Elias buried them in a cavern, which still contains the bones of these unfortunate soldiers. When the army reached Jaffa, there were many who were suffering under the plague, and it was impossible to remove them. Bonaparte remarked that it would be better to give them opium, to put them out of their misery, to which the physician Desgenettes replied that his business was to cure, and not to kill. The suggestion of Bonaparte may be the sole foundation of the story that poison was given to the sick soldiers; but many of those who were with the army believed that they were poisoned. At St. Helena he spoke of only about eleven sick at Jaffa; but his recollection cannot be trusted, nor his veracity. A recent French writer, who has travelled in Palestine, does not doubt the fact of the poisoning, and he makes the number of sick and wounded who were poisoned between three and four hundred.* Bonaparte lost about four thousand men in his Syrian expedition.

He entered Cairo as a victorious general. His exploits were magnified in his own proclamation: he spoke of his great victories, and said that he had destroyed Acre. His system of deception and falsehood served him for a time; but hypocrisy and falsehood were a bad foundation on which to rely for the regeneration of a country. On the 12th of July a Turkish fleet, accompanied by Sir Sidney Smith, anchored in the roads of Aboukir, and landed an army, variously estimated in number; some authorities make it as much as eighteen thousand. Bonaparte hurried from Cairo to Alexandria, and fell upon the Turks (25th of July), with all the force that he could collect. Murat, who commanded the French cavalry and received a wound, chiefly contributed to the victory. The Turks, who escaped the fire and sabres of the French, were driven into the sea, which was covered with their turbans. Several thousands perished in the waves; the artillery and baggage were the booty of the French.

Bonaparte received some files of papers, through a flag of truce, from Smith, which informed him of the distracted state of France and the reverses of the French arms. His brothers, Joseph and Lucien, who were members of the Council of Five Hundred, wrote to urge him to come home. It is said, however, that

* Poujoulat, 'Histoire de la Rév. Française,' ii., 362.

he set out before receiving any communication from them, though Joseph's letter was sent by a special messenger.* After making his arrangements at Cairo, and giving instructions to Kléber, whom he left in command, he embarked at Alexandria on the 24th of August, with Berthier, Lannes, Murat, Andréossy, Marmont, Berthollet, and Monge. There were two frigates and two smaller vessels, which admiral Gantheaume had got ready by his orders; and they all set sail without being seen by the English cruisers, which were driven off the coast by the wind. Bonaparte trusted to his fortune, and believed that his destiny was not yet accomplished. He had several narrow escapes during his Egyptian and Syrian campaign. He said to Menou shortly before he set sail, "I shall reach Paris, I will drive away this crowd of advocates, who insult me, and are incapable of governing. I will place myself at the head of the government, I will rally all parties, I will re-establish the Italian Republic, and I will consolidate this magnificent colony." His studies on the voyage were the Bible and the Koran. He landed at Fréjus on the 9th of October, 1799, and, in spite of the Quarantine Laws, a number of people, impatient to see him, came on board the vessels. He landed immediately; the telegraph forwarded the news of his arrival, and he hurried to Paris, amidst the rejoicings of all the towns which he passed through. On the 16th of October he was in his house in the Rue Chantereine.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 264. The editors believe that Bonaparte was summoned home by the Directory; but the fact is doubtful. 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 159.

CHAPTER LXIII.

THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE.

Though many of the newly-elected deputies for the year VI. had been declared to be excluded from the Legislative body by the measure of the 22nd of Floréal, it had not been completely carried into effect, and the Directory did not secure a majority in the council of Five Hundred. The finances, as usual, were the great difficulty. The Directory, on the 1st of Messidor, demanded 600 millions for the expenses of the year VII., and sent in an account of the expenditure for the year VI.; but an examination of the accounts showed there had been great mismanagement and dilapidation, and the exposure of this mal-administration by the reports of the committees caused a general burst of indignation. One of the reports (2nd of Fructidor in the year VI.) affirmed, that "there was no part of the public administration which immorality and corruption had not reached." The plan of a military conscription was decreed upon the report of General Jourdan, and it was calculated that it would place a million of men at the disposal of the executive: every man between the ages of twenty and twenty-five was liable to the conscription. The Five Hundred, having little to do, made an attempt to enforce the observance of the new Kalendar by coercive measures. The people still observed the Sunday; and the Catholic worship, which was kept up in many churches, contributed to the maintenance of this ancient usage. It was proposed to forbid all work on the Décadis. Lucien Bonaparte resolutely opposed the intolerance of the Five Hundred, and the proposed measures were not carried. There was no freedom of the press, for the dread of being suppressed acted as a censorship of the press, and the journals said nothing which might displease the Directory. On the 29th of Fructidor a measure was carried for establishing an octroi at Paris.

There was a general indignation against the higher classes,—that is, the rich at this period; a class of men who had made their fortunes by shameful means, by speculating on the national property, and in assignats, and by government contracts. Fouché, according to his own statement, laid the foundation of his great fortune by entering on this last branch of traffic under the patronage of Barras.* What was got by fraud was spent in dissolute living; and the period of the Directory is almost unrivalled in the annals of licentiousness. The rich class adopted everything that was odious and ridiculous in the antient régieme, and added something of their own grossness to it. The women in the fashionable saloons went half-naked, hardly veiled by a thin dress of gauze. Some of them ventured into public in this dress, but they were hissed and hooted. The physicians attempted to prove that it was dangerous for their health, for this seemed to be the only argument to convince those who could not listen to reasons of decency. The fashion, however, lasted during the reign of the Directory.†

The Directory, notwithstanding the loose morality

* So he says in the 'Mémoires' which are attributed to him (i., 32). The authenticity of these Mémoires has been disputed; but the internal evidence is in favour of the materials being Fouché's genuine work. A knave can hardly conceal himself.

† Songs were made on the occasion. One of them, which consists of seven stanzas, ends thus:

'Grâce à la mode,
On n'a rien de caché,
On n'a rien de caché,
Ah! que c'est commode!
On n'a rien de caché:
J'en suis fâché.'

which the example of Barras encouraged, had still some reputation for political ability. The establishment of peace, the re-appearance of specie, and good harvests, made the people more contented; and for all these things they gave the Directory credit, though in truth they had done nothing; and their imbecility and total want of principle were soon apparent to everybody. The occupation of Switzerland was accompanied with violence and plunder. Instead of attaching the new republic by moderation and justice, the Swiss were maltreated, robbed, and disgusted. A new agent to Switzerland, named Rapinat, a brother-in-law of Rewbell, was a merciless spoiler and tyrant; he was so bad, that even the Directory could not support him, and he was recalled.*

The negotiations at Rastadt went on slowly during 1798, and it was well known that they would end in nothing. The French were restless, and ready to interfere anywhere; and Austria only preserved the appearance of peace, for the emperor was treating with Russia and England, and recruiting his armies. The Cisalpine republic was in a state of anarchy. The Directory sent an agent, named Trouvé, to settle affairs, which he did in a manner; but he was replaced at Milan by another man, who now begins to make a figure—a former Jacobin, a merciless shedder of blood, a low vile flatterer of Barras, who had first put him in the way of growing rich, and now put him in the way of honour—Joseph Fouché. The Directory shortly after recalled Brune, and sent general Joubert to take his place. Fouché himself was recalled in a few days after his arrival at Milan;† and the Cisalpine republic for the present was settled according to Trouvé's arrangement.

Another attempt was made on Ireland by the Directory, who sent general Humbert, who landed on the 22nd August, 1798, with fifteen hundred men. The French relied on the country rising in their favour, and it was intended to send a reinforcement to Humbert, but it never came, and the French general, with his small force, was beaten and made prisoner by Lord Cornwallis (8th September). This miserable system of petty debarkations was not confined to the French; the English made a like attempt at Ostend, with the same ignominious result.

In the south of Italy the court of Naples was stirred to activity by the passions of a woman, the queen of Naples; and the king was induced by her to order an invasion of the Roman States, for the purpose of driving out the French. General Mack set out with forty or fifty thousand Neapolitans, and entered the Roman States, without any declaration of war being made. General Championnet, who had not sufficient force to resist the invasion, evacuated Rome, after leaving a garrison in the castle of St. Angelo; and he retired to a position on the Tiber between Cività Castellane and Cività Ducale. Mack entered Rome on the 29th of November, 1798, with the king of Naples; and the pope was invited to come and resume possession of his authority. Mack advanced from Rome upon the French position, and attacked it without success; and after losing a great part of his men in several actions, he retreated to Rome, and thence to the foot of the Alban hills; and general Championnet entered Rome again. Mack, with his army totally disorganized, fell back upon the line of the Voltorno, and placed his best troops in front of Capua. The king's hasty return to Naples, and the reverses of the army, caused an insurrection; and in the midst of the confusion the king and the court, with their jewels and their money, made their escape to Sicily (31st of December, 1798), in Nelson's fleet, which was in the bay of Naples. Championnet experienced a check from Mack before Capua, but being reinforced by the arrival of all his troops, he was enabled to impose his own terms, by which Mack agreed to give up a large portion of the kingdom of Naples, and to pay eight millions of money (11th January, 1798). The news of the capitulation, and the sight of the French commissioner, who came for the money, roused the Neapolitans to fury, and the capital fell into the hands of the lazzaroni, who chose the prince of Moliterno for their leader. Mack's army also mutinied, and the unfortunate general fled for refuge to the French camp. As the terms of the capitulation could not be executed, owing to the resistance of the Neapolitans, Championnet advanced upon Naples, which he got possession of after a bloody and desperate resistance from the lazzaroni. As a matter of course, a republic was proclaimed, and the kingdom of Naples became the Parthenopean republic, after Parthenope, an antient Greek name for Naples. As soon as Championnet had tranquillized Naples, the agents of the Directory were there to look after the booty. Championnet drove them away, and the Directory superseded him by Macdonald, and summoned him to Paris.

Joubert had seized the citadel of Turin, and garnished it with artillery from the arsenals of Piedmont. There was a republican party in Piedmont, which was encouraged by the French; but its success was not rapid enough for the views of the French government; and the king of Sardinia received orders to quit his continental territories. He signed his abdication on the 9th of December, 1798, and retired to the island of Sardinia. Two Italian kings were thus driven from the soil of Italy, and compelled to be content each with an island. Such measures on the part of the French rendered a war inevitable, and Austria was preparing for it. In the beginning of 1798, France had only formed three republics, a Batavian, a Cisalpine, and a Ligurian: at the end of the year she had formed three more, an Helvetic, a Roman, and a Parthenopean republic. Piedmont was not made into a

* Songs were the fashion of the day. The following verses appeared in a journal at the time:

'Un pauvre Suisse qu'on ruine,
Demandait qu'on décidât,
Si Rapinat vient de rapine,
Ou rapine de Rapinat.'

† See his 'Mémoires,' i., 45.

republic, but it was placed provisionally under French administration.

On the 1st of March, 1799, Bernadotte and Jourdan crossed the Rhine with their armies, though the congress of Rastadt was still sitting; and about the middle of the month the Councils received a message from the Directory,* which informed them of the reasons of the hostile movements of the French armies, and proposed to declare war against the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and against the grand duke of Tuscany. The finances were in a miserable state; the taxes did not bring in what was expected, and the deficit was continually increasing. The Five Hundred twice voted for a tax on salt, an oppressive and odious tax, but the Antients twice refused it. The new elections were going on; and in spite of the proclamations of the Directors, and articles which they caused to be inserted in the journals against royalists and anarchists, a great many independent men were elected. The Directory gained few friends by the new elections, and the reverses of the French arms destroyed the opinion of their political ability. Jourdan had crossed the Rhine; and the archduke Charles the Lech (the 3rd of March). Masséna was in the country of the Grisons on the 6th of March, and in a few days was master of the course of the Rhine from the high valleys to its entrance into the lake of Constanz; he took several pieces of cannon, and made some thousands of prisoners. The Councils agreed to the declaration of war on the 12th of March, which was forwarded to Jourdan, with orders to attack the enemy. Jourdan advanced by the defiles of the Black Forest between the Danube and the lake of Constanz, and he extended his right to the lake with the view of communicating with Masséna. On the 22nd of March he was attacked by the archduke Charles at Pfüllendorf, and compelled to fall back; and on the 25th he was defeated at Stockach near the lake, and retired to the defiles of the Black Forest. Leaving the army in command of one of his staff, he hastened to Paris to complain that they had given him an army which had been crushed by superior numbers. The day after the battle of Stockach, hostilities recommenced in Italy between the Austrians and the French, under Schérer, who was defeated near Magnano on the Adige, on the 5th of April. He retired to the Oglio, and thence to the Adda (12th of April), completely disheartened. Jourdan's army also fell back in alarm upon the Rhine. Masséna, with the usual obstinacy of his character, maintained his position in Switzerland.

The Congress still sat at Rastadt, for war had not been proclaimed against the Germanic empire, but only against the emperor. Many of the deputies of the German States had however been recalled, and the deliberations, owing to the retreat of the French, were carried on in the midst of the Austrian troops. It is said that the secret articles agreed on between Bonaparte and Austria for the delivery of Mainz to the French as the condition of the surrender of Palma Nova in Friuli to the Austrians, had been communicated to the Germanic body by the French plenipotentiaries; and this communication had compromised Austria with the Germanic body. It seems that the Austrians resolved to arrest the French commissioners, and take their papers; but there is no evidence that they had any further design. The French commissioners, not feeling safe at Rastadt, determined to leave for Strassburg, and they set out on the 28th of April, in three carriages, with their families. They asked for an escort, which was refused; but they were assured that their persons would be respected. It was night when they left Rastadt, and they had hardly quitted the town when a troop of hussars stopped the carriages. Jean Debry was dragged from his carriage, and attacked before the eyes of his wife and children, and left for dead. Roberjeot and Bonnier were murdered: the secretaries of the embassy escaped. The hussars plundered the carriages and took off the papers of the French plenipotentiaries. Jean Debry made his way to Rastadt, where this barbarous assault excited universal indignation. The deputies who still remained at the Congress published a declaration, in which they disavowed the crime, and threw all the blame on Austria. Those French historians, who give everything a peculiar colour favourable to France, would make the Austrian cabinet guilty of this assassination; but such a charge requires proof, and none is alleged. The Frenchmen had conducted themselves with great insolence at Rastadt, and some authorities state that they had declined an escort; but this seems very improbable. It was a brutal murder by a band of savage soldiers in the Austrian service: their orders probably were to seize the papers of the French commissioners, and nothing more; but they neglected their orders, and used their sabres: many of them, it is said, were drunk.* The Directory made the most of this unfortunate affair: a conscription had been ordered, which was going on slowly, but the Directory, by their placards all over France, called the people to take vengeance on their perfidious enemies, and the French responded to the call by enrolling themselves. The Directory, as usual, profited by the opportunity to ask for money.

On the 1st of Prairial (the 11th of May, 1799) the newly-elected members took their seats in the Legislative body. Rewbell went out of the Directory, and took his place in the Council of Antients, to which he had been elected. Sièyes, who had been sent as ambassador to Prussia, was recalled, and elected to fill Rewbell's place; and this time he did not refuse. He was known to be hostile to the immortal Constitution of the year III., and to the Directorial system; and it was supposed that he only took his seat to accomplish some purpose that he had in view; and this opinion was well-founded. The Five Hundred were still engaged with the finances: it was the battle-field

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 26.

* One cannot trust the narrative of Thiers. Those who are curious may read it, 'Rév. Franç.,' Directoire, 1799; compare Jomini, 'Guerre de la Révolution,' xi., p. 143, whose explanation of the affair seems probable.

between them and the Directory. Schérer was attacked for his conduct during his ministry, which had been marked by great expenditure: he was a miserable minister, and a worse general. Dangers were thickening round the Republic, which was enveloped by its enemies, and oppressed with taxation and the military conscription. When a government is involved in extravagant expenditure, it grasps at everything: it seizes the present, and destroys the future. There was a tax on tobacco, there were stamps without end, a tax on doors and windows, on mortgages, on the salaries of functionaries of all kinds: all the transactions, all the pleasures of life, every act of a man's existence was a tax-producing process. In Switzerland alone Masséna maintained the credit of the French arms. He now commanded the French forces on the Rhine from Düsseldorf to St. Gothard. Schérer had given up the command of the army in North Italy to Moreau, and Macdonald received orders to evacuate Naples and the Roman States, and to join the army of North Italy. Masséna took up his position on the Limmat, which flows from the lake of Zürich and joins the Reuss below Swiss Baden; and he was prepared to receive the attack of the archduke. In the mean time the Russian general Suworrow, with 30,000 Russians, joined the Austrians in Italy, who were commanded by Melas. On the 28th of April the French under Moreau were defeated near Cassano, on the Adda, with great loss; and Moreau, with his army reduced to 20,000 men, retreated before a superior force. He stayed two days in Milan, and crossing the Po made his way to Turin, and at last accomplished his retreat over the Apennines to the Riviera of Genoa. Macdonald, on quitting Naples, left it exposed to a violent royalist reaction, which was attended with bloodshed and scenes of brutality which equalled the most horrible events of the French Revolution. He was at Florence on the 25th of May with about 28,000 men. On the 30th of Prairial (8th of June) he was on the Trebia, one of the affluents of the Po, where he had a desperate contest with Suworrow, which lasted three days. Each side lost near 12,000 men, whole regiments were cut to pieces, and most of the generals were wounded. Suworrow was however daily receiving reinforcements, and Macdonald got none. He made his retreat over the Apennines, with his army diminished by one half. The plan for the junction of the two divisions of the army of Italy had resulted in the defeat of Moreau and Macdonald.

In the midst of these reverses Sièyes arrived at Paris, and he was installed as a member of the Directory. The leaders in the Councils, Genissieux and Lucien Bonaparte, immediately entered into communication with him, and formed their plans for changing the majority in the Directory. On the 17th of Prairial the Five Hundred sent a message to the Directory upon the state of the nation, and complained that they had not received from them the communications which the Constitution prescribed. François of Nantes read an address to the French people, which was adopted by the Five Hundred. The Directory were silent; and on the 28th they were informed that the Five Hundred had made their sittings permanent till they received an answer; and the Antients adopted the same resolution. The permanent sittings commenced on the 28th (the 8th of June); and the first measure was to declare that the nomination of Treilhard as a member of the Directory was unconstitutional and null; and they named ten persons, pursuant to the terms of the Constitution, to be presented to the Antients, whose function was to choose one of them; and they chose Gohier. The Antients approved of all the measures of the Five Hundred. On the 30th of Prairial, Merlin and Lépeaux were attacked in the Five Hundred as the causes of all the misfortunes; and François de Neufchâteau proposed a resolution, which was carried, to the effect "that every authority, every individual who should attack the security and the liberty of the Legislative body, or of any of its members, by giving any order, or by executing it, was out of the pale of the law." The Antients confirmed the resolution; and at five in the evening Merlin and Lépeaux sent in their resignation. The Legislative body had in their turn intimidated the Directory, and repaid them for the coup-d'état of the 18th Fructidor. Roger Ducos and Moulins were chosen in place of Merlin and Lépeaux. Barras was spared, because, it is said, that he acted with the Legislative body. The three other Directors, it was reported, intended to use the armed force and to dissolve the councils, who, being informed of the design, anticipated it. But it is doubtful if a second military demonstration against the Legislative body would have been successful, under the command of the Directory.

The 30th of Prairial caused great rejoicing in France, and both republicans and royalists interpreted it according to their wishes. The republicans sent addresses of congratulation to the Five Hundred, and the clubs assumed more activity and energy. In the Legislative body there was still a Directorial party, who were attached to the Directorial government: there was a republican party; and a centre, which had no determinate views, and sided sometimes with one party, and sometimes with the other. The centre contained many concealed royalists. The republicans had no faith in the Constitution of the year III., and wished for something more popular, after the model of the Constitution of 1793. The centre, also, did not respect the Constitution of the year III., and they considered it as really destroyed; for no Constitution could maintain itself which required to be aided by coups-d'état: something more stable was required to put an end to the long convulsions of the Revolution—a ten years' struggle. No party had any confidence in the actual state of things.

The danger with which France was threatened required energetic measures. The conscripts of all classes, who had not yet been summoned, were called to active service; a forced loan of 100 millions was decreed to be levied on the citizens who were in easy



ASSASSINATION OF THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES AT RADSTADT.

circumstances. On the 22nd of Messidor was passed what is called the 'Loi des Otages,' which was founded on the necessity of checking "robbery and assassination, which were committed out of hatred to the Republic," and on the allegation that "the system of assassination was connected with the plans of the external enemies of France; and that the ex-nobles and the relations of emigrants were the partizans and encouragers of this system." The first article was worthy of the reign of Terror:* "the relations of emigrants, and former nobles, comprised in the laws of 3rd Brumaire of the year IV., and 9th Frimaire of the year VI., the children of emigrants, which children are of full age, and the grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers and mothers of individuals, who, not being nobles or relations of emigrants, are nevertheless notoriously known to form a part of the assemblages of people or bands of assassins, are personally and civilly responsible for the assassinations and robberies committed within France out of hatred to the Republic." The provisions of this law were conformable to this, the first article; it was a violent revolutionary measure, but it was adopted in the Antients, after some opposition. The measures of the Five Hundred caused alarm in the saloons of the capital, and there was fear, simulated rather than real, of a return of the sanguinary Reign of Terror. The 14th of July was kept with due solemnity by the Five Hundred: there was music, and a discourse from the President, in which he recapitulated the course of events from the memorable day on which the Bastille surrendered. "There is a rumour," said the deputy Talot, "that the two councils are going to unite to form a Convention; I annihilate this rumour; we have sworn to maintain the Constitution of the year III., and we will maintain it." The enthusiasm of the members kindled at these words, and they all declared that they would maintain the Constitution. Lucien Bonaparte said, that on the 30th of Prairial they had destroyed the tyranny which weighed heavy on France, and had sworn to restore to the people their liberty, and the free exercise of their rights, and to respect the Constitution. But there was, he said, a small number of men, who wished to transgress the constitutional limits, and the friends of royal power wished it too, in order to bring about anarchy. He proposed that they should immediately renew their oath to maintain the Constitution of the year III., and all the members rose and pronounced the oath.

There had just been formed a new society of the Friends of Equality and of Liberty, who met at the Manège, near the gardens of the Tuileries, in the place where the Legislative Assembly sat, and the Convention before it occupied the palace of the Tuileries; and

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 81, &c.

from this circumstance it was called the Société du Manège. The new society contained a large body of members, among whom were about one hundred deputies, chiefly members of the Five Hundred, and a great number of the most active patriots of Paris, some of whom had belonged to the old club of the Pantheon. It was reported that, in spite of the law which forbade correspondence and affiliation, the society was in secret correspondence with all the clubs in the Republic. The sittings were reported in the 'Journal des hommes libres.' Everything seemed to announce that it was the Jacobin club recalled to life. Sièyes, who had the majority of the Directory under his influence, did not like the new club; nor did the Council of Antients. The ministry was a strange medley of men: Cambacérès was minister of justice, Quinette of the interior, and Reinhard for foreign affairs, but he was viewed merely as a tool of Talleyrand, who used his name; Robert Lindet had the finances, Bernadotte the department of war, and Bourguignon the police; but Bourguignon was soon replaced by Fouché. Bernadotte's short administration was efficient and honest. He set Championnet at liberty, who had been arrested after his recall, and he vigorously prosecuted public peculators. He endeavoured to restore order to his branch of the public service. Barras occupied a neutral position, and seeing that there must be a greater change than that of the 30th Prairial, he began to look about him. The end of all, he supposed, would be the restoration of the Bourbons, and accordingly he paid his respects to Louis XVIII. by a secret agent.

In the sitting of the 8th Thermidor the Antients resolved that no society, which held political debates, should be allowed to meet within the limits in which the Antients had the superintendence of police. The Manège was within these limits, and on the 9th the Society of the Manège received a notice to quit. The Society moved to the Temple de la Paix, a church of the order of the Jacobins, in the Rue du Bac. The Republicans were now loud in their complaints against the royalists, who were very active in the interior; and some hundreds, and even thousands, of armed men, assembled in Bretagne, against whom it was necessary to employ the troops of the line. The Chouannerie began again: in the south, in Bretagne, La Vendée, and Normandie, the diligences were attacked, the government money was stolen, and republicans were assassinated. In Haute Garonne the royalists formed a small army, and were only dispersed by a regular military attack. It was clear that France must either fall into the hands of men who would re-establish a reign of Terror, or succumb to the royalists. A deliverer was wanted, and he soon appeared. The chief speakers in the Five Hundred were anxious to declare that there existed a royalist conspiracy, and they were opposed to any measures which should prevent the republicans from uniting. Sièyes, however, in a discourse pronounced on the occasion of the 10th of August (23 Thermidor), made a violent attack on the Society of the Manège, in which he threatened all those who conspired against the Republic. But Sieyès himself was attacked, for the Republicans had no faith in this renegade priest. Both he and Barras were accused of selling themselves to the foreign coalition against France. The majority of the Directory were resolved to silence the men of the Manège; and on the 26th of Thermidor they sent a juge de paix with some strong piquets of cavalry and infantry, among whom it was observed that there were some grenadiers of the Legislative body, to the Rue du Bac. The juge put the seals on the door of the Temple of Peace: the Jacobins gave notice that they would meet somewhere else, and they met once, but it is not said where,—and it was their last meeting. The Directory got permission from the Legislative body to make domiciliary visits, and they paid a visit to the office of the 'Journal des hommes libres,' where they found nothing.

The aspect of foreign affairs was discouraging. In Italy, the French had been driven back to the Alps, and were nearly in the same position as when Bonaparte began the campaign of 1796. Yet, with the exception of Schérer, whose incapacity was proved on the field of battle, and Latour-Foissac, who displayed little energy in the defence of Mantua, the generals had shown great ability and courage, and the troops had fought well. The fault was in the plans of the Directory; and Bonaparte's success in Italy was owing to his following his own views. The new Directory named Joubert to the command of the army of Italy, in place of Moreau, who discharged the duties of commander-in-chief after Schérer's resignation, without having the title. Moreau still continued with the army after Joubert came and aided him with his advice. The object of Joubert's movement was to relieve Mantua, of the surrender of which he was ignorant. The Austro-Russians, under Suworrow, met the French on the 15th of August (28 Thermidor), 1799, at Novi, in the territory of Genoa, at the foot of the Apennines. The French were much inferior in numbers. The battle commenced at five in the morning, and lasted till near midnight. Joubert was killed at the beginning of the battle, and Moreau took the command. This bloody contest cost both sides a great number of men, and Suworrow had a dear-bought victory, for he was the assailant, and the French defended themselves with heroic courage. The French were now confined to the Apennines, and almost to their own frontiers on the side of Italy. The Republic was attacked also in Holland. On the 27th of August an English fleet appeared off the Helder, and landed a division of an English army, under the command of General Abercromby. This descent was concerted between the British cabinet and Paul, the emperor of Russia, who was to furnish a body of Russian troops, to be paid by the English. The commander-in-chief was the duke of York, whose incapacity had been already proved. He did not arrive in Holland until the 13th of September, and before that time Abercromby had repulsed an attack of Brune, who commanded the

Batavian and French forces, and compelled him to retire. The Russians and all the forces now arrived, and in all mustered near 40,000 men. The English fleet, without firing a single gun, took possession of the whole Dutch fleet, which was in the Texel. But the result of this short campaign was disgraceful to the English commander: in November he made a convention with the enemy, and gave up 8,000 French prisoners in England, and what he had seized at the Helder, in return for permission to carry his own troops away; but the Dutch fleet was not restored, nor did the French insist on it. They were lucky in getting rid of such a force on such easy terms. The failure of the expedition was owing to the incompetence of the duke, who had no talent, and would have fared even worse than he did, if he had not had Abercromby with him.*

On one point the credit of the French arms was maintained. Suworrow did not profit by his victory at Novi; and the Aulic Council of Vienna, who were jealous of the authority which he exercised in Italy,—for he had written to the king of Sardinia to return to Turin—sent him to Switzerland with his Russian army to join the Russian forces under Korsakoff, who had co-operated with the archduke Charles. The archduke was sent to the Rhine, and Melas was left in Italy. Thus the two Russian armies, under Suworrow, were to be opposed to Masséna, who was on the Limmat. Masséna retired even a little further back, and rested on the mountain of the Albis, between the Limmat and the Reuss; but the Limmat still separated the two hostile forces. The lake of Zürich and the borders of the Limmat were the theatre of the military operations. On the 25th and 26th of September, 1799, was fought the battle called the battle of Zürich, in which the French forced their way into the town. In the confusion Lavater, well known for his writings, received a wound from a drunken Swiss soldier, of which he died. The Russians, under Korsakoff, were entirely defeated, and the French found in Zürich a hundred pieces of artillery, the military chest of the Russians, and made 5000 prisoners. Korsakoff lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about half of his army. Suworrow, on his march from Italy, was at the foot of Mount Gothard, on the 21st of September, and he reached Altorf with his troops exhausted by fatigue and diminished by the attacks of the French divisions which had been sent to meet him. On the 26th, the day of Korsakoff's defeat, being unable to cross the Reuss, Suworrow began to retreat through the deep valleys and over the mountains, harassed by the French, and he reached Chur, in the Grisons, with 10,000 men. Eight thousand men were lost in the retreat; and the track of Suworrow's army was marked by the dead. In fifteen days 20,000 Russians and 5000 Austrians perished, or were disabled. Masséna saved France from invasion on the side of Switzerland, and drove the enemy into Germany. He made amends for his pillage at Rome. In his official report, Masséna described this "contest of fifteen days, on a line of more than sixty leagues in extent, against the combined armies, commanded by experienced generals, most of them men of great reputation, and occupying positions which were considered impregnable."

On the 4th of September the Five Hundred decreed an annual celebration in honour of Joubert, whose last words, as he fell, were "Soldiers, march upon the enemy!" On the same day they were informed by a message from the Directory of the existence of a vast and atrocious conspiracy against the Republic, which threatened all true republicans; the proofs of the conspiracy were the dead bodies of republicans massacred in the south and elsewhere, the insurrections in various parts, and the journals and execrable libels with which the Republic was inundated. The Directory had, by virtue of Art. 145 of the Constitution, issued warrants for the arrest of the editors (auteurs) of certain journals, which were named in the message, and set seals on the presses. It was decreed that the committee on the liberty of the press should make a report within three days on the message; but the report was not made, for graver matters occupied the Assembly. General Jourdan made a motion (13th of September) to declare the country in danger, but it was finally rejected by 245 to 171 votes. Lucien Bonaparte spoke against it as a useless measure: he said that they ought to give to the executive all the constitutional latitude; "when a state is the prey of factions, it can only be saved by giving strength to the existing government, or by changing it." "Create a dictatorship," cried out some members. "I hear a dictatorship mentioned," continued Bonaparte in a menacing tone: "there is not one among us who would not be ready to stab the first man who should dare to act as the dictator of France." In the debate on the 14th, Lucien Bonaparte said, "I repeat, with Augereau, that the first man who shall dare to lay a sacrilegious hand on the national representation shall pass over my body before he reaches any of my colleagues: a decree enacted before the 30th of Prairal places out of the pale of the law any person who shall attack the liberty and the security of the national representation: this law exists; it shall be executed."

The minority of the Five Hundred were at open war with the majority of the Directory, who increased the suspicions of some sinister design by dismissing the minister of war, Bernadotte, because he was a republican. Bernadotte had done good service during his short administration, and his character commanded respect. The Directory stated that Bernadotte had resigned from ill-health; but Bernadotte declared in the journals that he had not resigned, but had been dismissed. It was suspected that the Directory had thought of some coup-d'état long before the 18th of Brumaire or the arrival of Bonaparte, but they had no general whom they could trust. Bernadotte, Augereau, and Jourdan were republicans. Moreau was summoned

* The French account of the duke's retreat may be coloured. It was bad enough any way.

to Paris by the Directory about the end of October, but it is doubtful if they thought of employing him, for he was a man who had not sufficient decision of character for a coup-d'état. The Directory were strengthened in public opinion by the success of Masséna and Brune. About the middle of October, news reached Paris that Bonaparte had landed at Fréjus. The news was circulated in the theatres, and received with shouts of joy; the spectacle was neglected; people went in and out, and all about the theatres, talking and inquiring; nobody could rest. Yet it was doubtful how the Directory would receive the general, and Moulins, it is said, proposed to arrest him and bring him before a court-martial. But Moulins had no influence. On the 14th of October, a body of musicians, a detachment of grenadiers, and a number of citizens, proceeded to the hall of the Five Hundred, followed by the bearer of a message from the Directory on the success of the French arms in Holland. The message added, "The Directory also announces with pleasure the landing of general Berthier at Fréjus, with Bonaparte." The announcement was received with applause; and the "musicians executed the airs which were dear to liberty." Bonaparte was received with universal rejoicing at Paris. Everybody had hopes that something would be done by the conqueror of Italy.

The history of the affair of the 18th and 19th Brumaire, (9th and 10th of November, 1799,) and of the conspiracy which preceded, is not clear in all respects, though so much has been said about it; for neither Bonaparte nor the principal actors chose to say all that they knew. All of them suppressed or falsified something.* Bonaparte was visited and courted by all parties: he was known to be a man of action, and he was popular with the army and citizens. It is said that at first there was a coolness between him and Sièyes, but perhaps it was all show, for Bonaparte had chosen his party, though he pretended to hesitate. The men whom he made use of for his purposes were three renegade priests, Fouché, minister of police,† Talleyrand, and Sièyes. Roger Ducos attached himself to Sièyes, who had a party, consisting of a majority in the Antients, some members of the Five Hundred, and others. Their object was to overthrow the republicans and the Constitution. Opposed to the party of Sièyes was the majority of the Five Hundred, to which all the republicans belonged; and they had with them the Directors Moulins and Gohier, and, as they supposed, general Bernadotte. They wished to maintain the Constitution, but only as a means of securing something better, and escaping an oligarchy or a military despotism. Barras, who saw that there must be a change, but did not know exactly what it would be, remained neuter. The faction of Sièyes may be called the conspirators; and their opponents, republicans. It is said that Bonaparte received proposals from both sides: but he joined the conspirators, in order to deceive them, and to make use of them for his purpose. He had a scheme of his own, which was to seize on power. It is said that Barras, in order to try him, spoke of the necessity of establishing a vigorous authority to Bonaparte, and of having a president, and he named general Hédouville; and though he got no answer from Bonaparte, he might see from his manner, that Bonaparte knew who the man was who was to exercise this vigorous authority. The measure of the conspirators was a removal of the Legislative body to St. Cloud, which the Council of Antients were to accomplish; for the Constitution gave this council the sole power of changing the place of meeting. Bonaparte had no objection to be considered the instrument of the conspirators, though he intended to be their master. His brothers Joseph and Lucien, and admiral Bruix were alone in his confidence. The Antients were privately assembled on the morning of the 18th, to the number of one hundred and fifty, with Lemercier for their president; and they decreed that the sitting of the Legislative body should be held the following day, 19th Brumaire, at the palace of St. Cloud. General Bonaparte was entrusted with the execution of the decree, and he was authorized to take all necessary measures for the security of the national representatives. Bonaparte was waiting at his house for the decree, surrounded by all the superior officers whom he wished to employ or keep from opposing him; and among them was Bernadotte. Bonaparte invited Bernadotte to join him, but he was unwilling, and there was some altercation; but at last, as it seems, Bernadotte agreed to remain neutral. Bonaparte mounted his horse, followed by a numerous staff, and crossed the Champs-Elysées, where the troops were already assembled, and received him with shouts. He came to the bar of the hall of the Antients, with Berthier, Lefebvre, Moreau, Macdonald, Murat, Beurnonville, and other generals, and in few words he told the Antients, that their decree had saved the Republic. The president briefly replied, and Bonaparte retiring, issued in a few minutes an order of the day, which determined the positions of the several bodies of troops, and named their commanders. They were all men whom he could trust. A proclamation was issued by Bonaparte, commander-in-chief, to the citizens composing the national stationary guard of Paris, and a second to the soldiers. All this was done before eleven in the morning. Bonaparte then went into the garden of the Tuileries to harangue the troops there, to the number of about three thousand. He told them that the Republic would soon be destroyed, if the councils did not take decisive measures: "In what a condition I left France, and in what a state I have found it! I left you peace, and I have found war: I

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii. 159—268, 'Journées des 18 and 19 Brumaire, An. viii.; A. C. Thibaudeau, Le Consulat and l'Empire, ou Histoire de la France et de Napoléon Bonaparte, de 1799 à 1815.'

† 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 160. In the 'Mémoires,' attributed to Fouché, he says that he was brought up among the Pères de l'Oratoire; but he denies that he was ever a priest or took orders (i. 12.)

left you conquests, and now the enemy is on your frontiers: I left our arsenals full, and I have not found in them a single arm: I left the millions of Italy, and I find only laws for spoliation and misery: our cannon has been sold, robbery has become a system, the resources of the state are exhausted; recourse has been had to vexatious means, disapproved of by justice and good sense: the soldier has been delivered up without the means of defence: where are they, the brave, the hundred thousand comrades whom I left covered with laurels? what is become of them?" Before mid-day the walls of Paris were covered with the decree of the Antients and the proclamations of Bonaparte; and there were also anonymous placards which urged the people to follow the fortune of the hero, whose name, whose glory, whose genius, whose existence could alone secure the existence of the Republic. The Five Hundred met about ten in the morning: a messenger came with the decree, which Lucien Bonaparte read; and the Five Hundred separated. They were taken by surprise: the measure was constitutional, and they must obey. A kind of government had been set up in the rooms of the committee of inspectors of the council of Antients, and Sièyes and Ducos, the two conspirator Directors, were there by nine in the morning. Gohier and Moulins remained at their post, but they called in vain on Barras to come and give them a majority. Barras shut himself up in his own apartments, and at eleven o'clock he sent in his resignation, having negociated by his secretary, Bottot, for a safe retreat to his estate at Grosbois. Bonaparte let him go, and gave him an escort of thirty dragoons. Moreau was in command at the Luxembourg with some troops of the line; and Gohier and Moulins were deserted by their own guard, whom Jubé, the commandant, had taken to Bonaparte. In the afternoon they visited the rooms of the commission of inspectors, where they found Bonaparte, and were pressed to resign; but they refused. Bonaparte told them that the Directory no longer existed. Gohier, who was at this time the president of the Directory, reminded Bonaparte that he was engaged to dine with the president on that very day, and that he had fixed the day himself: "Was this a trick?" "No," said the general; "I did not foresee the decision of the Council of Antients." Bonaparte placed the two Directors under the surveillance of Moreau. Paris was in the mean time quiet: the terrible men of the faubourgs stirred not. There was a general presentiment that a new power would soon show itself; and the name of Bonaparte was a name of hope rather than of fear.

On the 19th, before it was broad day, general Serrurier and his troops occupied St. Cloud. Bonaparte came about one in the afternoon in a carriage, accompanied by his staff, and escorted by some mounted grenadiers, who belonged to the directorial guard. Sièyes and Ducos came soon after, and the three conspirators met in a room of the palace. The two councils were already there, each in one of the wings of the palace. There was a great concourse of people assembled to see how things would end. The design of the conspirators was no secret. Lemercier, one of the conspirators, was the president of the Antients; and the proceedings were opened by a secretary reading the resignation of Barras, which was then forwarded to the Five Hundred. The discussion began with Savary (de Maine et Loire) speaking about the removal of the sittings to St. Cloud, and the causes of it; he was ignorant of them, he said, for the meeting of the 18th had been kept concealed from him and some of his colleagues. Fargues, one of the conspirators, said that the Republic was in danger, and it was not the time to discuss such matters now. Those who were in the plot were waiting to see what would be done; and to prolong the time they agreed to a message to the Directory, another to the Five Hundred, and a proclamation to the people. At half-past three an answer came from the secretary-general of the Directory, that the message could not be received, for four Directors had resigned, and the fifth was under surveillance by order of general Bonaparte. This answer was sent to the Five Hundred, with an intimation that they should proceed to form a list of candidates for the Directory, pursuant to the terms of the Constitution. Those who were not in the plot were in a state of agitation and confusion; the conspirators could scarce dissemble their joy. Bonaparte was announced: he appeared, followed by his aides-de-camp, and asked permission to address the Antients, which was granted. "Representatives of the people," he said, "you are no longer in ordinary circumstances: you are on a volcano." He went on to clear himself of the imputation of ambitious designs: the country, he said, "had no more zealous defender than himself; he devoted himself completely to the execution of their orders: the safety of the state depended on them; they alone could preserve liberty and equality." "And the Constitution?" cried out a member. "The Constitution!" continued Bonaparte, "does it befit you to invoke the Constitution? and can the Constitution still be a guarantee for the French people? You violated it on 18th Fructidor; you violated it on the 22nd Floréal; you violated it on the 30th Prairial.* The Constitution! it is invoked by all the factions, and it has been violated by all; it is despised by all; it can no longer be to us the means of safety, because it no longer commands the respect of anybody. The Constitution! is it not in the name of the Constitution that you have exercised every kind of tyranny? And even to-day, it is in the name of the Constitution that men are conspiring: I know all the dangers that menace you." He continued speaking in the same style; and concluded by reminding them that "he had the honour of informing them that the Constitution could not save

* "The 18th of Brumaire, was only a consequence, an appendix of the 30th Prairial," says Bailleul, 'Examen,' ii. 387 and 446. The 30th of Prairial, in fact, showed that the Directorial government could no longer exist. It must have ended soon, if there had been no Bonaparte. Though Bailleul defends the Directory, his remarks are generally good.



BONAPARTE BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY.

the country, and that it was necessary to some to such a settlement of affairs that they should be able to draw the country out of the abyss in which it was sunk.' Bonaparte retired, and went to the Five Hundred. In a short time Fargues, who had left the Antients to play his part in the piece, returned, and with great emotion said, "General Bonaparte has just sent for me: you know how well he was received here; on leaving your chamber he went to the Five Hundred do you know how he was received there? with daggers The general prays you to take measures to thwart the counter-revolutionary movement which some emissaries of the Five Hundred have gone to organize at Paris."

The Five Hundred were sitting in the Orangery o St. Cloud, and Lucien Bonaparte was president. Émile Gaudin was the first to speak; he was one of the conspirators: he said that they would easily secure to the people their rights and the advantages which the Revolution had promised, if they would display the energy which they had shown on the 27th and 28th Fructidor, of the year VII., when the council rose in a mass and swore to live free or to die. Delbrel moved that they should immediately renew their oath to the Constitution, which proposal was received by the majority with enthusiasm, and the president was urged to put it to the vote; but he eluded it, and pretended only to listen to the reproaches of those who called for the question. At last he put on his hat and said that he felt too strongly the dignity of his position to endure the menaces of some insolent speakers. Order was at last restored; and Grandmaison urged the taking of the oath. This address was followed by cries of "Live the Constitution! the oath, the oath!" The Assembly was unanimous for taking the oath. Every member was called by name to take the oath, and all the conspirators took it. A single deputy, Bergoeing, gave in his resignation. The appel nominal showed that very few members were absent. The debates were going to begin, when the secretary read a letter from Barras, which announced his resignation: the Assembly asked that it be read a second time, which was done: it was so strange a letter, that those who were not in the secret could not comprehend the meaning of the Director's resignation.* The discussion on the letter was interrupted by a violent movement in one part of the Assembly: all the members were standing in their places or upon the seats, in groups, or about the tribune, with their eyes fixed on the door, when general Bonaparte appeared, followed by some grenadiers, who did not advance beyond the door, but their bayonets were visible. Bonaparte was alone, bareheaded, and was going to speak, but the shouts stopped him. "What are you doing, rash man?" said Bigonnet, "retire! you are violating the sanctuary of the laws!" "What! armed men here!" cried others, "out of the pale of the law with the dictator! Down with the dictator! Live the Republic and the Constitution!" Bonaparte was surrounded, close pressed, and menaced by a crowd of deputies. Destrem addressed him in these terms, "General, is it for this that you have conquered?" Bonaparte said not a word: he lost his presence of mind, and some of his friends and the grenadiers at the door came in and hurried him out of the chamber. He expected to accomplish everything by a speech and by intimidation: it was a complete failure.*

The president attempted to explain the general's conduct. A member said, "To-day, Bonaparte has tarnished his glory." "He has behaved like a king," said another. A member moved that "the general himself be summoned to the bar to explain his conduct." And "I," said Lucien Bonaparte, "I ask permission to leave the chair;" and he left it. A member moved that it be decreed that general Bonaparte was not the commander of the grenadiers who formed the guard of the Five Hundred. Other motions to the like effect were made. "Six thousand men are about you," said a member, "declare that they are a part of your guard." Lucien Bonaparte urged that his brother should be heard, before any decisive measure was taken. A voice cried, "Put the question that general Bonaparte is out of the pale of the law" (hors la loi). These dreadful words had decided Robespierre's fate. Lucien was urged to take the chair again: "What," said he, 'would you have me pronounce the hors la loi against my brother?" Lucien was again in the chair: he did not expect that the 'hors la loi' would be pressed; and he put several other motions that had been made, one of which was that the command of the troops be given to Bernadotte. What was carried, nobody knew, for all was confusion. But the terrible cry of 'hors la loi' again rang in the ears of the president. He left the chair, and threw aside his dress of a deputy. He was urged to put it on again, to see his brother, to settle all difficulties by an explanation. In the midst of the tumult a body of grenadiers belonging to the legislature entered, and took Lucien out to his brother, who recovered his courage on seeing him. The two brothers mounted their horses, and addressed the soldiers, Lucien first. He told the soldiers that the majority were at that very moment menaced by the daggers of some representatives: they must only acknowledge as representatives those who came out and joined him; the rest must be expelled by force. The general

* Printed in 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii. 206. The letter of a hypocrite.

* There is no doubt that Bonaparte completely lost his presence of mind and was dreadfully frightened. Courage is of various kinds, and a man may be courageous in one situation, who is not so in another to which he is a stranger. The story of daggers being pointed at Bonaparte is a pure invention; a falsehood to which he afterwards gave currency himself. A soldier named Thomé was much surprised to hear that he had saved Bonaparte's life by receiving the blow of a dagger, which was intended for Bonaparte. Madame Bonaparte made him a present of a ring; and there was talk of giving him a pension, and perhaps he got it. "It was lucky for me," said Thomé, "that I tore the sleeve of my coat as was passing by a door."

addressed the men, "Soldiers, I have led you to victory: can I rely on you?" "Yes, yes! what would you have?" He asked again if he could rely on them and the order was given to clear the hall of the representatives. The drums beat, the heavy step of the soldiers was heard: they advanced slowly, headed by Murat and Leclerc, with bayonets presented; the members retired before the armed force, calling out "Live the Republic," while the drums beat to drown their shouts. Some members, who were more obstinate than the rest, were lifted up by the soldiers, and carried out: Chazal, the president, was the last to quit. The representatives, dispersed in the courts and gardens, still cried out "Vive la République." It was more like a farce than a serious affair, and this, the first act, was over by half-past five. A little more firmness and precaution would have given the Five Hundred the victory, which was won by the conspirators through the daring of Lucien Bonaparte and the devotion of Napoleon's superior officers. The bayonets which Mirabeau spoke of on the 23rd of June, 1789,* appeared ten years later; and it was the bayonet of the Republic which dispersed its own chosen representatives.

The revolution was accomplished. At nine in the evening, thirty members of the Five Hundred were got together in the Orangery, who had been picked up in the cafés and other places at St. Cloud; and they had the impudence to call this a sitting of the Five Hundred. The second act of the farce was to inform the Antients that the council was sitting: Lucien Bonaparte, who had talked so much of maintaining the Constitution, was president. Lying and hypocrisy were the order of the day. These thirty men were addressed by Lucien Bonaparte, as the "Fathers of the country." General Bonaparte, and the other generals and soldiers, were declared to have deserved well of their country: it was further declared that the Directory no longer existed; and a list was formed of members of the Five Hundred who were to be excluded from the body. Sièyes and Ducos, ex-Directors, and general Bonaparte, were constituted into an executive consular commission, with the title of Consuls of the French Republic, and with full Directorial power. The basis of the provisional government had been arranged in secret committee, and there was originally no intention to give Bonaparte a place in it: the conspirators looked upon him only as an instrument, which he affected and promised to be. Some of them found out their mistake before the sitting at St. Cloud, and thought of getting rid of such a dangerous helpmate. Sièyes, it is said, took the precaution to declare himself at St. Cloud under the surveillance of Bonaparte. When the victory was decided in favour of Bonaparte, the number of conspirators, or those who affected to be such, was wonderfully increased; and they were all exceedingly active in making the best use of the opportunity. Among other resolutions it was carried that each council should name twenty-five of its members as a commission; and the two commissions were to prepare such alterations in "the organic dispositions of the Constitution as experience should have shown to be necessary."

An address to the French people, drawn up by Cabanis, was adopted by the Five Hundred; and Lucien Bonaparte closed the day's business with a speech: he said, "Representatives of the people, French liberty was born in the Jeu de Paume of Versailles; since the immortal sitting of the Jeu de Paume it has dragged on a lingering existence, a prey, by turns, to inconsistency, to weakness, and to the convulsive maladies of infancy: to-day, it has assumed the robe of manhood; they are terminated to-day, all the convulsions of liberty. Hear the sublime cry of posterity, 'If Liberty was born in the Jeu de Paume of Versailles, it was consolidated in the Orangery of St. Cloud: the constituents of '89 were the fathers of the Revolution, but the Legislators of the year VIII. were the fathers and the pacificators of the country.'" He declared, in the name of the Legislative body, "that the Council of Five Hundred was adjourned to the 1st of Ventose, in their palace." A beating of drums announced the approach of the three consuls, the renegade priest, with his satellite Ducos, and the general, who had narrowly escaped being put out of the pale of the law. The president told the consuls "that the happiness of thirty millions of men,* internal tranquillity, the wants of the armies, peace—such were their mission." The three consuls swore the "sacred oath of inviolable fidelity to the sovereignty of the people, to the French Republic, one and indivisible, to equality, to liberty, and to the representative system." The Antients also met again on the evening of the 19th, and confirmed the resolutions of the Five Hundred. They also named their commission of twenty-five; the consuls came to take the oath; the president embraced them, and declared the sitting adjourned to the 1st of Ventose, at Paris. The council broke up with cries of "Vive la République." It was four o'clock on the morning of the 20th. The deputies and the consuls hurried back to Paris. The day's work was done.

On the 20th, Fouché, the minister of police, announced to his fellow-citizens the appointment of the three consuls, the harbingers of victory, prosperity, and peace. The minister of justice published an address to the central administrations, the tribunals, and the agents of the executive power. On the 21st of Brumaire the three consuls published a proclamation in vague and general terms—the best for the purpose. Bonaparte had already published, on the 19th Brumaire, at eleven in the evening, a proclamation as general-in-chief, in which he briefly recapitulated the reasons for removing the sittings to St. Cloud, and the events of

* Page 19.

* The set phrase, during the Revolution, was twenty-five millions. Thirty millions was more grandiloquent, and better suited to the manly robe of Liberty. The truth was nothing to the matter.

the day. His proclamation was a tissue of impudent falsehoods.

The consuls retained Cambacérès as minister of justice, and Fouché as minister of police. Dubois-Crancé, minister of war, was replaced by Alexander Berthier; Quinette, for the interior, was replaced by the geometrician Laplace; Robert Lindet, for finance, made way for Gaudin; and for foreign affairs, Reinhart was succeeded by Talleyrand. Forfait had the marine, in place of Bourdon-Vatry.

This was the 18th and 19th of Brumaire,—not days of glory either for the victors or the vanquished. The Constitution was overthrown by lying and hypocrisy, backed by the show of force. It was feebly defended, as if there were a consciousness that it was not worth an effort to preserve it. The conspiracy was an ill-organized plan; its execution was contemptible, and mere accident turned the scale. But the consequences were immense for France and all Europe. Henceforth one man's will directed the energies of a whole nation, which he turned into one vast camp; and the tread of his armies, and the thunder of his artillery, shook Europe from the pillars of Hercules to the banks of the Vistula.

CHAPTER LXIV.

THE CONSULATE, AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE YEAR VIII.

The consuls took possession of the Luxembourg on the morning of the 20th Brumaire of the year VIII. (November 11th, 1799). The question of presidency was settled by an agreement that each consul should preside in turn; but Bonaparte was president in fact. At their first meeting Sièyes showed the other two consuls a bureau which contained 800,000 francs, which were put aside under the pretext of providing for extraordinary expenses, but which served, it is said, to supply the retiring Directors with an indemnity for the loss of their places. By a decree of the consuls of the 21st of Frimaire, what remained in this bureau was set aside to meet the expenses of the farce of the 18th and 19th Brumaire; but it appears that this was only done to hide a robbery. Sièyes and Ducos, with Bonaparte's consent, divided the money between them. Gohier, in his 'Mémoires,' says that Ducos told him that he only had 100,000 francs. The priest had the lion's share.

The power which Bonaparte had got by lying, fraud, and accident, he used moderately and wisely; but his own personal aggrandizement was the end and object of all that he did,—a fact which is proved by his whole career. His activity was unwearied. He sought to please everybody, to gain everybody, who could be useful to him: he flattered every one, rejected nobody. He paid a visit to the École Polytechnique, one of the most valuable creations of the Revolution, the work of the Convention. He assisted at a sitting of the Institut, of which he had been appointed a member after the 18th Fructidor in place of Carnot, and he adopted the title of Member of the Institut in his proclamations and in his signature of public acts. He reviewed the troops, visited his old comrades at the Hôtel des Invalides, went to the prisons, received the public authorities and the citizens. He said to the public functionaries, "We must no longer see Jacobins, Terrorists, Moderates, and so forth, but only Frenchmen." There was general satisfaction with the new state of things: the dissentients were few, and of little weight. The press, which was under the constraint of fear, and had been decimated by the Directors and made an humble instrument, could only repeat the cry of the Moniteur and other accredited journals, that the 18th Brumaire was necessary in order to anticipate the execution of a conspiracy; and the consuls, to prevent all chance of the lie being given to their lie, shut up the clubs. They proposed to the two Legislative Commissions to abolish the law of the 24th Messidor, called the law *des otages*, which was immediately done, and all who had been arrested under it were set at liberty, and the sequestration was removed from their property. But the consuls fell upon the Jacobins at the very time they were showing their clemency to the relatives of emigrants, to nobles, and to the families of the Vendéans and Chouans. They published a sentence of deportation against a great number of the extreme Republicans, on the report of Fouché, who was now denouncing his old friends. There was no sympathy with the men, but a strong opinion against the injustice of the measure; and the consuls felt that opinion was still something in France. They rescinded their sentence. Though the consuls had used strong language against royalism, fanaticism, and the emigrants, yet royalists, priests, and emigrants were eager to return to France; a testimony to the consular government of which they might be proud. The first consul took up the case of the *Naufragés de Calais*, nine emigrants of the noblest families in France, who had been wrecked on the French coast, and thrown into prison. Their violation of the ban against the emigrants was purely an accident: they had no intention to land in France. They had been four years in prison when the 18th Brumaire came; and the consuls humanely and justly ordered them to be removed from the territory of the Republic. The Representatives and Journalists who were condemned to deportation immediately after the 18th Fructidor, were relieved from their sentence by the Legislative Commissions (3 Nivose), on the recommendation of the consuls, and Carnot, Portalis, Barbé-

Marbois, and many others reappeared. Pichegru and some other traitors and royalists were not pardoned. Even Barrère and Vadier had the benefit of the law of the 3 Nivose; and Barrère, it is said, was secretly employed by Bonaparte, who had no objections to employ anybody whom he could make useful to himself. But for the emigrants there was no relaxation of severity: "The country," said Fouché in a circular, "rejected them for ever from its bosom; and the government would not open the gates to any except those who had not deserved to lose the rights of citizens."

The eleventh article of the law of the 19th Brumaire empowered the commissions of the two Councils to propose changes in the Constitution, but the intention was to make a new one, a resolution which had been formed by the conspirators before the 18th Brumaire. Sièyes had a Constitution in his head, and he now thought that he had attained the summit of his wishes, to organize France according to his own ideas. But Bonaparte intended to govern France in his own way; and the priest and the general could not agree. The Constitution of Sieyès was entirely distorted in the Constitution which was actually adopted. It was a curiosity; and it is difficult to see how it could work.* Some progress had been made in the organization of the Legislative power, when Bonaparte summoned the two Commissions to the Luxembourg: the members obeyed the order, and henceforth the discussions were continued in the presence of Bonaparte, who presided. With great sagacity he attacked all the vicious parts of the proposed Constitution: with a natural instinct for power, he fastened on everything that could serve his own views, and rejected the rest. There is complete evidence that he let nothing escape him; he examined, he discussed everything; and he stamped on the new Constitution the marks of his own ungovernable will. He astonished all the members of the Commission by the quickness of his apprehension, his dexterity in arguing, and his sound good sense—not the least remarkable feature in his character, which, if his passions had allowed it fair play, would have made him a really great man. Sièyes had a personage in his scheme, who was to be entitled the Grand Elector: he was to have a salary of six millions, a guard of three thousand men, and Versailles for a residence. But the Grand Elector was to have no power: it was to be in the hands of two consuls, after Roman fashion, a consul of peace, and a consul of war. This honourable office was designed by Sièyes for the conqueror of Italy, but he little knew his man. "How could you imagine," said Bonaparte, "that a man of any talent, and of some slight honour, would be content to play the part of a fatting hog with some millions a year?" This put an end to the scheme of a Grand Elector. Sièyes had already discovered that he had not given France a Constitution, but himself a master.*

On the 24th of December, 1799 (Nivose of the year VIII.), five and forty days after the affair of Brumaire, the Constitution of the year VIII. was published. The last act in this drama of fraud and force was performed on the night of the 22nd to the 23rd of Nivose, when Bonaparte, who knew that the members of the Commissions intended to attack several parts of the Constitution, summoned them one by one to give their signatures to it, which persuasion or fear extorted from them all. The journals, which at this time are no evidence of truth, simply announced that the two Commissions met at the residence of Bonaparte on the evening of the 22nd. This Constitution contained no declaration of rights: the sovereignty of the people disappeared.† The first article declares that "The French Republic is one and indivisible," and that is all. Every man born and resident in France, who was twenty-one years of age, and had his name entered on the civic register of his communal arrondissement, and who had remained a year on the territory of the Republic, was declared to be a French citizen. There was a Senate, called Sénat Conservateur, consisting of eighty members, appointed for life, all of whom must be forty years of age at least. The citizens Sièyes and Roger Ducos retired from the consulship (Art. 24), with their pockets well filled, and became members of the Senate: they were to meet the second and third consuls, appointed by the Constitution, and to nominate the majority of the Senate, which would then fill up the list of its members, and proceed to the other elections. The sittings of the Senate were not public. All new laws were to be proposed by the government, communicated to a Tribunat, and passed by a Legislative body. The Tribunat was composed of a hundred members, aged twenty-five at least: one-fifth of the number was to be changed annually: the Tribunat discussed the proposed laws, and adopted or rejected them. It sent three orators chosen from among the members, whose business was to explain and defend before a Legislative body the reasons for the resolutions which the Tribunat had come to. The Legislative body was composed of three hundred members, aged thirty at least, of whom a fifth part was changed annually. The Legislative body gave the force of law, by secret voting and without any discussion, to such measures as had been discussed before it by the orators of the Tribunat and of the government. The members of the Tribunat and of the Legislative body were elected by the Senate out of a national list;

* Mignet has some remarks on it, 'Hist. de la Rév. Française,' chap. xiv. Mignet, generally a judicious and sensible writer, says, "If ever a constitution fitted an epoch, it was that of Sièyes, for France, of the year VIII." It is not easy to assent to this. See Thibaudeau, 'Consulat,' c. 3, on the discussions which preceded the adoption of the Constitution; and as to the Constitution of Sièyes, 'Théorie Constitutionelle de Sièyes, Extrait des Mémoires de M. Boulay de la Meurthe, Paris, 1836."

* Some authorities state that Sièyes wished to be the Grand Elector himself; and the six millions rather confirm this. The priest loved money.

† 'Hist. Parl., xxxviii., p. 288—300.

which was formed according to the ninth article of the Constitution. The sittings of the Tribunat and of the Legislative body were public, but the number of persons allowed to attend was limited. A senator's place was worth having: each received one twentieth part of the first consul's allowance; and the first consul had 500,000 francs a year. A tribune had 15,000 francs, and a legislator 10,000 francs a year,—which was pretty good allowance for a man who had only to vote, and was not allowed to speak. The government was in the hands of three consuls, chosen by the senate out of the national list, for ten years, and re-eligible indefinitely. Each was elected separately with his distinct qualification of first, second, or third consul. "The Constitution" named as first consul citizen Bonaparte, that is, citizen Bonaparte named himself the second consul was Cambacérès, ex-minister of justice; the third was Lebrun, ex-member of the commission of the Council of Antients; "for this time the third consul was only named for five years." The first consul was everything: the other two were ciphers which gave him more value by being placed after him. Their humbler rank was marked by their humbler salary: each had only three-tenths of the first consul's salary. Both together were valued at little more than half of a first consul. The Constitution was simply a surrender of the whole power to Bonaparte. The 93rd article declared that the French nation would never allow the return of those Frenchmen, who, having abandoned their country since the 14th of July, 1789, were not comprehended within the exceptions made to the law passed against the emigrants; and the nation forbade any new exceptions to be made on this point. The property of the emigrants was irrevocably forfeited for the advantage of the Republic. The 94th and last article declared that the Constitution should be immediately presented to the French people for their acceptance.

On the 23rd Frimaire, the two commissions, after receiving a message from the consuls, determined on the mode in which the Constitution should be ratified by the people. They did not present it to the primary assemblies for ratification, but they opened registers at the secretariat of each administration, and at other places: even justices of the peace (juges de paix), and notaries were empowered to receive the acceptances or refusals of the people. Only fifteen days were allowed for the voting, and fifteen days from the time when the Constitutional Act was received in the chief town of each department. The consuls were to collect the votes and proclaim the result. But this was too slow for the impatience of the first consul, and on the 3rd Nivose, Bérenger proposed to the Legislative Commission of the Five Hundred, that they should decree that the Sénat Conservateur and the consuls should enter on their functions the next day (the 4th), because the result of the people's vote was not doubtful. This was done; and the Tuileries were assigned to the consuls, the Luxembourg to the Senate, the Palais Royal to the Tribunat, and the Palace of the Five Hundred to the Legislative body. Most of the festivals of the Republic were suppressed.*

Already on the third the consuls assumed their functions, met and deliberated. They named Lucien Bonaparte minister of the interior in place of Laplace, who was made a senator; and Abrial was minister of justice in place of Cambacérès, who had become a consul. Their next step was to form a conseil d'état, which could only sit as a body, when it was convoked by the consuls. Each counsellor had a salary of 25,000 francs. Bonaparte's system was to interest a number of well-paid persons in the maintenance of his administration. The counsellors' dress was blue velvet in winter, and blue silk in summer. They were all put in livery, councillors, senate, tribunes, and legislators.† There were five sections of the conseil d'etat—war, marine, finance, justice, and the interior. The council sat on the 4th, even before their livery could be ready, as we may suppose, unless it was ordered some time before; and the consuls settled the form of a proclamation which was published next day. It announced that the reign of the new Constitution had commenced. The people, in the meanwhile, were voting on its acceptation or rejection. Everything was hurried on: the first consul could never wait. As early as the 3rd Nivose, a list of the senators was published in the Journal de Paris. The list must therefore have been formed on the 2nd, at the latest, the day before Bérenger's motion. The senate lost no time: on the 4th Nivose, a list of the tribunes elected by the senate appeared in the journals; and on the 7th appeared the names of the three hundred members of the Legislative body. On the 5th Nivose, the two Legislative Commissions received an official communication from the senate, which informed them that the senate existed; whereupon the two commissions declared themselves dissolved. The whole proceeding is very well characterized by Gohier, one of the ex-directors: "A miserable minority on the 19th Brumaire created three provisional commissions; these three commissions, without being a constituent body, create a Constitution; this Constitution engenders a great consul; the great consul engenders two new consuls and councillors of state; the two new little consuls, in concert with two little provisional consuls, metamorphosed into senators, engender one-half of the great body, of which the two latter are already members; this engendered half engenders the other half; and this great political body, which was called by an antiphrasis, Sénat-conservateur, being thus completely engendered, engenders a Legislative body and a Tribunat: in three days and three nights these merry procreations are

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 302. Thibaudeau says, that the festivals of the 14th of July, and of the 1st Vendémiaire, the day of the foundation of the Republic, were the festivals which were preserved. The 'Hist. Parl.' states erroneously that all the festivals were suppressed except the 10th of August.

† 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 30, contains the Constitution of the blue velvet and silk men.

performed; and all the authorities which were to govern France, thus illegitimately engendered, do not wait to be legitimated by the national adoption, in order to take possession of the functions of those authorities whom they replace."

The Constitution had not been accepted, when the commencement of its reign was proclaimed; but the consuls took care that its acceptance was secured by means of their agents. There seems, however, no reason to doubt that it would have been accepted, if they had taken no trouble about it. According to a report made to the council of state, and published by the consuls on the 18th of February, 1800, it appeared that 3,011,007 votes accepted, and 1562 rejected it. The Constitution of 1791 was not subjected to the same test. That of 1793 was accepted by 1,801,918 votes, and rejected by 11,610. The Constitution of the year III. was accepted by 1,057,390 votes, and rejected by 49,978.

A great number of persons were provided for by the nominations; and those who had forwarded or encouraged the affair of the 18th Brumaire were not forgotten.* Sièyes and Ducos, ex-directors and provisional consuls, became senators. But Sièyes got more. His scheme of a grand elector, a kind of constitutional king, had failed. Whether he seriously thought of having the place himself, has been doubted; for as Thibaudeau observes, "it is difficult to believe that a man like Sièyes could ever have supposed that Republican France would have consented to be governed by a priest, and that Bonaparte, who represented the military glory of France, would choose to obey him." Bonaparte got the place of grand elector, under the name of First Consul, with a less income than Sièyes proposed for his elector, but a great deal more to do. Bonaparte was greedy of power: Sièyes was greedy of money, and he received an indemnity before the Constitution was in operation. The commissions, moved by a message from the consuls, resolved (30 Frimaire, year VIII.,) that "considering that it is important for the stability of every political constitution to give signal testimonials of gratitude to the citizens who have rendered great services to the country, the national domain of Crosne, in the department of Seine-et-Oise, or some other equivalent, is decreed in ownership, full and entire, to citizen Sièyes, as a mark of national gratitude." Sièyes preferred an equivalent which was not so palpable: the state preserved the domain of Crosne, and Sièyes got for it, if Gohier tells the truth, a good deal more than it was worth.

* There is a list of them, with the rewards they got, in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 314.

CHAPTER LXV.

MARENGO.

Bonaparte was First Consul, and from this time begins his reign in France. The 18th and 19th Brumaire elevated him at once to the supreme power. His activity was unbounded, his assumption of authority manifest: every day furnished the French with something to think of besides the illegal measures by which he had seized on the government. The French were accustomed to revolutions, and one which promised security and tranquillity at home and victory abroad, could not fail to be generally acquiesced in. The republican enthusiasm was now to be replaced by an enthusiasm for military glory: and the First Consul, who had sprung from the army, centred in himself the hopes of all. He left nothing undone to secure opinion. The journals had hardly space enough for all his proclamations and the resolutions of the council of state, of which the First Consul was president. There was a proclamation to the army of Italy, which Masséna now commanded in place of Championnet, who was dead; a proclamation to the French soldiers, and a resolution of the Consuls, by which honorary distinctions of various kinds were given to soldiers of all ranks. Bonaparte had done this before. In Italy he distributed seventy-five sabres; and in Egypt he gave various honorary presents, such as muskets ornamented with silver, trumpets and the like. He seized, with his instinctive knowledge of men, on a characteristic of the French nation. He even affected to wish for peace, and he wrote a letter to the king of England (5th Nivose), which was communicated to lord Grenville by Talleyrand. Bonaparte's letter contained no particular terms, but it clearly expressed a strong desire for peace: "Your majesty will only see in this overture my sincere desire to contribute efficiently, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a proceeding prompt and confiding, and disengaged from those forms which, perhaps necessary to disguise the dependence of weak states, only show in strong states a mutual desire to deceive." The king's answer, through lord Grenville, dated "London, the 4th of January, 1800," is a distinct refusal to treat of peace with the French government, founded on the conviction that there was no security for the king's own dominions and those of his allies, and for the security of Europe in general, no guarantee for the principles which should direct the new government of France, no reasonable ground to judge of its stability. The answer stated that the best guarantee for the stability of the administration of France would be the restoration of the line of princes, who for so many ages had maintained the internal

prosperity of the French nation, and secured for it respect and consideration abroad; but though this was desirable, the king did not make it an indispensable condition of a solid and lasting peace; he did not assume to prescribe to France her form of government, nor in what hands she should place the authority for the administration of affairs. The sum was that the king stood by his continental allies, and considered the interests of his own people as involved in the interests of the rest of Europe.*

A resolution of the council of state (6th Nivose) with respect to the laws of the 3rd Brumaire of the year III., 19th Fructidor of the year V., and 9th Frimaire of the year VI., which excluded from political rights and admissibility to public functions, the relatives of emigrants and former nobles, declared that these laws were repealed by the promulgation of the Constitution, and that the government could invite such persons to accept public functions without the consent of the legislature. A proclamation of the consuls (8th Nivose) to the inhabitants of the departments of the west was in a conciliatory tone; it declared that the freedom of religious worship was guaranteed by the Constitution, and that "the ministers of a God of peace should be the first to recommend concord." A resolution, which followed this proclamation, offered a complete and absolute amnesty for the past, but it declared those to be out of the pale of the Constitution who should persist in their rebellion. General Brunet was soon after appointed commander of the army of the West, and Hédouville, who hitherto held the command, acted under him. Further relief was given to many scrupulous people by a law that all public functionaries, ministers of religion and others, who were required to take an oath or make a declaration by any law passed before the formation of the recent Constitution, could satisfy the law by the following declaration: "I promise to be faithful to the Constitution." By thus tempering the strictness of the Republican oath, the government hoped to relieve the consciences of the ecclesiastics, whom they wished to conciliate; and the 'Moniteur' laboured to show that the ecclesiastics could take without scruple an oath, which merely bound them not to be hostile to the Constitution.

The churches were again opened for the Catholic worship; but the clergy demanded the exclusive possession of the buildings, which the law had given up for the celebration of the ceremonies of the décadi. But though the government were well disposed to get rid of the décadi, it still struggled with the Sunday, and great inconvenience arose from the conflict between the ceremonials of the Catholic worship and those of the décadi, until the décadi was abolished some time after. The government slowly but resolutely destroyed all the work of the Hébertistes; and Fouché, the apostle of atheism, was their agent in the restoration of religion. The other members of the government cared no more for religion than he did, but they knew that the mass of the nation had never abandoned the Catholic faith, and it was politic to attach them to the new government. The venerable pope Pius VI. had died at Valence, in Dauphiné. The Directory treated him harshly: the French people showed him the respect due to his rank and his virtues: the consuls celebrated his funeral obsequies with pomp and splendor. All this was done before the tribunat and the Legislative body met.

The first session was on the 11th Nivose (January 1, 1800). Daunou was elected president of the Tribunat, and Perrin of the Legislative body. The Tribunat, the only body in which speaking was allowed, sat at the Palais Royal: "the selection of the place," said Duveyrier, "was satisfactory; it was the cradle of the Revolution:" "it is the place," he said, "in which, if any one should speak of an idol of fifteen days, one would recollect that an idol of fifteen centuries had been broken in a single day." Bonaparte and the public understood the allusion; and the first consul was displeased. On the 13th Nivose, the Legislative body transmitted to the Tribunat a measure, which had been presented to them by the conseil d'état for regulating the passing of laws; and the measure fixed a limit to the time of the discussions. This was finally carried, though it was said by some that the government seemed to wish to carry their measures in a gallop. Measures were also adopted for improving the revenue; such as the sale of certain charges on land which had fallen to the Republic by the confiscation of the property of those to whom the charges belonged. The direct taxes were paid monthly: better accounts were kept; and the receivers-general gave securities. On the 27th Nivose the consuls chained the liberty of the press by a resolution that the minister of police, during the continuance of the war, should allow no journals to appear in the department of the Seine except the 'Moniteur Universel,' the 'Journal des Débats,' and 'des Décrets,' and a few others which were mentioned, and also the journals which were exclusively devoted to science, art, literature, commerce and advertisements. No new journal was to be published in the department of the Seine, or in the other departments of the Republic; and the minister of police was to report immediately on all the journals which were printed in the other departments. The fifth article was still more severe: "Every journal shall be immediately suppressed which shall insert any articles contrary to the respect due to the social pact, to the sovereignty of the people and to the glory of the armies, or which shall publish invectives against the government, and the nations which are friends or allies of the Republic, even if these articles should be taken from foreign journals." This bold measure met with no opposition. With the army devoted to him, the priests enlisted on his side, the journals silenced, and a constitution which placed the chief power in his hands, Bonaparte saw the way open to the accomplishment of all his wishes. Soon

* Bonaparte's note, and the answer, are printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 320

after the 18th Brumaire two agents of the Bourbons had an interview with Bonaparte at the Tuileries, and proposed the re-establishment of the exiled family; but Bonaparte told them that it was impossible: and perhaps he was right. The French nation would not have accepted them, and he, too, had his own views.

On the 11th of February the government presented to the Legislative body the draft of a law, which modified the territorial divisions and established the préfectures, and in fact the basis of the present departmental administration.* The préfets were in fact intendans under a new name; their delegates were called sous-préfets. The people had nothing to do with naming préfets, sous-préfets, or the municipal magistrates. On the 28th Pluviose, when the préfets were presented to him, the first consul said, "France dates its happiness from the establishment of the préfectures." The judiciary was re-organized, but not without some discussion and opposition. There was a justice of the peace in every commune; a tribunal de première instance established for every arrondissement; a criminal tribunal for every department; and twenty-nine courts of appeal: the court of cassation was the supreme court. The avoués were also re-established, one of the bodies whom the Revolution had suppressed. The police also was organized and formed by Fouché upon the authority of a clause in the law for the division of the territory of the Republic and the administration. Fouché's object was to make the police one of the main instruments of governing; and the first consul was well-disposed to enter into his views. Fouché liked the occupation; he loved tyranny in any shape.

The best evidence of the confidence that was felt in the new power, was the improvement of credit, which was shown by the rise in the value of the public securities. An association of bankers was formed, which was the origin of the Bank of France. It was a private undertaking, but was favoured by the government, to which it promised to be useful. It was about the end of February that the government was installed at the Tuileries; but the first consul alone took up his abode in the antient residence of the kings of France. It was not yet ten years since the convocation of the States General, and an antient dynasty had been overthrown, and a king beheaded: there had been the reign of Terror, the re-action, and the Directory; and now there was again a power greater than ever a king of France possessed. When Bonaparte arrived at the Tuileries, he made a hasty inspection of the palace, mounted his horse and reviewed the troops. Each minister presented to him the functionaries of the several departments. The foreign diplomatists were presented a few days after: there were ministers from Spain and Rome, from Prussia, Denmark and Sweden, Baden and Hesse Cassel; and ambassadors from the Cisalpine, Batavian, Helvetic, and Ligurian Republics. A kind of court was formed at the Tuileries. Madame Bonaparte was waited upon by the wives of the civil functionaries and the officers. They were all rather awkward at first in their new sphere; but those who disliked the new etiquette were conciliated by the graceful and engaging manners of the first consul's wife. Ladies at the Tuileries were addressed as Madame, and this return to old usage soon became the fashion.

The session of the Legislative body closed on the 9th Germinal (30th March, 1800). There was tranquillity in France, but war abroad, and the consuls were busy with making preparations for it. On the 8th of March, before the session closed, the consuls published a proclamation to the French: "Frenchmen, you desire peace: your government desires it more ardently than you: their first wishes, their constant labours have been for peace: the English ministry reject it." A new motive was appealed to: "It is no longer for factions, it is no longer to choose their tyrants, that the French are arming; it is to secure what is dearest to them; it is for the honour of France, for the sacred interests of humanity." The response of the Legislative body declared that "all Frenchmen who had completed their twentieth year on the 1st of last Vendémiaire, are at the disposal of the government." The consuls, by a resolution, which was attached to the proclamation, created an army of reserve of 60,000 men, to be under the immediate command of the first consul. The soldiers who had obtained their discharge, the companies of veterans, conscripts, all were invited, in the name of honour, to join their colours; or, if they were not attached to any corps, to repair to the quarter-general of the army of reserve at Dijon. Volunteers were also invited. The army of reserve was forming at Dijon, but a more numerous body was collecting at Geneva, and yet the Austrians knew nothing of it. On the 12th of Germinal, Bonaparte gave up the command of the reserve to Berthier, and Carnot was made minister of war in place of Berthier.

Bonaparte's power was founded on his military success, and fresh victories would consolidate it. He gave to Moreau the command of the army of Germany, though Moreau would not adopt his views as to the plan of the campaign. He chose Italy for himself, the theatre of his former glory; and he himself conducted the campaign, though Berthier had the title of general-in-chief of the army of reserve. He left Paris suddenly on the 6th of May, and reviewed the army at Dijon. On the 8th he was at Geneva, where Necker paid him a visit, and had a long conversation with him on public credit. It is said that he let Bonaparte see that he would not be unwilling to direct the financial affairs of France again. General Marescot, who had been sent to examine the pass of the great St. Bernard, made a report to the first consul, who listened very patiently, and then rising abruptly from his seat,

* Discours prononcé par Roederer en présentant au corps législatif le projet de la nouvelle division du territoire et de l'établissment des préfectures. 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 3?2; Thibaudeau, 'Consulat,' chap. 4.

said, "Can we pass?" "Yes, citizen consul, but with difficulty." "Well then," said the first consul, "let us set out." The main body of the Austrian army, under Melas, was in the territory of Genoa. Bonaparte's object was to seize Milan, and place himself between the Austrian army and the dominions of the emperor. If Melas was defeated, his army had no retreat, and must surrender. Bonaparte did not seem to have contemplated the possibility of being beaten himself; but a defeat would have left him no retreat except over the Alps. A corps of 35,000 Frenchmen, under Lannes, made their way over the Great St. Bernard, a passage of great difficulty for an army with artillery, but many of the men were already disciplined to difficult marches.* Another division crossed by the St. Gothard and the Simplon; and the two divisions of the right went by Mont Genèvre, Mont Cenis, and the Little St. Bernard. The whole force, about 60,000 men, had been assembled without the knowledge of the Austrians, and in a few days was on the Italian side of the Alps. Bonaparte left Lausanne on the 17th of May, and the next day he crossed the Great St. Bernard, and pushed his head-quarters to Aosta on the Dora Baltea. The fort of Bard, situated on a precipitous rock, commanded the narrow pass in the valley below Aosta, and enfiladed the principal street of the town with a battery of twenty-two guns. This obstacle was overcome. On the 30th of May, Bonaparte was in Milan. The Milanese were glad to see him again, for they had suffered dreadfully under the reaction which followed the Austrian occupation. The Austrians behaved in a brutal and inhuman manner. The patriots, as they were called, or the revolutionary party, returned to Milan, expecting that the constitution of the Cisalpine Republic would resume its activity; but Bonaparte only appointed a provisional administration, having an intention to reform the constitution. In a letter to the consuls he said, "Whatever the atheists of Paris may say of it, I shall attend to-morrow a *Te Deum*, which will be celebrated in the metropolis:" and he did attend this religious ceremony for the deliverance of Italy. He also called the clergy together and made them an address on the subject of religion: he said, "No society can exist without religion; there is no good morality without religion; it is only religion, then, which gives to a state a firm and lasting support. I inform you that the churches in France have been opened again, that the Catholic religion there resumes its former splendour, and the people look with respect on their old pastors who return full of zeal to their deserted flocks." He concluded by saying, "this is what I wished to communicate to you on the subject of the Christian religion, Catholic and Roman; I wish that the expression of these opinions may remain graven on your hearts, that you will give effect to what I have been saying; and I add my permission for this to be communicated to the public through the press, in order that my opinions may be known not only in Italy and in France, but all through Europe."* The clergy of Milan took the oath of fidelity.

All the divisions of the French army had now crossed the Alps, and Melas was yet ignorant of the design of the first consul. The Austrian general, who was at Turin, was shut up between the Po and the sea, for the divisions of the French army were so placed as to allow him no passage except along the right bank of the river, and this route was obstructed by the French occupying Stradella, which is on the right bank of the Po, and on the road from Tortona to Piacenza. Melas advanced as far as Alessandria, where his position was very difficult: to reach Piacenza he must defeat the mass of the French army posted at Stradella; and to cross the Apennines he must dislodge Suchet, who was guarding the passes with 20,000 men. He remained three days at Alessandria, inactive, while the French were strengthening themselves on the right bank of the Po, and Desaix who had lately come from Egypt, joined the army, and received the command of two divisions of the left. On the 14th of June, the Austrians advanced towards Tortona, and entered the extensive plain between the Bormida and the Scrivia, which contains the villages of Marengo and Castel-Ceriolo, and the town of San Giuliano, two leagues east of which is the Scrivia. Within these limits was fought the decisive battle, in which the Austrians had the advantage till Bonaparte appeared on the field, and by his presence gave the French fresh courage. The old Austrian general had cut to pieces the division of Victor, driven Lannes back, and the road to Tortona seemed open. It was three in the afternoon: he was too tired to sit on his horse, and went to Alessandria, leaving Zach to complete the defeat of the French. Bonaparte was manœuvring on his left, and Melas had not comprehended the meaning of the movements. Zach thought he had nothing to do but to dislodge Desaix from San Giuliano, against which he directed a column. This was the critical moment, and Bonaparte ordered Desaix to attack the enemy. Desaix fell dead at the first discharge, but the French broke the head of the Austrian column, and threw the whole mass into confusion, and they were compelled to surrender. This decided the battle: the whole Austrian line gave way before an army which they thought they had defeated, but which was again moving upon them with steady step. The

* The passage of the Great St. Bernard was difficult for the artillery, the horses, and the munitions of war. Bonaparte himself crossed after his army, with a young Swiss for his guide. The French were encumbered with the heavy materiel of a modern army, but met with no resistance, except at Bard. The great Roman commander led about 25,000 men over the Genèvre, or the Mont Cenis, and had many battles to fight. He carries over his five legions, and fights his battles in five lines. ('Gallic War,' i., 10.)

* Discours adressé par Bonaparte aux curés de la ville de Milan, 5th June 1800. We may assume it to be Bonaparte's own composition, and it is a favourable specimen. If it is not an evidence of his sincerity, it is of his sagacity and good sense, which were the true characteristics of his understanding.



DEATH OF DESAIX.

loss in this well-contested field was great on both sides, and nearly equal. The next day Melas, though he was well able to resist the enemy, asked for a suspension of hostilities; and the convention of Alessandria was made, by the terms of which the Austrians evacuated Italy as far as the Mincio, and gave up to the French Genoa, which they had taken, and all the places in Piedmont and the Milanais. In one day the Austrians lost all that they had got in two years' battles and victories.

The battle of Marengo replaced France in the position which she held in 1797. It secured Bonaparte's power, and gave him an influence over opinion which lasted many years. After providing for the re-organization of the Cisalpine Republic, he went to Turin, crossed the Alps by the Mont-Cénis, and visited Lyon, where he laid the first stone for the rebuilding of the Place Bellecour, which was destroyed after the siege of Lyon (p. 314). He was in Paris on the 2nd of July, less than two months after he had left it. He was received with enthusiasm: all the city crowded to see the little general, the rapidity of whose movements and the strength of whose will ended a campaign in six weeks. There was an illumination on the evening of his arrival. Everybody acknowledged his merits: the expression was sincere and unanimous. He said to the great functionaries who paid their respects to him, " Well, have you done a good deal of work since I left you?" for Bonaparte worked hard, and would have everybody work. " Not so much as you, general," was the reply. The passage over the Great St. Bernard was compared with Hannibal's route over the Alps; and David, now a supple flatterer, painted the well-known equestrian portrait of the first consul ascending the Great St. Bernard.* On the celebration of the 14th of July, there was presentation of colours, and Olympic Games as they were called. Bonaparte entertained the principal functionaries of the Republic, and gave the toast, " To the 14th of July, and to the French people, our sovereign." The anniversary of the foundation of the Republic was also duly kept on the 1st Vendemiaire of the year IX. (23 September, 1800).

The success of Moreau in Germany, if less brilliant, was equally decisive with that of the first consul. He entered Germany at the head of 100,000 men at three points, Strassburg, Bâle, and Constanz. Stockach, near the northern extremity of the lake of Constanz, was the place of junction for the three divisions. Moreau, who commanded the centre in person, was met by the Austrians at Engen, fifteen miles in advance of Stockach, and he defeated them. Lecourbe, who commanded the right, drove back the Austrians who de-

* It was assumed that Hannibal passed by the Great St. Bernard.

fended Stockach, and the junction of the three divisions was effected early in May. The Austrians, who were commanded by Kray, now experienced a succession of defeats. They were beaten at Mösskirch on the 6th of May, at Biberach on the 9th, and the next day at Memmingen. The Austrians abandoned all the country between the Rhine, the lake of Constanz, the Danube and the Lech. On the 19th the French gained a great victory at Hochstett, on the Danube, which gave them the town of Ulm, the strong bulwark of the valley of the Danube, and the rich stores collected at Donauwerth. In the battle of Oberhausen, a few days after, the brave grenadier, Latour d'Auvergne, the last descendant of marshal Turenne, was killed by a hulan. Moreau erected a monument to his memory near the village of Oberhausen; and by a subsequent order of the first consul, the sabre of honour of "the first grenadier of France" was suspended with due solemnity from the ceiling of the temple of Mars. His heart, enclosed in a leaden case, was attached to the colours of the forty-sixth demi-brigade, to which he belonged. Such were the honours paid to the memory of a French soldier; such the rewards to raise the enthusiasm of the army.

The French now occupied Augsburg and Munich, from which the elector of Bavaria ran away with all the money that he could carry. The rear of the Austrian army, commanded by the archduke Ferdinand, was beaten at Landshut on the Isar, and the main body retreated to the Inn. The advanced posts of Moreau were at Linz on the Danube, and the road to Vienna seemed to be open to him. An armistice was signed at Pahrsdorf, near Munich, on the 15th of July; and on the 28th the first consul signed at Paris the preliminaries of peace between France and Austria, the proposals of which were sent through an agent by Austria. Thus the victorious career of Moreau was stopped; and it is a reasonable conjecture, more through the first consul's jealousy of Moreau, whom he disliked, and whose political views he suspected, than through a sincere desire of peace. But peace was not secured. Austria was engaged to England, and could not conclude a treaty herself; and Bonaparte demanded conditions during the negotiations to which England would not consent: he required a maritime armistice, which would have allowed him to send reinforcements to Malta, then on the point of surrendering, and to Egypt, where the French were hard pressed. The negotiations between France and Austria were carried on at Luneville.

France was still disturbed by royalist intrigues and Republicans or Jacobins, both of whom were hostile to the first consul; and not least the Jacobins, whom Bonaparte hated. During the first consul's absence in Italy, the republicans projected a movement in Paris, but Fouché was awake. In October, on the 18th Vendemiaire, it was reported that some conspirators had formed a plot to kill the first consul at the opera. Several persons were arrested among the crowd which thronged the doors of the theatre; and Demerville, Ceracchi a sculptor, Topino-Lebrun a young painter, and Giuseppe Arena, a Corsican, brother of Bartolomeo, a member of the Five Hundred, who had declaimed against Bonaparte on the occasion of the 18th Brumaire, were charged with conspiring against the life of the first consul. They were tried and condemned a few months after (17 Nivose) and executed. The guilt of Arena and Lebrun seems to be very doubtful.

CHAPTER LXVI.

LUNEVILLE.

Bonaparte left Kléber and the army in Egypt much discouraged by the hasty desertion of their general. Kléber succeeded to the command, and he thought it prudent to adopt more pomp and display than Bonaparte had done. The festival of the anniversary of the Republic (1 Vendemiaire), was celebrated by Kléber at Cairo, and by Desaix in Upper Egypt, in the midst of the ruins of Antient Thebes. But the Grand Vizier was advancing from Syria, and was already at Gaza. On the 3rd Brumaire, a large Turkish fleet, accompanied by Sidney Smith, appeared at the Damietta mouth of the Nile, and seized the tower of the Bogaz, which commands the entrance of the river; but the troops which landed were defeated by the French commandant of Damietta. Kléber, however, was anxious to return to France, and after some difficulties, a convention was agreed on at El Arish between Kléber and Sidney Smith and the Turkish plenipotentiaries (28th January, 1800), by virtue of which the French army was to be removed to France with arms and baggage in their own ships, and those which the Turks should furnish, and the country was to be given to the Ottomans. The French general sent notice of the convention of El Arish to the Directory, for he did not yet know that the Directory was overthrown, that Bonaparte was at the head of the Republic, and had got a former letter of his addressed to the Directory, in which he complained grievously of the condition in which Bonaparte had left the army of Egypt. Desaix set sail for France, but was taken by an English frigate and carried to Admiral Keith, then at Leghorn, who let him go after detaining him in quarantine for thirty

days. He arrived at Toulon in time to fall at the battle of Marengo. Admiral Keith, who commanded in the Mediterranean, had orders from the British Government to refuse his consent to any convention, unless the French surrendered as prisoners of war; and he communicated his orders to Kléber in a letter. Smith had not signed the convention of El Arish, and he was consequently not strictly a party to it; but he took a share in the negotiations, as if he had full powers; and it seems that he thought that he had. His conduct however in the matter is not clear: that there was a formal defect in his authority, or that he had exceeded his powers, is certain; but the real object of the British government was to prevent Kléber's army from landing in the south of France, where it was supposed that he might have an important effect on the issue of the war. The refusal to acknowledge the convention of El Arish is, however, a matter not easy to justify; and it is the English, not the French, who have to explain their conduct. A duplicate of Kléber's complaining letter to the Directory had fallen into the hands of the English, and was the cause of the subsequent expedition to Egypt under Abercromby.

The letter of admiral Keith roused Kléber from the despondency in which he had sunk. He appealed to the courage of his men, and on the 19th of March led them against the Turkish army of 40,000 men, who were posted near the ruins of Heliopolis. His army of about 12,000 men was formed in squares. Behind him was Cairo, ready to revolt. His position was critical, but his skill and courage saved his army; and around the ancient obelisk of Heliopolis the Turkish army was beaten and dispersed by the superiority of European tactics. The French lost only a few hundred men. General Verdier, with two thousand men, was besieged in the citadel of Cairo, and Kléber hastened to his relief. The city made a desperate resistance, but finally surrendered, and was treated mildly by the French general. While Kléber was busily employed in improving the administration of the country, he was assassinated on the 14th of June, 1800, by a Turkish fanatic, on the very day on which Desaix fell in the battle of Marengo. Desaix and Kléber were the two most able generals whom Bonaparte had. On the 15th of September, Malta, which the French had held since Bonaparte took it, surrendered to the English.

The second session of the Legislative body, that of the year X, opened on the 1st Frimaire (22nd November), 1800. On the following day, Régnier, a member of the Council of State, read a discourse before the Legislative body on the situation of the Republic; in which a comparison was made between the present and the past, which was all in favour of the administration of the first consul. Laws were passed for reducing the number of justices of the peace, for the organization of the courts of correctional police, and for regulating criminal procedure. Some new departments were added to France, Mont Tonnere, Rhin and Moselle, Roer, and Sarre. The government proposed the establishment of special courts to try the numerous assassins and robbers, who, it was alleged, infested the country; and the law was carried, though there was a long discussion in the Tribunat, and only a majority of eight. The opposition of the tribunes displeased the government; and the journals, which servilely flattered the new power, contained articles directed against some of the members, who were characterized as sophists, as persons who disfigured the best designs, as idle talkers who did not know what they were about. These attacks were supposed to be, and probably were, directed by the government; and the worst was, there were no means of replying to them.

The little interest which the proceedings in the Legislature created, was rendered still less by an event that happened on the 24th December, 1800, and absorbed public attention. About eight in the evening the first consul was going from the Tuileries to the Opera in his carriage, and was passing through the Rue Nicaise; a small cart, with a barrel upon it obstructed the passage, but the coachman, who was half drunk, drove quicker than usual, and pushed his horses on. The carriage had just passed, when a tremendous explosion was heard, which shook the whole neighbourhood, killed seven persons, and wounded twenty-five more. Though the glass of the first consul's carriage was broken, he escaped unhurt, and continued his way to the Opera, where Haydn's Oratorio of the Creation was to be performed; but he returned to the Tuileries before it was over. The barrel which exploded was filled with gunpowder, balls, and grenades, and was fired by a match on a signal being given. Bonaparte, who feared the republicans more than the royalists, immediately suspected them of being the authors of the plot: "I am not to be deceived," said he, "in this affair: it is neither nobles, Chouans, nor priests; it is the men of September, villains loaded with crimes, who are always conspiring, openly revolting against all the governments which have succeeded one another." Fouché, it is said,-from the first attributed the plot to the royalists and to England. However, Fouché arrested a number of republicans, and the préfet of police made a report on the affair to the consuls.* One Chevalier, who was mentioned in the report, had been arrested two months before on some vague suspicions, because he employed himself in improving the fabrication of powder and firearms, an employment which he had followed since 1794. There was also found in his possession a machine or contrivance for throwing a great number of projectiles at once, and it was concluded that he must have been privy to the design of the 24th of December, which was to be accomplished by this infernal machine, as it was called. The first consul was resolved to punish severely: he would not consent to allow the special tribunals to investigate the affair of the infernal machine: "the action of the special tribunal," he said, "would be

* 'Rapport du préfet,' &c., 10 Nivose, An. ix.; 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 365. It states some facts differently from the ordinary accounts; but they are not material.

too slow, too limited; a more striking vengeance is required for so atrocious a crime; it should be rapid, like lightning; there must be blood; we must shoot as many criminals as there have been victims, fifteen or twenty, deport two hundred, and take advantage of this opportunity to purge the Republic of them. It is not for myself that I speak; I have braved other dangers; my fortune has preserved me from them, and I still trust to it; but it is social order which is at stake, public morality, and the national glory." The action of Bonaparte was quick. Fouché made a report to the consuls, and Bonaparte carried it to the council of state, which thereupon made a resolution, called by the classical name of Sénatus-consulte. The Sénatus-consulte was carried by three members of the council to the senate, which adopted it, and Bonaparte proclaimed the Sénatus-consulte "in the name of the French people."* The Sénatus-consulte was signed by Laplace, the president. It was followed by "an act of government," promulgated "as making part of the Sénatus-consulte," by which act "there were placed under special surveillance, beyond the European territory of the Republic, the citizens whose names follow;"—and then followed a long list of about one hundred and thirty, which comprised some names well known in the bloody scenes of the Revolution,—as Fournier, called the American; Rossignol, general of the revolutionary army, and several who were characterized as "Septembriseurs," men who were covered with the blood of September, or supposed to be. This was the first Sénatus-consulte, a memorable measure, the forerunner of others, and the means by which Bonaparte destroyed the Republic and founded the Empire. The first consul had the classic taste of the French; and his vague notions of Roman institutions and Roman measures exercised considerable influence over him. He had said, when it was proposed to refer the matter to the special tribunals, "on the occasion of the conspiracy of Catiline, Cicero sacrificed the conspirators, and said that he had saved his country: I should be unworthy of the great task which I have undertaken, and of my mission, if I did not show myself severe in such circumstances." Yet there was some opposition in the senate. Sièyes was the only man who justified the measure by reason of public salvation (salut public), words of ill-omen, which had covered France with scaffolds. This affair of the infernal machine was turned by Bonaparte to his own profit, as Fouché observes.†

In a few days the real conspirators were discovered. They were Chouans, partizans or agents of Georges Cadoudal, a noted leader who was then in England, and with whom these men corresponded. Fouché made another report to the consuls on the affair of the infernal machine, which may contain some truth, and probably contains a good deal of falsehood.‡ Two men, named Carbon and St. Régent, were tried on a charge of being the principals in this plot, and were convicted and executed. Chevalier, who was charged with constructing the first infernal machine, the model of the second, was executed some time before. All the documents relating to the trial were printed by order of the government, as a continuation of a volume which was entitled 'The English Conspiracy.'

Paul, emperor of Russia, the successor of Catherine, had hitherto opposed France, in Italy, Switzerland, and Holland; but he was displeased at the English having hoisted their flag at Malta, which the English alleged that they only held till the general peace. Paul entered into negotiations with Bonaparte through the Russian ambassador at Berlin; and though Paul's terms were not such as the first consul would accept, he affected to be satisfied with the basis of the negotiation. Bonaparte had already won the heart of the emperor, whose eccentric character he knew, by sending home a number of Russian prisoners who were in France, having first completely equipped them. The first consul never neglected any means of accomplishing his purposes; and his object here was to detach Paul from the Austrian and English alliance, and to encourage him to put himself at the head of a northern maritime league against the English tyranny on the seas, and the claim of the 'right' to search neutral vessels. Paul seized the English ships and cargoes in the Russian harbours, on the ground of the English ministry having sent a fleet to Copenhagen to compel Denmark to acknowledge the right of search; and in December, 1800, he formed a convention with Sweden and Denmark for mutual protection against the English claims to search their merchant vessels, which might be trading with France or any other enemy of Great Britain.

The negotiations at Luneville were interrupted, and hostilities were re-commenced. Austria, the ally of England, could not agree to terms which England would not assent to. Augereau, at the head of the Gallo-Batavian army, had orders to reduce Westphalia, Franconia, and Thuringia. Moreau resumed hostilities in Germany; Brune in Italy, where he was joined by Macdonald; and Murat was to march on Naples. But before hostilities were commenced in Germany, a convention was made at Hohenlinden, by which Ingolstadt, Ulm, and Philipsburg, were given up to the French; and thus the Austrians obtained an armistice of forty-five days, during which Moreau made a visit to Paris, where he was well received by Bonaparte, who gave him a pair of handsome pistols. Moreau received them without saying a word. After marrying Mdlle. Hullot, he went back to his army, and military operations were commenced. The archduke John crossed the Inn with 100,000 men to attack Moreau, who concentrated his troops near the village of Hohenlinden, twenty miles east of Munich, in the midst of a country covered with wood. On the 3rd of December was fought the bloody battle of Hohenlinden, between the French and the Imperialists, in which the French gained a decisive victory, with the loss of about 4,000

* Printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 375.

† 'Fouché's Mém.,' i., p. 212. See also 'Napoléon au Conseil d'Etat,' i., 31, &c.

‡ Printed 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 380.

men. The Austrian loss was greater, and 15,000 men were made prisoners, and a hundred pieces of artillery were taken. Moreau pursued the archduke over the Inn and the Salzach, and was on the road to Vienna. The archduke Charles, who was appointed to the command in place of his brother John, proposed an armistice to Moreau, which the French general granted on condition of not being interrupted in his march upon the capital. Moreau reached Steyer on the Enns, where he was about the same distance from Vienna that Bonaparte was, when he signed the preliminaries of Leoben; and here Moreau concluded an armistice with the Austrians on the [illegible] of December, 1800, by which the emperor engaged to treat separately for peace. The French were also successful in Italy, where they had crossed the Mincio and the Adige, and Murat brought Naples to terms by simply marching on Ancona. The conferences at Luneville were resumed, and on the 9th of February, 1801, a treaty of peace between France and the emperor was signed at Luneville, on the part of the emperor by Cobenzel, and on the part of France by Joseph Bonaparte. All the terms of the treaty of Campo Formio were ratified; and the emperor also gave up to France all the country on the left bank of the Rhine, from the Swiss territory to the territory of Holland; and he acknowledged the independence of the Republics, Cisalpine, Helvetic, Batavian, and Ligurian. The cession of the left bank of the Rhine, which was made by the emperor, as head of the Germanic Empire, was ratified by the Diet at Ratisbon, as a concession of necessity. Other treaties of peace followed soon after,—with Spain, by which France got the duchy of Parma, and Tuscany, with the title of kingdom of Etruria, was given to the duke of Parma's son; and with the king of Naples, who promised to close his ports against his English allies who had assisted him in his difficulties. Before the end of 1801, peace was made with Bavaria, with Portugal, with Russia, and preliminaries of peace with the Porte were signed. There only remained one hostile power.

CHAPTER LXVII.

AMIENS.

In March 1801, Pitt resigned his post as prime minister of England, and an administration was formed by Mr. Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth; but the war still continued. In the same month, an English fleet was sent to the Baltic, under the command of Sir Hyde Parker, to break the northern maritime league. Parker was accompanied by Nelson as second in command. The fleet anchored before Copenhagen on the 1st of April; and as the Danish king refused to come to terms, the city was bombarded, six of the Danish line-of-battle ships were taken or destroyed, and the king consented to withdraw from the league of the armed neutrality. Sweden was intimidated and did the same. The fleet then sailed for Revel to attack the Russian navy, which was lying there. But the Emperor Paul was already dead. On the 24th of March, he was assassinated in his palace, and his son Alexander succeeded him. Nelson, now commander-in-chief in the Baltic, appeared before Cronstadt, and demanded the liberation of the British subjects, and the restoration of the British property which had been seized by Paul; and, after some delay, his commands were complied with, and there was peace again between England and Russia (June 1801). Bonaparte heard of the death of Paul at his country seat of Malmaison; and Talleyrand, who brought the bad news, attempted to calm his irritation by remarking that this was the usual mode of abdication in Russia. Paul had written a letter to Bonaparte immediately after the formation of the northern alliance, the result of which was that the consuls gave orders that the French ships should assist the Russians at sea; and Paul responded by an order that the Russians should respect the French flag. Paul placed Bonaparte's bust in his new palace, and, as a further proof of his friendship, in the midst of a Russian winter he ordered Louis XVIII. to quit his residence at Mittau in Courland. Bonaparte professed to admire Paul: "the emperor of a nation which ruled in the Baltic and on the Black Sea, and held the key of India, was really a great prince: Paul was singular, but he had at least a will of his own." If Paul had lived, the Russians and French were to attempt the invasion of India; the combined army was to meet at Warsaw, and march to the Caspian Sea, and thence to make their way through Persia. Bonaparte announced the death of Paul to the French in a few words, the object of which was to throw on the English government suspicion of being parties to a crime, for which Bonaparte well knew that there was not the slightest evidence. The anecdotes of this man's private character fully show that lying and hypocrisy were means that he never scrupled to employ to attain his ends. His truly great qualities were obscured by this mean and contemptible vice, which made the pages of the Moniteur, his official organ, frequently the vehicle of falsehood.

The news of the battle of Alexandria reached Paris in April; but the first consul was not so much surprised as he pretended to be. On the 2nd of March 1801, a British fleet anchored in the bay of Aboukir,



and an army, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby, was landed on the coast of Egypt. Menou, the successor of Kléber, was feeble and incompetent. The French were driven within the lines of Alexandria, and on the 21st of March they were entirely defeated in an attack which they made on the British camp. The English commander received a wound, of which he died in a few days. The military operations still continued, and the result was that Menou capitulated to General Hutchinson, who succeeded to the command on the death of Abercromby. It was agreed that the French army should be carried to France, with their arms, baggage, and ten pieces of artillery; and many of the objects of Egyptian art, which the French had collected at great cost, were also given up.* By the sixteenth article of the capitulation of Alexandria, all the things collected by the French Institut were to be surrendered, but general Hutchinson gave up his claim to the objects of natural history. Before the autumn, Egypt was cleared of the French, and restored to the Ottoman Porte. Malta and Egypt, the fruit of Bonaparte's entire campaign, were irrecoverably lost to the French.

The most important event of the year 1801, was the Concordat which Bonaparte concluded with Pope Pius VII, the successor of Pius VI, on the 10th of September, 1801. The government had hitherto done no more than proclaim the liberty and equality of all forms of worship; and all the priests who declared their fidelity to the constitution were permitted to officiate in the churches. The constitutional priests, or those who had taken the oath, had organized themselves, and they had about sixty bishops. This body had always submitted to the temporal power, and it accepted the consular government. Even in 1797, a great number of the constitutional priests met in national council at Paris. One of the most active promoters of the meeting was Grégoire, constitutional bishop of Blois, once a member of the convention, who made a noble stand at the time of the scandalous abjuration of Gobel and other knaves and fanatics.† The acts of this assembly were afterwards collected in a volume. A new national council met at Paris in March, 1801, and held their sittings in the church of Notre Dame. The published acts of this assembly fill three volumes, and there is no doubt that it had a great effect on opinion, and prepared the way for the Concordat. Bonaparte could infer from the way in which the meeting was viewed by the public, that a Concordat with the pope would please a large part of the nation. The refractory priests, or those who had not taken the oath, had scarcely any organization, for their bishops had emigrated and few of them returned. These men were anti-revolutionary, and nothing short of the re-establishment of the church in its former state would satisfy them. A large part of the population of France were indifferent to religion, partly through the prevalent anti-religious opinions, partly through the interruption of the regular Catholic worship. It was the government which gave the impulse to opinion in France, and the impulse came from one man's will, who, brought up in the Roman Catholic faith never abandoned external conformity to it, and preferred it to all other creeds. Its gorgeous ceremonial suited his taste better than any simpler form. Bonaparte never doubted of the existence of a Deity, and his early impressions do not appear to have ever been entirely eradicated; which is quite consistent with the common opinion about him, that he considered all religions as the inventions of man, and that priests had filled them with fraud and falsehood. The first consul had a difficult task to perform in re-establishing Catholicism. It has been said, though the assertion appears to be very absurd, that he would have been followed more readily if he had attempted to establish the Protestant faith, and that the disposition at the time was favourable to Protestantism; which is as much as to say that Protestantism is nearer to infidelity, which was the disposition of a large part of France. But Bonaparte was too sagacious to establish a faith, which would have been in opposition to the opinion of the great majority of religious Frenchmen: he would thus have had two contending churches; and he wanted one obedient church. His own predilections, and the views which he had on the supreme power, decided him to come to terms with Rome. The Concordat, which is written in Latin, was made in the names of the first consul of the Gallic Republic and his Holiness the Sovereign Pontiff Pius VII. It declared that the worship of the Catholic religion, Apostolic and Roman, should be publicly celebrated in France, subject to such regulations of police as the government should judge necessary for the public tranquillity. A new division of the French dioceses was to be made by the Holy See in concert with the government; and his Holiness would declare to the French titular bishops, that for the sake of peace and unity he should expect from them every sacrifice, even that of their sees; if they should refuse, the first consul would appoint new bishops and archbishops, on whom his Holiness would confer canonical institution. All future vacancies were to be filled up by the first consul; and the bishops, before entering on their functions, were to take, between the hands of the first consul, the oath of fidelity, which was in use before the change of government. The following form of prayer was to be read at the close of Divine service in all the churches of France: "Domine savlam fac Rempublicam; Domine, salvos fac consules." The bishops were to name the curés, but the nominations were to be approved by the government. All the churches which were not alienated were to be at the disposal of the bishops. Those who had purchased ecclesiastical property were in no way to be disturbed. The government was to provide suit-

* They are now in the British Museum. Among them are the Rosetta stone, which Menou claimed as his private property, and the sarcophagus, sometimes called that of Alexander.

† See p. 316.

able salaries for the bishops and curés.* The organic articles of the convention of the 28th Messidor regulated the Gallican church in conformity to the Concordat. The salaries of archbishops were 15,000 francs, and of the bishops 10,000 francs. The curés were distributed into two classes; the salaries of those of the first class were 1500, of the second 1000 francs. There were ten archbishoprics established, one of which was the archbishopric of Malines (Mechlin.) Under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Malines were the bishoprics of Namur, Tournay, Aix-la-Chapelle, Trèves, Gand, Liège, and Mainz, which shows the enlarged limits of the Republic. Organic articles for the Protestant worship were also published The Décadi was thus destroyed and the Sunday took its place. The Catholic worship was restored to France, free from the gross abuses of the monarchy.†

The peace of Luneville brought home an immense number of soldiers, and France now found that it was no easy matter to know what to do with men who had been living at free cost in foreign countries. A large part of the troops were encamped on the north-western coast of France, and on the coast of Belgium, from Hâvre to Antwerp, to keep up the notion of an invasion of England; and these were the men who were afterwards formed into the camp of Boulogne. A flotilla was formed, and Boulogne was the centre of these maritime operations. There was apprehension in England of an invasion, and preparations were made to meet it. Nelson, who had returned from the Baltic, attacked the flotilla at Boulogne in the beginning of August, 1801, and did some damage to it. He made another attack the same month during the night, in which the English sustained considerable loss; and he attributed the failure of the expedition, the object of which was to cut out the flotilla, to the circumstance of the flotilla being chained to the shore, and the vessels being fastened to one another. The 'Moniteur' treated the "chains" as a mere fable.

On the 1st of October, 1801, (9 Vendemiaire of the year X.), the preliminaries of peace between France and England were signed at London. Negotiations commenced in August, and they were facilitated by the circumstance of Malta having surrendered, and the French being defeated in Egypt. During the conferences at Luneville, Bonaparte refused to consent to the evacuation of Egypt by the French. Both parties made concessions in their preliminaries. England gave up the Dutch, Spanish, and French colonies, which she had captured; but retained Ceylon, which belonged to the Dutch, and Trinidad, which was Spanish. It was agreed that Malta should be restored to the order of St. John, which had meanly given it up to Bonaparte on his voyage to Egypt. The Ionian Islands were recognized as a republic by France, who was to evacuate the territories of the Church, Naples, and Tuscany. Other questions were deferred to the settlement of a definitive treaty of peace; for which purpose the plenipotentiaries of France and England met at Amiens. England was represented by the marquis Cornwallis. Hostilities were suspended, and the promise of peace was received joyfully both in France and England. The French had got enough both of suffering and of glory; and England was groaning beneath a burden of taxation.

Lucien Bonaparte had retired from his post as minister, and gone on a mission to Spain, where he negotiated the cession of Louisiana to France. The Spanish agent with whom Lucien negotiated was the notorious Godoy, the court favourite, commonly called the Prince of Peace. France agreed to assist Spain in her designs on Portugal, the ally of England; and Tuscany, under the name of the kingdom of Etruria, was given to the son of the duke of Parma, who was one of the Spanish Bourbons. The people of the United States were much dissatisfied with the cession of Louisiana to France, which thus acquired possession of New Orleans, the outlet of all the produce of the fertile basin of the Mississippi. In the hands of the French government, directed by Bonaparte, the possession of New Orleans threatened both the commerce and the security of the United States, and the people would have been willing to risk a war rather than submit to the dangers which they foresaw from the French occupation. But a lucky opportunity enabled the president, Mr. Jefferson, and his cabinet, to settle the question in a pacific way; for France sold Louisiana to the United States in 1803, on the renewal of hostilities between France and England, partly because the French had no hopes of keeping it against the English, and partly because the French government wanted money.* Spain declared war against Portugal on the ground that she still continued in friendly relations with England, and a Spanish army entered Alentejo, while a French force, under general Leclerc, entered Portugal in the north. Portugal was rich, for she had not yet been pillaged; and the court entered into negotiations with Lucien, who, on the 6th of June, 1800, signed the preliminaries of peace at Badajos, in consideration of thirty millions of francs from Portugal, which Lucien and the Prince of Peace are said to have shared between them. Portugal consented to close her ports against her old ally. Bonaparte, who had not yet begun his negotiations with England, was in a furious passion when he heard of the peace, for he wished to have Lisbon; but the arguments of Talleyrand and Fouché, "and finally the sacrifice of the diamonds of the princess of Brazil, and the present to the first consul of ten millions for his private purse,

* The text of the Concordat is printed in 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 463; and the Organic Articles for the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches, pp. 463—486.

† The Concordat is an important event in Bonaparte's history, both in its immediate and future consequences. The chapter in Thibaudeau's 'Consulat' (ii., 17), 'Concordat' is worth reading; and Madame de Staël's chapter, 'De l'inauguration du Concordat à Notre Dame,' in her 'Considérations,' &c., and Bailleul's remarks on Madame de Staël, in his 'Examen.'

* Tucker's 'Life of Jefferson,' ii., p. 123, 152.

overcame his obstinacy, and he allowed a definitive treaty to be concluded at Madrid" (29th September).*

As soon as Bonaparte had secured the cessation of hostilities with Great Britain, he despatched a powerful armament, under general Leclerc (December, 1801), to St. Domingo, where the blacks had formed a republic, with Toussaint L'Ouverture, a negro, and formerly a slave, as president. The history of this island from the time of the massacres in 1791, forms an interesting episode in the French Revolution. In February, 1794, freedom was given to the blacks of St. Domingo by a decree of the Convention, and Toussaint became a soldier. By his courage and his talents he rose to the rank of general; and when Laveau, the commissioner of the Convention, left St. Domingo in 1796, he appointed Toussaint commander-in-chief of the forces; Santhonax, a new commissioner, retained the civil authority. Toussaint soon induced or compelled Santhonax to leave the island, but he wrote to inform the Directory that the measure was necessary for the peace of the country. General Hédouville was sent by the Directory as governor, but an insurrection at the Cape frightened him away, and Toussaint was left in full possession of power. When Bonaparte became first consul, he sent Raymond and others with a conciliatory message to Toussaint, but really to ascertain the state of affairs. Toussaint's rank as commander-in-chief was confirmed by the first consul; but the confirmation was unnecessary, for Toussaint had the power in St. Domingo as Bonaparte had in France. In January, 1801, a constitution was formed, and Toussaint was appointed president for life. But Bonaparte could not bear a rival usurper, and he resolved to crush him by force and by fraud. The French expedition was too powerful to be resisted, though the yellow fever thinned the ranks of the soldiers. Toussaint was treacherously arrested, and sent to France. On his arrival at Paris (1802) he was confined in the Temple, and soon after sent to the fort of Joux, in the Jura Mountains, where he was subjected to rigorous imprisonment. He died in April, 1803, deprived of every comfort, the victim of the jealousy and cruelty of a more successful and less honest adventurer than himself. This costly expedition to St. Domingo was one of Bonaparte's wasteful and useless military enterprizes; for the French were expelled from the island by Dessalines, another negro chief, in 1803.

The Batavian Republic, the neighbour of the French Republic, which had enclosed Belgium in its fraternal embrace, felt the effect of the proximity; and as there had been an 18th Fructidor in Holland, so there was an 18th Brumaire played under French direction. "The Constitution of the year III.," observes Thibaudeau, "was reproduced in all the Constitutions that had been given to the nations which were conquered or protected by the French arms: the copies underwent all the modifications of the original." The new Batavian Constitution was made at Paris in concert with the Batavian ambassador, Schimmelpenninck, who returned to the Hague with it in his pocket. The Batavian Directory presented it for the acceptation of the people: the two chambers disapproved of it: the Directory shut up their chambers, and gave to Augereau the command of all the troops which were stationed within the constitutional circle. The French official journal denied the interference of France in this affair, and yet it was a notorious fact. A considerable number of the citizens voted against the new Constitution; a great number did not vote; and the Directory took their silence for consent. The new Batavian Constitution was accordingly proclaimed.

The Cisalpine Republic was also remodelled, and it stood much in need of it. The government had continued provisional since the battle of Marengo. The liberty and equality which the Italian Republic had expected, did not exist under French administration, for Bonaparte, who hated the democrats, gave orders to the provisional government to close the clubs and to enforce strict obedience to their authority. The republicans were dispersed and persecuted. Instead of republican simplicity and equality, they had before their eyes the odious spectacle of French ambassadors and commanders living in the style of princes. The internal condition of the provinces, which composed the Cisalpine Republic, was most wretched; they were treated as a conquered people, and oppressed under the name of liberty. The first consul had his own views as to the new organization of the Cisalpine Republic, but it was considered politic to make his views appear to be the will of the Cisalpine people. In January, 1802, a Consulta, or an assemblage of deputies from the Cisalpine Republic, was summoned to Lyon. Four hundred and fifty deputies came. Among them were bishops, curés, deputies from the judiciary body, the universities, the army, the chambers of commerce, and representatives of the notables. Talleyrand was sent to Lyon to receive them, and to do the honours of the occasion.* The Consulta worked in committees under the direction of Talleyrand, and when all was ready, Bonaparte came to Lyon, in January, 1802. The whole population went out to meet him, and he was received with every demonstration of honour. Among the questions which the Consulta had to settle was the choice of a president; and a committee of thirty, who were informed of the first consul's wishes, reported that it was their "ardent wish that general Bonaparte would honour the Cisalpine Republic by retaining the supreme magistracy;" and the Consulta adopted the report, and determined that it should be presented to the first consul as the faithful expression of their senti-

* Fouché, 'Mém.,' i., 242. Portugal paid a round sum to the French Republic, according to some authorities; but it is generally stated that the first consul and his brother got the money. It is hard to know the truth in such matters.

* At a dinner which Talleyrand gave them, the aged archbishop of Milan dropped down dead; but this did not interrupt the feast. The archbishop had a splendid funeral. (Thibaudeau.)

ments and their opinions. The report was laid before Bonaparte on the 26th of January, who addressed the Consulta in a set speech. His style on all public occasions since the 18th of Brumaire, was that of a master. He told them that he consented to their wishes—"in the midst of the continual cares which my station requires, all that shall concern you and can consolidate your prosperity, shall never be absent from the dearest affections of my soul." His speech was interrupted by frequent applause from the servile Consulta; and the new Constitution was read. When the first organic law, which related to the clergy, was read, the archbishop of Ravenna expressed the assent of the Cisalpine clergy, and urged all the ministers of the Catholic faith to avail themselves of their influence over the people, to inspire them with respect for property, and to attach them to the new social pact. Bonaparte was named president of the Italian Republic, the new title of the Cisalpine; and he named Melzi, a Milanese, vice-president. Bonaparte's authority was conferred for ten years; but he was re-eligible. The government consisted of a president, who had nearly the same powers as the first consul of France, a vice-president, a 'Consulta of State,' consisting of ten members; eight ministers, and of a legislative council, consisting of ten members. The Legislative body consisted of seventy-five members, chosen by three colleges, which also appointed the Consulta. The three colleges consisted of seven hundred persons: the rest of the nation had no voice. The Legislative body voted without discussion, and by ballot, on the laws proposed by the president, after they had been discussed by the legislative council, the members of which were appointed by the president for three years. The Consulta appointed judges, and discussed treaties and foreign affairs.* Bonaparte's assumption of the presidency of the Italian Republic was an audacious usurpation, and his success in this attempt showed that he might do in France what he pleased. The first consul remained at Lyon fifteen days, which were occupied with balls, festivities, illuminations, reviews, visits to the manufactories, audiences, councils, the administration of the city, and the great work of the Italian constitution. He was ever active himself, and kept everybody in activity. All the south of France crowded to see him. Many of the soldiers from Egypt happened to be at Lyon, where they met again the man who had led them to victory and deserted them; but they forgave his desertion and rejoiced at his elevation. There was a magnificent fête in the theatre, at which the first consul and his wife were present. A pyramid was surmounted by the statue of Bonaparte, with his hand resting on a lion; at the bases were the trophies of his victories; on one side was represented the battle of Arcola, on the other the battle of Marengo. Shouts of joy filled the theatre, followed by deep silence when the music began; and a chorus commenced with a song which hailed him as the "god of victory." No citizen ever received more free, more spontaneous homage from his countrymen,—a tribute justly due to his talents, and justly paid by the city which had suffered under the reign of terror. But the first consul was intoxicated by his elevation, and corrupted by power. He was not great enough to sustain worthily the greatness that circumstances thrust upon him; and in the pride of his heart, he turned aside from the road of honour, and made himself his own idol.*

The negotiations for peace between England and France were finally settled in March, 1802, and the treaty was signed on the 25th. The parties to the treaty were France, Spain, and Holland of the one part, and England of the other. Joseph Bonaparte was the French plenipotentiary. The treaty consisted of twenty-three articles. England gave up all the acquisitions which she had made during the war except the islands of Trindad and Ceylon. Egypt was restored to the sultan, and France agreed to evacuate Naples and the Papal States. Within three months after the exchange of the ratifications, England was to give up Malta and Gozo to their former possessors, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who were to hold these islands on certain terms which were mentioned in the treaty. The Republic of the Seven Ionian Islands was also recognized; and compensation was to be given to the late stadtholder of Holland. The condition of Sardinia was not mentioned; but the integrity of Portugal was guaranteed. The news of the final settlement of peace was received with great joy in England by a large majority of the nation, though the treaty was all in favour of France, which retained her acquisitions on the continent of Europe, while England retained nothing that she had taken from France. Malta was the really difficult question in the negotiations for the treaty. The announcement of peace was accepted in France as joyfully as in England; and the first consul received the congratulations of the National Institute and the constitutional authorities. But the war party in England attacked the definitive treaty, as it had done the preliminaries; and it was the subject of some violent debates in the British Parliament. The conduct of the first consul in putting himself at the head of the Italian Republic, the French acquisition of Louisiana, and Bonaparte's bearing and temper, made most clear-sighted politicians consider the treaty of Amiens as a hollow truce on both sides.

* Thibaudeau, 'Consulat,' ii., c. 21.

* See the judicious remarks of Bailleul, 'Examen,' &c., 'Sur Napoléon Bonaparte,' ii., 412. A picture of the man and his manners, perhaps rather a favourable one, is drawn by E. M. de Saint-Hilaire, in the work entitled 'Napoléon au Conseil d'État.' Paris, 1843.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

BONAPARTE CONSUL FOR LIFE.

The third session of the Legislative body had opened later than usual on the 1st Frimaire of the year X. (21st of November, 1801.) The object of the government was to be able to present a more glowing picture of the public prosperity. Thibaudeau read to the Legislative body a report on the situation of the Republic, and a deputation was sent to the consuls to felicitate them on the success of their negotiations, and the hopes of a happy future which they had given to the Republic. The orator of the deputation made his address, to which the first consul replied. While the first consul was at Lyon, taking possession of the presidency of the Italian Republic, the senate was very busy. The first consul left them work to do while he was away; and they did it. They made a list of the persons who were to continue members of the Legislative body and of the Tribunat, and those who were not re-named (*renommés* was the word of the Journal de Paris, which acquainted the public with this measure) were to cease their functions at a time to be afterwards named; and when this was done, the senate would choose from the national list those who were to replace "the eliminated." Notwithstanding this evident design on the part of the government to get rid of some troublesome opposition members, the Legislative body and the Tribunat humbly went to felicitate the first consul on his return from Lyon in February, 1802. The change which was effected in the members of the chamber is called by contemporary writers "the elimination of the year X." Benjamin Constant was one of the eliminated.* On the 20th of March, 1802, the Tribunat and the Legislative body were called together to be informed of an order of the first consul that he would convoke an extraordinary meeting for the 15th Germinal (5th of April) next. The Tribunat adjourned its sittings to the 1st of Germinal, and the president of the Legislative body declared that the ordinary session of the year X. was closed.

The reformed Legislative body met on the 5th of April, 1802, when the Concordat was presented to it, and the organic articles. These measures were adopted by a considerable majority both in the Tribunat and in the Legislative body. This law was proclaimed on Sunday, the 18th of April, by the municipal authorities of Paris to the sound of the drum and the cannon; and the consuls addressed a proclamation to the French nation, in which an appeal was made to the religious sentiments of the people, both Catholic and Protestant. It was a manifesto against the philosophers and Hébertists,—a solemn recognition of the Christian faith. No power that had existed in France since the Revolution could have ventured to make such a proclamation; and none that existed before the Revolution, except Louis XVI., would have made such a declaration in favour of the Protestants: "Citizens who profess the Protestant religion, the law has equally extended its solicitude to you: let the morality which is common to all Christians, this morality, so holy, so pure, so fraternal, unite all in the same love of country, the same respect for the laws, in the same affection for all the members of the great family!—Frenchmen, let us be united for the happiness of our country, for the happiness of humanity: may this religion which has civilized Europe still remain the bond which unites its inhabitants together, and may the virtues which it requires be always associated with the intelligence which enlightens us." If the first consul did not hold the faith which he recommended, nor practise the morality which he inculcated, he was sincere in believing that both were necessary for the existence of social order. Like another man who had preached morality to the Jacobins, he was not all hypocrite. "The proclamation," says Thibaudeau, "was a homily from the pen of Portalis."

On the 18th of April the consuls, the members of the senate, of the Tribunat, of the Legislative body, of the council of state, the ministers, the judiciary and other constituted bodies, went in great pomp to Notre Dame, where cardinal Caprara solemnized mass, and the archbishop of Tours preached. The new bishops took the civil oath to the first consul. A Te Deum for the general peace and the peace of the church concluded the ceremony. It is affirmed by an eyewitness, who was not favourable to Bonaparte's restoration of the Catholic worship, that everybody showed great indifference on the occasion except the priests. The army above all, it is said, was ill-disposed to the change. Yet the first consul accomplished a great object: he removed one of the chief causes of the troubles which had agitated France; he deprived the royalists of the only popular argument to which they could appeal; and his military success and his capacity for administration secured him against any open hostility from those who disliked his religious reforms.

The first consul did not stop here. On the 26th of April a Sénatus-consulte was promulgated, which granted an amnesty to the emigrants with certain exceptions and on certain conditions; and this measure passed quietly. Shortly after, the government presented to the Legislative body a scheme for the institution of the Legion of Honour, which made the republicans cry out that he was going to restore the nobility, and that the Legion of Honour was the first step towards it. The scheme was referred by the Legislative body to the Tribunat for discussion; and it was settled in a single sitting, by a majority of 56

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 397, &c.

to 38. In the Legislative body there would have been opposition, if they had been allowed to speak. It was proved to them by the orators of the tribunes and the three councillors of state, Roederer, Marmont, and Dumas, that the institution had a republican character, as a proof of which they urged the eighth article of the law; but the result of the ballot showed that many of the members were of a different opinion. The majority was 166 to 110.* A law on the recruiting of the army was one of the important measures of the session. A discourse of great length, and one of considerable interest, was read on this occasion by Daru, who acted as orator of the Tribunat before the Legislative body.†

On the 6th of May, the treaty of Amiens was sent to the Legislative body and to the Tribunat. On the same day, some of the members of the Council of State communicated to the Tribunat a message of the consuls on "the treaty of peace, which finally terminated the dissensions of Europe, and completed the great work of peace."‡ When the message was read, the president, Chabot (de l'Allier) left the chair to address the body: "What man," he said, "had ever more claim on the national gratitude than General Bonaparte?" He proposed that the Tribunat should adopt the following resolution: "that there be given to General Bonaparte, first consul of the Republic, some striking testimonial of national gratitude;" which was unanimously adopted and without discussion. On the 18th, the senate published a Sénatus-consulte, founded upon the resolution of the Tribunat, by which citizen Napoleon Bonaparte, first consul of the Republic, was reelected, for the ten years which should immediately follow the ten years for which he had been named by article 39 of the Constitution. But this did not satisfy Bonaparte: he wanted something more. He modestly replied to the senate that he accepted the honourable duties which they imposed upon him, but he did not wish to hold them except from the people, and it was his desire that the people should vote on this occasion, as they had voted upon the acceptance of the consular constitution. At the same time he caused a resolution of the council to be made to the effect that the votes of the people should be taken on the question, whether Napoleon Bonaparte should be consul for life. This resolution was sent to the Tribunat, to the senate, and to the Legislative body, and it was accepted with little opposition. The first consul's scheme for seizing the power was concerted with his brother Lucien, Cambacérès, Talleyrand, and Roederer. The senators Laplace, Fargues, and Lacépède, were also privy to the scheme. The individual votes of the tribunes were taken on the question of the consulate for life; and Carnot was one of the few who voted against it. Registers were opened all through the Republic, and as the whole administration was in the hands of the first consul, a sufficient number of votes was secured; and the result was forwarded to the senate by a message signed by Cambacérès, which requested the senate to examine the votes, and to proclaim the wish of the people. There were 3,568,085 votes in favour of the consulate for life, and a few thousand votes against. A Sénatus-consulte of the 14th Thermidor (2nd of August, 1802), declared that the French people named, and the senate proclaimed, Napoleon Bonaparte first consul for life; and that a statue of Peace, holding in one hand the laurel of Victory, and in the other the decree of the senate, should attest to posterity the gratitude of the nation.

Everything had gone on in the way that the first consul wished, and he could now venture on the final measure. On the 4th of August an extraordinary sitting of the Council was held, at which were present the three consuls, the nine ministers, and Joseph Bonaparte. The first consul presented to the Council the draft of a Sénatus-consulte, which was a kind of new constitution.* The fourth title declared "that the consuls were for life, were members of the Senate, and presided in that body; the second and third consuls are named by the Senate on the presentation of the first consul:—when the first consul considered it fit, he could present a citizen to succeed him after his death: he had also the power of depositing in the archives of the government his wish as to the nomination of his successor, who should be presented to the Senate after his death;" provision was made for the case of the first consul's presentee not being accepted. It was a barefaced and shameless way of removing the few obstacles which lay in the way to the imperial title, the fondest object of Bonaparte's ambition, though he affected to reject the idea, and to treat it as an absurdity, when Josephine asked him one day, when he would make her empress of the Gauls. The Senate, now trained to obedience, adopted the measure without hesitation; and with their sanction alone it was proclaimed as a fundamental law of the state. It was not presented to the acceptation of the people. That imaginary sovereignty for which France had suffered so much, was extinguished by the will of the first consul.

The Senate were pleased with the show of power conferred on them. They had (Titre IV.) the regulation of the constitution of the colonies, and of everything which was not provided for by the Constitution, and which was necessary to its action; the power of suspending for five years the functions of juries in the departments, where such a measure was necessary; of annulling the decisions of the courts when they were dangerous to the safety of the state; of dissolving the Legislative body and the Tribunat; of naming the

* The membership of the Legion of Honour was given both for military and civil services. There is a French work entitled 'Fastes de la Légion d'Honneur,' 4 vols. Paris, 1842 and 1844.

† 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 410—451, a very elaborate and instructive document.

‡ Message des Consuls de la République, 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 457.

* Thibaudeau, 'Consulat,' iii., p. 244.

consuls; and other great powers. And this body, which could do everything, was entirely under the direction of the first consul. The Council of State was never to exceed fifty members. The government had the power of convoking, adjourning, and proroguing the Legislative body. From the year XIII. the Tribunat was to be reduced to fifty members. There was a grand judge, minister of justice, with extraordinary powers.* A day was fixed for the authorities to present their felicitations to the first consul upon this new measure, and the day was the 15th of August, the birthday of Bonaparte, the anniversary of the ratification of the Concordat, and the day for the promulgation of the Sénatus-consulte relative to the consulship for life. The festival of the 15th was magnificent. A piece of cloth, thirty feet in diameter, was hoisted above one of the towers of the metropolitan church of Notre Dame, and at sunrise there waved over Paris the signs of the zodiac, under which rose the birthday of the first consul. The bishops, in their messages (*mandemens*), on this occasion exceeded all bounds of adulation; and yet the servility of flatterers was mingled with a feeling of admiration and respect for the first consul, whose name was the guarantee of order and security. But the first consul was not completely happy. The establishment of the supreme power in his family was the object of all his wishes, but he had no children by his wife; and it is said that she had already intimations made to her that the first consul might seek another wife. On the 3rd Fructidor, Bonaparte went in royal pomp to preside in the Senate for the first time. The bridges and streets were lined with soldiers from the Tuileries to the Luxembourg. The first consul rode in a carriage drawn by eight horses, followed by the carriages of the other consuls and the ministers. He had a brilliant escort of aide-camps and generals, and he was received at the foot of the staircase by a deputation of ten senators. In all but name he was already king, and more than king. The distracted state of France since the convocation of the States-General, made men wish for order and quiet. Liberty and Equality, vaguely conceived, had shaken France to her foundations; but the notion of country, of the national name and glory, in which all other names and interests were merged, was still supreme, and a bond of union in the midst of apparent anarchy. In those terrible times when the sovereignty of the people and the rights of individuals were words in every man's mouth, there was no liberty, there was absolute obedience to the powers which ruled France, and gave to the Revolution its impulse and its energy. After the fall of Robespierre there was no real power. There were men who had power, and used it feebly or ill: there were factions and individual interests: there was no power that represented the national name and national reputation. A man appeared who comprehended what the people wanted,—something that should be a worthy representation of that which they felt; and this man was without rival in audacity, cunning, and hypocrisy. The people thought that he was as honest as he professed to be: he promised, and was believed. He had men about him whom he used as instruments, and they found their profit in subservience to the will and the ambition of Bonaparte.

The aggrandizement of the French Republic, of which he was the living impersonation, was one of the weaknesses of Bonaparte. A Sénatus-consulte made the Isle of Elba a part of the territory of the Republic; and another united to France all Piedmont, which was divided into six departments, and sent seventeen deputies to the Legislative body. Bonaparte perfected his alliance with the church by having his uncle, the abbé Fesch, ordained a bishop. At the same time a papal brief "restored to the secular and laical life" the citizen Charles Maurice Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs. Talleyrand had restored himself long ago; but after the reconciliation of France with the church, the former bishop of Autun would have been a public scandal, if he were not formally released from his clerical profession. Talleyrand and Fouché hated one another, and Bonaparte did not like Fouché, who was less favourable to Bonaparte's usurpation than Talleyrand. Bonaparte made Fouché a senator, a function which was incompatible with that of minister of police. The duties of police were for the time attached to the department of justice. Fouché's nomination to the senate was made in flattering terms, and the bitterness of his deprivation was sweetened by a present of 1,200,000 francs, which the first consul gave him.

There was some opposition in the army to the first consul's design of usurpation, and Moreau and Bernadotte were its centres. They both kept away from the consular court, and Moreau lived in retirement in a very plain manner, which formed a striking contrast with the pomp and pageantry which surrounded the first consul. Moreau refused to assist at the Te Deum which was solemnized on the occasion of the Concordat. Bernadotte, who was at Rennes, as commander-in-chief in the west, formed a plan for an insurrection, and he was denounced; but Bonaparte went no farther than to deprive him of his command. Bernadotte came to Paris, and became a frequent visitor of Mde. de Staël, whom Bonaparte already disliked.

Since the treaty of Luneville the French troops had left Switzerland, and civil dissension began. The Di-

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxviii., 499, &c. The Sénatus-consulte Organique de la Constitution du 16 Thermidor, An. X. (4 Août, 1802), consists of ten titles, subdivided into eighty-seven articles. There are printed at the end of the 38th vol. of the 'Hist. Parl.,' certain 'Documens Complémentaires,' a series of official acts by which Bonaparte effected his usurpation. The first is the letter by which he thanked the Senate for adding ten years to his consular authority, and the last is the Organic Sénatus-consulte of the 4th of August.

* The story of Fouché's dismissal is told in the 'Méms. de Fouché,' i., 279, &c. Compare Thibaudeau, 'Consulat,' iii., c. 28.

rectory had established in Switzerland a republic, one and indivisible, which was altogether opposed to the feelings of a majority of the cantons, which were in favour of a federal government. Bonaparte settled the disputes of the Swiss by sending Ney among them at the head of an army, with orders to both parties to lay down their arms. This order was executed in October and November, 1802, without any bloodshed. Fifty-six deputies from Switzerland came to Paris to form a congress. In this body thirty-two were in favour of unity; and fifteen were federalists. A commission of senators, consisting of Barthélemy, Fouché, Roederer, and Desmeuniers, was appointed to hear what they had to say, and agree with them on some terms which would settle their differences. This congress produced the Constitution which regulated the affairs of Switzerland until 1814; and the first consul gave it binding force by an 'Act of Mediation,' dated the 19th of February, 1803. The 'Act of Mediation' began thus: "Bonaparte, first consul of the Republic, president of the Italian Republic, to the Swiss."* After stating the motives and the object of this 'Act of Mediation,' Bonaparte concluded thus: "We, in quality of mediator, without any other object than the happiness of the people on whose interests we had to pronounce, and without intending to affect the independence of Switzerland, determine as follows." This was followed by the Constitutions and the Federal Act, which declared that the presidence of the confederation should belong to each canton for a year. There were also various orders of the first consul, for appointing the canton which should have the presidence in 1803, and for the regulation of the public debt and the national property. The 'Act of Mediation' was in general well received in Switzerland, and met with no opposition. Bonaparte was of opinion that the physical peculiarities of Switzerland, the habits of the people, and their history, were all in favour of a federal system, in preference to a fusion into one state. His moderation tranquillized the country, and was a beneficent interference. Before the 'Act of Mediation,' however, he provided for the interests of France by establishing the Valais as an independent republic, a preliminary to its being incorporated in the French empire. The possession of the Valais secured the way into Italy by the military road of the Simplon, which was constructed by the French for an easy access to the peninsula.

* Printed 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 14.

The session of the Legislative body for the year XI. commenced on the 2nd of February, 1803, and a great many useful laws were enacted; but neither opposition nor discussion disturbed the monotonous sittings of the Tribunat. The members seemed to understand that their consent to the measures which were proposed was purely formal. Everything was well discussed and arranged in the Council of State, with the knowledge, and generally in the presence of the first consul. One of the Legislative regulations is curious and characteristic: it regulated the formalities which a person had to observe in changing his name; for many were now anxious to rid themselves of the absurd names which they had borrowed from the Republican Calendar or Roman History. Regulations were made for the practitioners of medicine; and chambers of manufactures, arts, and trades, were established. A levy of 100,000 conscripts was ordered; and various regulations were made for the army, and as to the allowances to the widows and children of soldiers. There was granted to the first consul a civil list of six millions of francs, and to each of the other two consuls an indemnity of 600,000 francs. The Legislative body adopted the preliminary title and the eleven following titles which form the first book of the Code Civil.

The session closed on the 28th of May, 1803, with the prospect of a speedy renewal of the war. The government had already announced that the English ambassador had been recalled, and that the French ambassador had left London.

CHAPTER LXIX.

LEGISLATION.

The history of Law in France forms a large chapter in the history of civilization. Rome gave to the Gauls a political organization, which crumbled to pieces on the downfall of the empire and before the barbarian invaders. But the Roman Law survived its political system: it was planted on the Gallic soil, where it took root, and still grows. Of the customary law which may have existed contemporaneously with the Roman during the dominion of the Cæsars, we know nothing. But the customs of the different nations which settled in France after the downfall of the Roman power were gradually transformed into new customs modified by ecclesiastical and Roman Law and by the growth of a new form of society. In the south of France, which first felt the influence of Roman dominion, and retained more of the Roman character, the law maintained itself. The system of Feudal tenure was there regulated by customs; but these customs did not form the body of the law; they were merely supplementary. In the north the customary law became established, and the custom governed more than one-half of France. The Roman Law was sometimes

called the "Written Law." The distinction between the written law and the custom is clearly expressed in an ordonnance of Philip IV., of July, 1302, by which he established a school of Civil and Canon Law at Orléans.

The fundamental law was operated on in France both by the kings and the jurists; and the Roman law was the source to which they applied for new rules or new maxims. France produced the best lawyers in Europe, and, like the great jurists of Rome, these men endeavoured to reform the letter of the law upon the principles of equity and sound sense, and to bring it into harmony with the wants of society. The notion of giving unity and consistency to the immense mass of matter with which they had to deal, marks the enlarged and liberal views of the old French jurists. The kings from time to time attempted a kind of codification, but all that they accomplished was by special ordonnances. Thus, in 1667, there was an ordonnance on civil procedure; in 1670 an ordonnance on criminal law; in 1673 an ordonnance on commerce; and many others. These ordonnances were in the nature of codes; they were not new legislations, or improvements upon old rules. The chief improvements were made in the reign of Louis XVI., a man under whom, in better times, any amount of useful reform would have been practicable. He abolished torture, restored the Protestants to their civil rights, put an end to the corvées, liberated the serfs on the royal domains, and encouraged the feudal lords to follow his example. But the eighteenth century was incapable of wise reform: it was the age of superficial philosophy. The monstrous abuses that prevailed in France were seen and felt by all. Social and political questions had been made familiar to the people by many writers; but the instruction was superficial, and men were easily taught to believe, what was gratifying to their self-love, that law and the institutions of government were things of which every man was a competent judge. Voltaire, and his followers, some of whom went farther than himself, while they aimed at destroying abuses, aimed also at the destruction of the basis on which society rested. Law loses all authority when it is considered merely a human institution. The doctrine of Rights takes the place of the doctrine of Duty; and the pursuit of interest, sometimes called the pursuit of happiness, is proposed as man's guide instead of the absolute rule of obedience to the divine law. When the States-General met in 1789, opinion was in declared hostility to positive institutions, the inevitable consequence of which is convulsion, unless circumstances should render reform practicable and easy. But circumstances were not favourable to reform in 1789: there were too many powerful interests opposed to it. The hostility between the fixed and the positive on the one side, and opinion on the other, was irreconcilable. Feudality was abolished, and equality in the sight of the law was proclaimed. Serfs, bourgeois, and seigneurs disappeared: all became citizens. Property in land was released from its chains, and placed at the free disposal of the proprietor. Monks and nuns were restored to civil life; religious distinctions were abolished. Marriage was made a civil agreement, and divorce was allowed. So many changes, even if they were all beneficial changes, could not be made at once in the old fabric of French society without destroying it; and when it was destroyed, the work of reconstruction was difficult. The form of government was a matter of secondary importance. Government always does and must exist: there is and always will be in every society a power that will command obedience. The anarchy of no government is not an anarchy that need ever be apprehended. But disorder that may disturb the relations of families, the titles to property, and the security of contracts; the disorder of a formless mass of legal rules is one that may exist under any kind of government. On the 18th of Brumaire, Bonaparte seized on power, and gave to France a master. But he did more than this. What the old kings of France had attempted, what the Revolution had in vain tried to accomplish, to regulate the law that concerns persons, property, and contracts, was accomplished under the direction of a soldier; a man who had an instinct for order, a keen insight into the nature of society, an honest intention to do justice; with one weakness, a desire to do everything himself, to regulate everything, to interfere in everything. If the Code which was fashioned under his government has many defects, we must look for them in two main causes, the inherent difficulties of the undertaking, and the want of men competent to execute it. For the study of law had declined in France; there were no men who had the competent knowledge for so difficult a task, and they were lamentably deficient in a knowledge of that law, the Roman, which was to be their guide and their model. Like Justinian's compilers, the commissioners worked in a great hurry; for the first consul was not a man who could wait. "By dint of labour," says Malleville, in his 'Analyse Raisonnée,' "we succeeded in making a Code Civil in four months." The draft of the Code Civil, which the Commissioners made in so short a time, was printed five months after the appointment of the commission, and sent for examination to the court of cassation and the courts of appeal. The observations of these courts formed a valuable mass of materials for the amendment of the original draft.

"The authors of the Code Civil," says Portalis, "did not confine themselves to compilation, to selection, to revision: their task was more difficult and greater than this: they were called to connect, without any violent transition, the past with the present; to conciliate all interests without destroying any right; to effect a friendly union between opposite opinions and usages." Accordingly the authors of the 'Preliminary Discourse' prefixed to the Code, described their labours "as a compromise between the written and the customary law." "The labour of the compilers," continues Portalis, "rested on these three great bases: the complete secularization of civil and political order; equality of all citizens before the law, and equality

of all the children of a family; the enfranchisement of property, and the right to use it and to dispose of it, without any other limits than those imposed by the law with a view to the public interest."

A resolution of the 24 Thermidor of the year VIII. appointed the commission for the formation of this Code Civil. The members were, Tronchet, president of the court of cassation, Portalis, Bigot de Préameneu, and Malleville. In conformity to the terms of the Constitution of the year VIII., three bodies had a share in this undertaking. The first was the Conseil d'Etat, one of the sections of which was a section of Legislation. This section had to examine every title of the Code, and to draw it up provisionally in the presence of the four members of the Commission. When each title was examined and reduced to form, it was submitted to the whole Conseil, which adopted it with such alterations as were judged necessary. The members of the Legislative section were, Regnier, Berlier, Emmery, Réal, Thibaudeau, Muraire, Galli, and Treilhard. The law was then carried to the Legislative body by an orator of the government, who explained the reasons of it, and moved its reception. The Legislative body referred it to the Tribunat, which referred it to its section of Legislation. This section reported to the Tribunat, which had the power of discussion; and its opposition was so great as nearly to prevent the Code being completed. Bonaparte had a remedy for this: he modified the constitution of the Tribunat, and limited their discussions. The Tribunat returned the law to the Legislative body, and sent with it an orator to express the opinion of the body. Thus there were two discourses delivered on every law to the Legislative body; a discourse in the name of the government, and a discourse in the name of the Tribunat. After these forms were gone through, the Legislative body voted without discussion and by ballot. The law, if passed, was called a decree. The Sénat-Conservateur acted as a supreme tribunal, to which an appeal might be made against unconstitutional decrees during the ten days which followed their publication in the 'Moniteur.' If the ten days passed without any appeal, or the appeal was rejected, the law was then considered to be promulgated.

The first consul frequently assisted at the discussions of the Conseil d'Etat, and talked a great deal; sometimes to the purpose, and sometimes he rambled from the subject. Though he knew nothing of law, he had a happy tact of seeing the meaning of a thing, disencumbered of its forms: of applying his strong good sense directly to the purpose, which a mere technical lawyer never does.* When the question of divorce was discussed, he was very lively and entertaining. The proposal in the draft of the Code to make the dissolution of marriage the consequence of a sentence of deportation was disapproved by the Court of Appeal of Paris; and the first consul, who was likewise opposed to it, spoke on the matter with great feeling and good sense. He said that it was shocking, that if the wife of a person who was deported should have the generosity to share his fate, which would entitle her to honourable consideration, she should be thereby degraded to the condition of a concubine. But the measure was carried against his will; and so it stands now in the Code Civil (Titre I., chap. ii., Art. 22—25). This was "a rigid consequence of premises which were historically false, consequently a result of the errors which most of the jurists had adopted from their youth, founded on a superficial knowledge of the Roman Law, and from which they could not emancipate themselves." *

Thirty-six decrees or laws, which compose the present Code Civil, being successively enacted, a law was passed and promulgated on the 31st of March, 1804, by which all these laws were formed into one body, under the title of 'Code Civil des Français.' Under the empire this Code was called the 'Code Napoléon,' but it is now called by its original title, 'Code Civil.' It has been modified at various times, but the substance has not been changed. It comprehends pretty nearly the matter which the Romans comprised under the name of 'Privatum Jus,' which is expounded in the Institutional Treatises of Gaius and Justinian. The first book, in eleven titles, treats of the Law of Persons: the second book, in four titles, treats of the Law of Property: the third book, in two titles, treats of Succession and Testaments; and in eighteen other titles, of Contracts, of Pledge, and some other matters. There is much to criticise both in the arrangement and the execution of the Code Civil, but it was a work of necessity, and has been beneficial. Its operation has not been limited to France, nor was it terminated by the fall of Napoleon; it preserves its force in Belgium, in the Rhenish province of Prussia, in Italy, and elsewhere. There were subsequently formed under the government of Napoleon, a 'Code de Procédure Civile;' 'Code d'Instruction Criminelle;' a 'Code Pénal,'

* A lively picture of the discussions is given in the work entitled 'Napoléon au Conseil d'Etat;' but the book contains doubtful matter. It is stated (ii., p. 150) that "Napoleon sometimes cleared up the most difficult questions by citing unexpectedly entire passages of the Roman Law;" and when Treilhard expressed his wonder at his knowledge of law, Napoleon told him that, when he was lieutenant of artillery at Auxonne, he was put under arrest for some matter or other, and that he had nothing to read during the ten days of his imprisonment except a copy of the Digest, which he found in an old case. Napoleon might possibly have told the story; but he had a great deal of sly humour, and if he told this marvellous lie to Treilhard, it could only be to see how the flatterer would receive the impossible story of his "being saturated with the Roman lawyers in ten days." It is probable that Napoleon could hardly read Latin; and it is no reflection on his scholarship to say that he could not understand the Digest. There was enough in Bonaparte that was clever and wonderful, without the necessity of resorting to fable.

* Savigny, 'System des Heutigen Römischen Rechts,' i., 160, where the doctrine of "civil death," and the confused notions of the French jurists of Napoleon's time are clearly explained and exposed.

harsh and severe; and a 'Code de Commerce,' generally considered the best of the Codes. These fiv Codes are sometimes called 'Les Cinq Codes.'

Bonaparte was averse to the abolition of slavery i the French colonies. "I am for the whites," he said "because I am white: I have only this reason to give, and it is a good one: how could men ever grant libert to Africans, to men who had no civilization, who di not even know what France was?" Slavery was maintained in all the colonies of France; but in the decre on this subject (27 Floréal, year X.), nothing was sai of Guadaloupe and St. Domingo, where the slaves wer free in fact, and the government had promised to respec their freedom. In all other colonies slavery remaine as it was before 1789, and the slave-trade was continued. The new law placed all the French colonie for ten years under such regulations as the governmen should make; and the new rules were establishe without opposition in all the colonies except Guadaloupe, where the mulattoes rose in arms, and formed a provisional government. But the rebellion was soon put down, and admiral Lacrosse, the captain-genera of Guadaloupe, re-established the old regime. Thus the silence of the government as to Guadaloupe and St. Domingo, in the law of the 27th Floréal, showed their intention to restore slavery in both these islands New disturbances broke out in St. Domingo, where the French army under Leclerc had suffered dreadfully from the climate. When he first landed in that island he had 20,000 men, and he had received reinforcement to the amount of 14,000 more. When the second insurrection broke out, there were hardly 3,000 Frenchmen able to bear arms: 7,000 were in the hospitals; 24,000 were dead. The war was atrocious on both sides. Twelve hundred blacks, who were kept as prisoners in the French ships, were thrown into the sea, for fear that they should rise and kill the sailors. The government lied, as usual, in the 'Moniteur,' which it filled with false accounts of St. Domingo; but the dead body of general Leclerc, the brother-in-law of Bonaparte, arrived at Toulon, accompanied by his wife, and the calamities of St. Domingo were no longer a secret. Rochambeau, a man of violent temper, succeeded Leclerc in the chief command in the island. Bonaparte, who was accustomed to see everything yield to his stubborn will, did not readily give up the project of compelling St. Domingo to submit. But he had soon other work on his hands; and St. Domingo remained and still remains independent of France.

The administration of Bonaparte during the consulate was favourable to the establishment of order and prosperity. The defect of it was too much interference. The principle that freedom is the end of all political institutions, and that all restraint should have no other end than to secure the greatest amount of freedom, was never understood or acknowledged by Bonaparte, nor is yet fully understood or practised by any government. The problem is difficult of solution; but this is the problem that governments have to solve. Education may come within the limits of the activity of government; but here its function is to reconcile individual freedom with general order. Bonaparte comprehended fully the advantage of education, and gave it all the encouragement which he thought consistent with his own power, the conservation of which was his fixed idea. His plan comprised all kinds and degrees of education, but all degrees did not receive the same aid. The primary schools, those intended for the education of the poor, received nothing from the State: the establishment of them was a charge on the communes, and the teachers were paid by the scholars. The secondary schools, in which were taught Latin and French, with the elements of geography, history, and mathematics, were also left to the care of the communes. Private persons might establish such schools, but not without the consent of government. This freedom, then, was purely illusory; government, instead of making its consent necessary to this exercise of individual industry, should do no more than require evidence of the teachers' fitness. The Lycées were established at the expense of the State for the instruction of youth in the antient languages, rhetoric, logic, morality, and the elements of the mathematical and physical sciences. The pupils consisted of those whom the government placed there, and for whom it provided; of the pupils from the secondary schools who were admitted upon the principle of examination and competition; of those whom their parents might send there as boarders; and of day-scholars, or pupils who did not board. The professors n the Lycées were selected by the first consul out of a list of candidates made out by three inspectors-general of studies, and three members of the National nstitut. The special schools that existed were maintained, and provision was made for the establishment of schools of law, of medicine, of natural history, of hemistry, of transcendental mathematics, and others. All the professors in these schools also were appointed y the first consul out of a list that was presented to him. Six thousand four hundred allowances (bourses) were created for the purpose of defraying the expenses f as many pupils, whom the State supported in the Lycées and in the special schools. The payment of he professors and other functionaries employed in the Lycées and in the special schools, consisted of a fixed ayment and an uncertain payment: the first was egulated by the number of national pupils in the stablishment, and the rate paid for them; the second art depended on the number of boarders and day-cholars. In the law which regulated Education, two words were omitted—Religion and Philosophy. The rst consul disliked Philosophy, or Ideology as he alled it. In the addresses made to the Legislative ody, Jard-Panvilliers, the orator of the Tribunat, and Roederer, the orator of the government, professed espect to religion, and declared that the ground of its xclusion from the public schools was, that pupils of ll religious creeds were admitted.

The question whether the commerce of India should e free, or put in the hands of a privileged society, was

discussed in the Council of State, where the first consul said that he was at first in favour of a privileged company, but he had consulted merchants from all the ports, and they were in favour of liberty; "and they have given me," he said, "good reasons for it." His clear good sense led him to the conclusion "that privileged company is like the government; its operations are always dearer than those of private persons its administration is more costly: such a company forms a path for itself, and does not deviate from it.' The freedom of trade to India was maintained.

Flattery had nearly exhausted itself in words: it now offered to raise monuments to the first consul. The council-general of Paris voted 600,000 francs for a triumphal arch on the site of the Grand Châtelet. The first consul said, in answer to a communication on the subject, "The idea of dedicating monuments to men who make themselves useful to the people, is honourable to nations: I accept the offer of the monument which you propose to erect to me; let the place be marked out, but leave future ages the care of constructing it, if they ratify the good opinion which you have of me." * The first consul's father, Charles Bonaparte, who died in 1785, was buried at Montpellier. The municipal council of this town resolved to erect a monument to him, with a flattering inscription to the first consul: but he refused to give his assent—"If it were yesterday," said he, "that I had lost my father, it would be proper and natural that my sorrow should be accompanied by some signal mark of my respect: but it is twenty years ago; the public are strangers to this event: let us say nothing about it." But the first consul had a distinction which he would not refuse, for it was a symbol of his future power. The new coinage was finally settled, the basis of which was the franc, which was divided into one hundred centimes. The coins had on them the effigy of Bonaparte, with the inscription, 'Bonaparte, Premier Consul, République Française." There were gold coins of forty and twenty francs; and silver coins of five francs, one franc, three-quarters, half, and quarter. There were décimes and centimes of copper. The new coinage was convenient, and well adapted to a system of ready reckoning.

During the short peace of Amiens, thousands of English flocked to the continent, from which they had been so long excluded; and Paris and the first consul were the great objects of attraction. It was not without surprise that they saw France improved after a long war and intestine disorder. The country was better cultivated, and the people in general more prosperous than under the monarchy. The destruction of feudality, and the sale and division of so much land, had called a new class of proprietors into existence. Among those who were presented to the first consul was Mr. Fox, who was received by Bonaparte with great respect. Paris was filled with English visitors, and the French vied with one another in attention to them. But neither the temper nor the policy of the first consul was favourable to a lasting peace, and the records of his conversation show that he did not think that he could maintain his power without war and fresh victories. He complained of the language of the English newspapers, though he was told by the English ambassador, Lord Whitworth, that the war carried on in the papers was not under the control of the government. The most palpable ground of complaint on the part of the French was, that the English had not evacuated Malta, which it was supposed would not be safe against the first consul, if it had been left with 2,000 Neapolitan soldiers in it, which had been agreed by the treaty of Amiens. One ground of justification in England was the mission of general Sebastiani to Egypt and the East, and the publication in the 'Moniteur' of his report, from which it was a fair conclusion that Bonaparte had still a design upon Egypt. General Brune had gone to Constantinople as ambassador, where he was received with great pomp; and the Porte had appointed an ambassador at Paris; but the report of Sebastiani, and the publicity given to it, were very difficult to reconcile with pacific intentions on the part of the first consul. The continuance of the French troops in Holland, the intervention in Switzerland, and the annexation of Piedmont and Elba to France, were indications of Bonaparte's system. He wished to exclude the English altogether from taking any part in continental affairs. A more intelligible ground of complaint was his exclusion of English goods from those countries which were under his power—Holland, the Italian Republic, and Genoa. The journals on both sides fanned the flame of discord; and the 'Moniteur,' the official organ of Bonaparte, was threatening and insolent. The will of a nation is not to be inferred from the acts of a government, when the government wields a power which is little affected by opinion: and if Bonaparte wished for war, that is no evidence that the French did. The mass of the French people could have no inclination for a renewal of the war, which would rob them of their children by the conscription. The military, who formed a numerous body, may be supposed to have had little taste for peace; and Bonaparte, their head, wished to keep them employed. War, too, would be a positive saving to the French finances, for Bonaparte intended to maintain his soldiers in foreign countries at free cost. The English people had no great reason to fear foreign invasion, but the war had already increased the national debt and taxation, and a new war would increase the heavy burden. Yet it is probable that the disposition to war was much stronger with the English people than the French; and the king and his administration were not backward in availing themselves of the disposition. Ignorance, fanatical cries, and party spirit, aggravated causes of complaint against the government of the first consul, which were well-founded, though some which were

* There was prudence in the refusal, perhaps some modesty, and consciousness of merit. The answer of a Roman emperor on a like occasion may be compared. (Tacit., 'Annal.,' iv., 37.)



NAPOLEON

alleged, such as the armaments in the French ports, appear to be untrue. Lord Whitworth had a long conference, on the 20th of February, 1803, with Bonaparte, whose two distinct grounds of complaint were the non-evacuation of Malta, and the protection and pensions given by England to the royalists; both in themselves good grounds, the last of which was ill answered by the ambassador saying that the pensions were for past services during the war, and not for present or future attempts to disturb the tranquillity of France. If the French had been giving pensions to Englishmen who were hostile to the existing government of England, most Englishmen would have thought it a good ground of complaint. The encroaching spirit of Bonaparte, as shown by his conduct on the continent, is a matter that, as a cause of war, would not be viewed in the same light now as it was then, when the king of England was king of Hanover, and the English nation were accustomed to meddle in every European fray. That British subjects, as the ambassador alleged, had not obtained compensation for the wrongs sustained by them during the French war, while all French claims had been settled, was a just complaint. Two neighbours, so well disposed to quarrel, with mutual grievances, and no superior power to bring them to terms, could only settle their differences by the sword.

On the 8th of March the king of England sent a message to inform Parliament, that as military preparations were making in the ports of France and Holland, he had taken measures of precaution for the security of his own dominions, and he relied on the support of Parliament. The two houses responded by addresses in approbation of the king's message; who in a few days sent another message to declare his intention of calling out the militia. On the 13th of March, Bonaparte, at a public audience at the Tuileries, broke out in violent language to the English ambassador: "If you will arm, I will arm too; if you will fight, I will fight: you may perhaps kill France, but never intimidate her." "We should not wish," said Lord Whitworth, "to do one or the other: we should wish to live on good terms with her."—"You must then," said the first consul, "respect treaties: woe to those who respect them not; they shall be answerable for it to all Europe." Some attempts at negotiation were still made, but without any result. On the 12th of May, Lord Whitworth left Paris; and a few days after an English order in council laid an embargo on French and Dutch vessels, though war had not been declared. Bonaparte retaliated by making prisoners of war all the male subjects of the king of England who were enrolled in the militia of their nation, of the age of eighteen to sixty, who were in France, and by declaring that they should be detained prisoners until they were exchanged for Frenchmen who were made prisoners by the British government before the declaration of war.*

A report was made to the Tribunat on the 23rd of May, 1803, by Daru, on the treaty of Amiens and its rupture;† and it was decreed that the following message should be carried by the Tribunat in a body to the government: "The Tribunat expresses a wish that the most energetic measures be immediately taken to cause the faith of treaties to be respected, and also the dignity of the French people." The Legislative body and the Senate followed the example of the Tribunat, and carried their addresses to the first consul. The people were animated by the energy of the constitutional bodies, and France was ready for a contest with her old enemy, hardly expecting that it would be a struggle with all Europe. Bonaparte instructed the bishops to offer up prayers for the success of the war.

* This order of Bonaparte is sometimes incorrectly stated. See Thibaudeau, 'Consulat,' iii., 272, and Norvins, 'Hist. de Napoléon,' ii., 199.

† Rapport sur les pièces relatives au traité d'Amiens et à sa rupture, fait au Tribunat, par Daru. 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 17—44.

CHAPTER LXX.

BONAPARTE EMPEROR.

Bonaparte still kept up the appearance of a design to invade England. A grand army in six divisions was stationed along the coast of the Atlantic from Bayonne to Holland; and the building of ships of war and flat-bottomed boats at Flushing, Brest, and other ports, was prosecuted with great activity. The first consul seemed to be mustering the whole force of France to crush the only power that was an obstacle to his ambitious views. His menaces were met on the other side of the Channel by a whole nation taking up arms. Since the time of the Conqueror, the shores of England had never seen a foreign invader; and the common feeling of danger and of national pride united men of all opinions to join in repelling an insolent enemy. The preparations for defence were commensurate with the preparations for invasion.

The king of England was, however, attacked in his continental dominions. The towns of Hanover submitted to general Mortier, and the Hanoverian army of above 20,000 men capitulated on the 5th of July, 1803. The kingdom was occupied by French troops; and it furnished the Republic with money, wood for construction, and a great quantity of artillery. The invasion of Hanover by the French was followed by

the English declaring the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser in a state of blockade; and upon the first consul's remonstrating against this alleged infraction of the rights of neutrals, England responded by blockading the Ligurian ports also. To hasten his warlike preparations against England, the first consul, with his wife, made a tour through the northern departments. He visited the coast from Boulogne to Flushing, and also many of the large towns of Belgium. This was his third visit to the departments. The style in which he travelled, and his pompous receptions, indicated his increasing power and influence. Triumphal arches, presentation of keys, illuminations, and fêtes, attended his progress. The clergy chanted Te Deums, and prayed for the safety of the head of the state. He was indefatigable as usual: he saw everything himself; he visited the manufacturing establishments; and he ordered useful public works to be undertaken. The noble stream of the Schelde attracted his attention, and he resolved to raise Antwerp from its fallen state, and to make it the first naval arsenal of France. He did not neglect to visit the churches, and he took particular pains to please the clergy, whose influence in Belgium has always been supreme.*

He was again at St. Cloud on the 11th of August, after an absence of forty-eight days, during which he had visited seventeen departments and eighty towns. The authorities came to congratulate him on his return. "The magistrates," said Séguier, president of the court of appeal, "are proud to lay at your feet the tribute of their hearts." This was the language that is addressed to kings. It is no wonder if Bonaparte was intoxicated with his power. The servility of the French functionaries was unbounded: he had not a desire which they would not anticipate. During his absence, the great festival of the 14th of July was not announced by a proclamation as usual. There were some fireworks and free admission to the theatres; but this was all. The eleventh anniversary of the foundation of the Republic was not celebrated; and henceforth the only two national festivals which the law of the year VIII. (3rd Nivose) had maintained, were neglected and forgotten. The first consul ordered a monument to be erected to the memory of Desaix and Kléber; and he approved of one which the municipality of Orleans proposed to raise in commemoration of Joan of Arc, who drove the English from before Orleans on the 8th of May, 1429. There was an exhibition of the national products of industry at Paris, a practice that began with the Directory; and a school of arts was established (école d'arts et de métiers). The Institut was re-organized, and the number of places increased; but the opinions of the first consul were manifested by the suppression of the class of Moral and Political Sciences. The progress towards a monarchy was palpable. The first consul had a court: the name citizen (citoyen) was replaced by that of monsieur. There were préfets of the palace, who had the police of the theatres. There were ladies of the palace; and there was a regular etiquette. Bonaparte usurped the old royal prerogative of letters of exile; and the first person on whom he made his experiment was a woman whom he hated. Madame de Staël received notice to remove forty leagues from Paris; and as she appealed in vain against the order, she left France and settled in Germany.* This contest with a woman did not add to the fame of Bonaparte, and it made a dangerous enemy abroad of one who left Paris and her saloons with regret. Madame de Staël was an intriguer, and meddled with the 'Sciences Political and Moral,' which the first consul had banished from the reformed Institut. About the same time the senator Laplace dedicated to Bonaparte the third volume of his 'Mécanique Céleste' in terms of adulation unworthy of himself and his subject.

Though France was reconciled to the church, the clergy were not altogether reconciled to the new order of things. The clergy and the civil authorities were not in harmony; and the first consul, who had taken so much pains to restore the Catholic faith, found by experience that its ministers were not so easy to govern as the rest of his subjects. He showed great tact and moderation in dealing with ecclesiastical matters, and they gave him more trouble than anything else. Many of the bishops and priests were excellent men who devoted themselves to their duties in the true spirit of peace and charity; but there were some among them with weak heads and turbulent dispositions, men who would have brought things back to the state that existed before the Revolution. A man less firm and less dexterous than Bonaparte would hardly have kept his new allies within the limits of their duty. The body of Mademoiselle Chameroi, an opera-dancer, was brought to the church of St. Roch, but the curé closed the doors against the procession. The first consul published an order in the 'Moniteur,' which is marked by his peculiar style. The order was in the name of the archbishop of Paris. It began: "The curé of St. Roch, in a fit of insanity, has refused to pray for Mademoiselle Chameroi, and to allow her body to be brought into the church. The archbishop of Paris has enjoined on the curé three months' retirement, that he may have the opportunity of calling to mind that Jesus Christ commands us to pray even for our enemies," &c.

The English were bombarding the French ports from Dunkerque to the mouth of the Seine. The first consul hurried to Boulogne on the 3rd of November, to form his own opinion of the possibility of passing the straits with his flotilla. On the 16th he reviewed the army, and exercised it in the manœuvres of embarcation. The decisive moment seemed to have arrived, but the first consul hesitated. The English counties opposite the French coast were filled with troops of the line, strengthened by numerous corps

* There is an interesting chapter in Thibaudeau's 'Consulat' (iii., 35) on this tour of Bonaparte.

* See her 'Dix ans d'exil,' and her 'Considérations,' &c. Thibaudeau has given a few pages to the cause of her exile.

of volunteers. The coasts bristled with redoubts, and were watched day and night. If a descent was practicable, it was also dangerous; and a safe return was almost impossible, for the English ships commanded the sea. Bonaparte returned to Paris on the 18th of November. In May, 1804, Pitt was again prime minister of England, and he found other employment for Bonaparte than gazing on the white cliffs of Albion.

By an organic Sénatus-consulte of the 20th of December, 1803, Bonaparte modified the constitution of the Legislative body, with a view to secure his power against sudden revolution during his absence from the seat of government.* The session of 1804 opened on the 6th of January, and closed on the 24th of March. During this year the consular government for the first time communicated to the chambers a general account of the finances. The Code Civil was completed, and the Legislative body terminated its labours by voting, upon the motion of Marcorelle, a marble bust of Bonaparte to be placed in their chamber, as a memorial of the time when the Code Civil became the law of the French people, and of their gratitude towards the supreme head of the state. This body was dumb for all purposes except adulation, and it fawned on the man who tied its tongue. Fourcroy, one of the councillors of state who came to close the session, made a short address to the Legislative body. Fontanes, the president, replied at length, and was unbounded in his praises of the first consul, whom he exalted above Justinian and Charlemagne. The next day he made a speech to Bonaparte in person, in his capacity of orator of the deputation which was appointed to inform him of the vote upon Marcorelle's motion. No prince seated on his throne was ever addressed in terms of more abject flattery.

The first consul's enemies made a last desperate attempt to overthrow his power. Georges Cadoudal and some of his followers left London in an English vessel, and were landed on the coast of Brittany, in August of 1803, and made their way to Paris. Pichegru, who had escaped from his place of exile, landed in January, and secretly repaired to Paris. Their hope of success rested on Moreau, but they did not find him so ready to join in their schemes as they had expected. At this time the English government was paying pensions to the emigrants and the French princes; and the duc d'Enghien, son of the duke of Bourbon, was residing at the castle of Ettenheim in Baden, with the view, as it was alleged, of being ready to take advantage of any favourable movement in the interior of France. The count d'Artois was a party to the plan of overthrowing Bonaparte's government, and restoring his own family; and his aides-de-camp, two Polignacs and Rivière were now in Paris on this business. The police did not know that Georges and Pichegru were in Paris, until a confession was made by Querelle, a man who had been arrested in January, 1804, on some suspicion; and he told all that he knew. Pichegru was seized, being betrayed by a friend. On his examination he denied that he knew anything of Georges, and affirmed that he had not seen Moreau. Georges, the boldest of all the conspirators, was not so easily taken, though a very exact description of his singular person was published; and a law was passed, which declared that "those who harboured Georges and the sixty brigands then concealed in Paris or the environs, and paid by England, to make an attempt on the life of the first consul, and the security of the state, should be considered as principals in the crime." At last he was taken, after a desperate resistance, in which he shot one man dead. Georges admitted that he had come to Paris, in concert with the French princes, to attack the first consul, and re-establish the Bourbons. He denied that he had communicated his designs to Moreau, or that he had any connection with Pichegru. Moreau also was arrested and examined. He wrote a letter to the first consul, which admitted the fact of proposals having been made to him to overthrow the government, which he had not disclosed, he said, because "to be an informer was repugnant to his character." And yet he had already informed against Pichegru after the 18th Fructidor. While the public attention was engaged with the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru, it was reported in Paris, on the 21st of March, that a person of distinction had been tried and executed at Vincennes. Georges said in his examination, that he was not to take any decisive step till one of the French princes should arrive at Paris; but if he had resolved to wait till that time, the first consul would have been safe enough. However, as it was rumoured that a Bourbon was at Paris, the first consul took pains to ascertain where the French princes were. Two of them were at Warsaw, and the rest in London, except the duc d'Enghien, who was ascertained to be at Ettenheim; and Bonaparte was also told that Dumouriez was with him, for the agent whom he sent to make inquiries about the duke, confounded the name of general Thumery with that of Dumouriez. Bonaparte gave orders to seize the duc d'Enghien, which was done on the night of the 14th of March by a party of gendarmes from Strassburg, who entered the territory of Baden, and carried off the duke, with general Thumery and others. He arrived at the castle of Vincennes on the evening of the 20th of March, and was tried the same night by a military commission. He was charged with having borne arms against the Republic; having offered his services to the English government, which was the enemy of the French; having received agents of the British government, and conspired with them against France; with being at the head of the French emigrants and others in the pay of England on the eastern frontier of France; with having entered into correspondence with persons in Strassburg, with the view of stirring up insurrection in France; and lastly, with being privy to the "conspiracy formed by the English against the life of the first consul." He was condemned on the first two

* Sénatus-consulte Organique du 28 Frimaire, An. xii. 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 51.

charges only, though the 'Moniteur' of the 22nd of March stated that he had been found guilty on all the charges. Early in the morning of the 21st he was taken to the castle ditch, and shot by a file of soldiers. The body was thrown with the clothes on into a grave which was already dug. The trial of the duke was a mere form, and no more. That he was innocent of all participation in plots against the first consul's life, is undoubted. The guilt of his death belongs to Bonaparte only, whose orders to his agents were positive. In his testament, Bonaparte said, "I caused the duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried, because it was necessary for the safety, the interest, and the honour of the French people, when . . . . . . was maintaining, according to his own admission, sixty assassins at Paris: in like circumstances, I should still act in the same way." *

On the 6th of April, Pichegru, who was confined at the Temple, was found dead by the turnkey, who entered the room in the morning. He was lying in his bed on his right side, and had evidently died by strangulation. A black silk handkerchief, which he used to wear, was twisted tight round his neck by the help of a short stick. This is all the evidence, and the question whether he was assassinated or committed suicide, is doubtful. That it is possible for a man to strangle himself in the way in which Pichegru died, is undoubted. There is no evidence of any kind to implicate the first consul in the guilt of Pichegru's death, if he was assassinated; and however much Fouché or anybody else may have dreaded Pichegru's threat to speak out at his trial, it is difficult to believe that they would have been bold enough to get rid of him by assassination. It was never alleged by any person, and the body was seen by many, that there were any marks of violence on it; and yet Pichegru was a strong and vigorous man, and one who would not have been easily overpowered. When Napoleon heard of Pichegru's death, he said, "A noble end for the conqueror of Holland." Pichegru was Bonaparte's schoolfellow at the military academy of Brienne, and at one time his monitor or tutor in arithmetic.

The discovery of the conspiracy of Georges produced numerous addresses to the first consul, in which he was requested to deprive conspirators of all hopes, and to secure the stability of the state by perpetuating his own family. He thanked the authors of these addresses, but he waited for one of the great bodies of the state to make a move, and this was done by the Senate on the occasion of the documents about "the conspiracy of the English ministry" being referred to it. An address of congratulation was proposed: but Fouché, who knew what was wanted, said that this was

* The Testament and Codicils of Napoleon are printed at length in Norvins, 'Histoire de Napoléon,' iv., 359.



DEATH OF THE DUC D'ENGHIEN.

not enough; they "must secure the existence of the government beyond the term of the life of the first consul." An address was accordingly prepared in a style of vague adulation, but it was in substance an invitation to the first consul to consolidate and perpetuate his power.* The first consul promised to think about the matter, and the council of state spent four sittings in discussing the question of hereditary power and the title of the person on whom it should be conferred. No one mentioned the word "king," and the council were not unanimous, for out of twenty-seven councillors, seven were for adjourning the consideration of the question. But Lucien Bonaparte was busy intriguing with the most influential members of the Senate, the Tribunat, and the Legislative body. He told them that they must make haste, or the army might anticipate them as the Roman legions did their senate. Finally, he proposed that his brother should be emperor. After a month of intrigues, a member of the Tribunat, named Curée, once a member of the Convention, a man of little note, and therefore the better suited for the work, laid on the bureau of the Tribunat (23rd of April, 1804) a notice of motion to the effect "that Napoleon Bonaparte, at present first consul, be declared Emperor of the French, and that the imperial dignity be declared hereditary in his family." Two days after, the first consul sent a message from St. Cloud to the Senate, in reply to their address, in which he artfully clothed his ambitious aspirations under the cover of his desire and duty to "secure to the French nation the advantages which it had got by a revolution which had cost it so dear; above all, the sacrifice of a million of brave men who had died in defence of their rights." The message was referred to a commission of ten members, for the Senate wished to see what the Tribunat would do. Curée, on the 30th of April, rose to speak in favour of his motion, and was followed by four-and-twenty servile members, who read their tedious addresses, all to the same effect as Curée's speech. The tribunes were unanimous, all but one. One man only dared to speak against Curée's motion; and that man was once a member of the Committee of Public Safety. It was Carnot. His discourse was clear, bold, and uncompromising: "From the moment," he said, "when it was proposed to the French people to vote on the question of the consulate for life, every one could easily see that there was something in reserve, that there was an ulterior object.—To-day at length is revealed, in a positive manner, the final object of so many preliminary measures: we are called to declare our opinions on the formal proposition for re-establishing the monarchical system, and for conferring the imperial and hereditary dignity on the first consul."† He said that he had always obeyed the existing laws, even when he disliked them most; and that if the present proposition received the assent of the mass of the citizens, he would be the first to conform to this expression of their wish. If it was necessary to choose an hereditary head, there could be no hesitation in fixing their choice on the first consul; but it appeared to him exceedingly doubtful if the new order of things which it was proposed to establish would be more secure than the actual condition. It was against arbitrary power in itself that he spoke, and not against those in whose hands this power might be placed. "Was liberty then," he continued, "only shown to man that he might never be able to enjoy it? Is it continually presented to his desires as a fruit which he cannot touch without being struck dead? Nature, then, which makes this liberty an urgent want to us, must have intended to treat us as a step-mother. No, I cannot consent to regard this good, so universally preferred to all others, without which all others are nothing, as a mere illusion: my heart tells me that liberty is possible, that its rule is easy, and more stable than any arbitrary government, than any oligarchy—I vote against the proposition." But his vote was an idle sound. The Tribunat, on the 3rd of May, passed a resolution, in the preamble of which, among other things, it was said that Bonaparte had been sent by Providence to save the State. The resolution was an expression of the wish of the Tribunat that Napoleon Bonaparte be proclaimed "Emperor of the French, and in this capacity be charged with the government of the French Republic;" and that the imperial title be hereditary in his family. Six orators were appointed to explain to the Senate the ground of this expression of the wish of the Tribunat. The president of the Senate, François de Neufchâteau, congratulated the Tribunat on having made such a good use "of this popular and Republican initiative which the fundamental laws had delegated to them;" and he added, that "the Senate also wished to raise a new dynasty." This was followed by an answer of the Senate to the message of the first consul. "You desire, citizen first consul," said these obsequious tools, "to know the full opinion of the Senate as to those among our institutions which appear to us to require perfecting, in order to secure the triumph of equality and of public liberty, and to offer to the nation and to the government the double guarantee of which they feel the necessity." The full opinion of the Senate was, that Napoleon Bonaparte should be hereditary emperor: "The love of the French for your person," said the Senate, "transmitted to your successors with the immortal glory of your name, will for ever unite the rights of the nation to the power of the prince: the social pact shall brave time." To this answer was attached a private note, in which the members stipulated for various advantages to themselves as the price of what they were going to give him. Among other things they asked that the dignity of senator be hereditary. The first consul made no answer to the demands of the Senate; he dealt with the various members of the national assemblies privately. All asked for something, except the Conseil d'État. It

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 109.

† 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 114. 'Discours du tribun Carnot,' 1st of May, 1804; a speech which does him credit.

was a bargain and sale. These base men sold a nation into bondage for a mess of pottage.

Monarchical addresses flowed in from all quarters: the 'Moniteur' was filled with them. The Legislative body was not sitting, but Fontanes got together all the members who were in Paris, and an address to the first consul was proposed and carried. Fontanes, as president, went at the head of a deputation to inform the first consul that the Legislative body had the same wish as the Tribunat and the Senate. At last, on the 16th of May, 1804, in a sitting of the Senate, at which presided Cambacérès, the second consul, the grounds of the Organic Sénatus-consulte, by which Bonaparte was to be made emperor, were expounded by Portalis, one of the councillors of state, in a long address. This was followed, on the 18th, by a report on the Organic Sénatus-consulte, which had been presented on the 16th. The report was made by Lacépède: it was of course in favour of the Organic Sénatus-consulte; and was as adulatory and as insincere, as mean and as hypocritical, as all the rest of the proceedings. "Citizen senators," said the report, "when you shall have adopted the Sénatus-consulte which is presented to you, there will remain a great duty for you to fulfil towards your country: the people will be consulted on the proposal to make the imperial dignity hereditary in the family of Napoleon Bonaparte: we shall wait with respect for its sovereign decision on this important question. But it is by the Organic Sénatus-consulte, which is submitted to you, that the consular dignity is changed into imperial for Napoleon and for the successor whom the present Constitutions of the Republic give him the right to present: the moment you shall have affixed the seal of your authority to the Sénatus-consulte, Napoléon is Emperor of the French." To appeal to the votes of the French people on the question of hereditary succession, after having declared him emperor, was a mere illusion: it was a part of the whole fraud. The Senate voted by ballot for the adoption of the proposed Sénatus-consulte, and all the votes were for it except five, two of which were blanks, and three were against it: two of the votes were those of Grégoire, the bishop of Blois, and of Lambrechts; the third was supposed to be Garat's.

On the same day the Senate went in a body to St. Cloud to carry with them the imperial title; and Cambacérès, who presented to the first consul the Organic Sénatus-consulte of the 18th of May, began his address in these terms, in language long out of use in France: "Sire, the decree which the Senate has just passed, and which it is eager to present to your Imperial Majesty, is nothing but the genuine expression of a will already made manifest by the nation." The reply of the emperor was short: "Everything which can contribute to the good of the country is essentially connected with my own happiness: I accept the title which you consider advantageous to the glory of the nation: I submit to the sanction of the people the law of inheritance: I hope that France will never repent of the honours with which it will surround my family: at all events, my spirit will no longer be with my posterity if they should ever cease to merit the love and confidence of the great nation." The Senate had then an audience of Madame Bonaparte; and Josephine Beauharnais, whose first husband fell beneath the levelling axe of the Revolution, and who herself had narrowly escaped the same fate, was saluted by the title of "Imperial Majesty." Napoleon immediately began the exercise of his imperial functions by addressing two notes to the two consuls: "Citizen Consul Cambacérès, your title is going to be changed: your functions and my confidence remain the same." Cambacérès was made arch-chancellor of the empire; and Lebrun arch-treasurer. The notes were signed "Napoléon, par l'Empereur," and countersigned by the secretary of state, Maret.

The change in names was as rapid as the change in the Constitution. The titles of prince, highness, and excellency, appeared again. Everything was, in form, imperial and monarchical. Yet the coins for some time bore on one side the inscription "République Française," and on the other "Napoleon, Empereur." The Organic Sénatus-consulte was proclaimed at Paris with great pomp, but it was received in gloomy silence. All contemporary authorities agree in this; and the journals of the time, and the minutes of the proceedings, which give a different account, are false. The French people found that they had been cheated: they had got a master and an absolute government, in all its externals as odious to republicans as the old monarchy. The Sénatus-consulte (Titre 16) had excluded from the succession to the imperial crown two of Napoleon's brothers, Lucien, to whom he owed much, and Jerôme. The real ground of this, it is said, was, that both of them had married against Napoleon's will, and made matches of affection. Lucien had married a lady named Jauberton; and Jerôme, while in command of a frigate on the coasts of the United States, had married Miss Paterson, a lady of Baltimore.

It was not till the beginning of November, 1804, that the result of the votes upon the hereditary character of the imperial power was published. There were 3,572,329 votes for, and 2,579 against it.

The Organic Sénatus-consulte of the 18th of May, 1804, made Napoleon Bonaparte emperor of the French, and the imperial title descendible to his lawful male issue. It also empowered him to adopt the sons or grandsons of his brothers under certain limitations. In default of male issue, or of adopted heirs of Napoleon, the succession was limited to Joseph Bonaparte and his lawful male issue; and in default of Joseph Bonaparte and his male issue, there was a like limitation to Louis Bonaparte and his male issue. The members of the imperial family who were in the line of inheritance were made French princes. Provision was made for a regency. The fourth title treated of the grand dignities of the empire; and the sixth of the grand officers, first among whom were the marshals of the empire, selected from the most distinguished generals, whose number was not to exceed sixteen;

but the marshals of the empire, who were senators, were not included in this number. The seventh title provided for the form of oaths: the oath of the emperor was in these terms: "I swear to maintain the integrity of the territory of the Republic; to respect, and to cause to be respected, the laws concerning the Concordat and the freedom of worship; to respect, and to cause to be respected, the equality of rights, liberty, civil and political; the irrevocability of the sale of national property; to raise no tax, to establish no tax but by virtue of a law; to maintain the institution of the Legion of Honour; to govern solely with a view to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people." The Senate was composed of the French princes who had attained the eighteenth year of their age, of those who bore the titles of the grand dignities of the empire, and of eighty members selected by the emperor out of the lists formed by the electoral colleges of the departments. A commission of seven senators, appointed by the Senate, "was charged with the superintendence of the liberty of the press." The Conseil d'État, the Legislative body, and the Tribunat, were preserved; but the Tribunat was divided into three sections, Legislative, the Interior, and Finance; each section discussed separately the drafts of laws which were presented to it by the Legislative body; and there could be no discussion on any proposed measures by the whole body of the Tribunat. The Organic Sénatus-consulte made Napoleon absolute; for the constituted bodies could be controlled by him at his pleasure, either directly or by his agents. This shadow of a constitution augmented and secured his power, by placing round him a number of outworks garrisoned by men who were interested in the maintenance of the imperial system.*

Napoleon surrounded himself with a host of titled servants. The best and noblest were his marshals, eighteen in number, most of them illustrious names: Augereau, Bernadotte, Berthier, Bessières, Brune, Davoust, Jourdan, Kellermann, Lannes, Lefebvre, Masséna, Moncey, Mortier, Murat, Ney, Pérignon, Serrurier, and Soult. Each of the marshals had an allowance of 60,000 francs a year. The tribunes who had served him best were not forgotten. The insignificant Curée was made a commandant of the Legion of Honour, and shortly after a senator. The authorities, civil and military, took their oaths to the new emperor. The president of the Senate, in a long address, exhausted his whole stock of flattery. The emperor wrote to the clergy, to inform them "that he was called by Divine Providence to the imperial power, and that he confidently relied on the powerful aid of the Most High." The bishops eagerly responded to the message, and proclaimed Napoleon the "one sent by the Most High, and the man of his right hand." He was compared to a new Moses, a new Mattathias, a new Cyrus, the pious Onias. The outward symbols of the Republic disappeared before the new empire, as those of the monarchy had vanished at the advent of the Republic. The eagle was selected by Napoleon as the symbol of imperial power.

The kings of Europe had now a new brother, but they hardly knew how to behave towards him. He was a king, and France was now a monarchy instead of a republic; but then Napoleon was a usurper in their eyes; and even if he could be considered as the chosen of the French people, they could not admit the doctrine of a people having the power to dispose of crowns. Yet the king of Prussia, on the 29th of May, accredited Lucchesini as his agent at the imperial court. Austria approved of the transformation of a republic into a monarchy, but objected to the title of emperor. This difficulty, however, was soon got over, and Francis II. recognized Napoleon as emperor. The king of Spain was the first crowned head who congratulated Napoleon on his accession to the empire.

A voice came from Warsaw to protest against Bonaparte's usurpation. Louis XVIII., who then went by the name of the comte de Lille, declared by a manifesto, dated the 6th of June, 1804, that he protested against the imperial title, and maintained his own claims to the throne of France. The emperor published this protest in the 'Moniteur.' The new empire was parodied on the other side of the Atlantic. The failure of the French expedition against St. Domingo restored to the island its independence, and the name of Haiti. Dessalines, a negro and a native of Africa, had become governor-general for life, and like Bonaparte he assumed, in 1804, the imperial dignity, and the title of Jacques I. Dessalines also promulgated an Imperial Constitution; and he had a court, which differed only from Napoleon's in being black instead of white.

The government of Bonaparte commenced on the 20th Brumaire of the year VIII. (11th November, 1799), immediately after the overthrow of the Directory. The period of the Consulat terminated on the 18th of May, 1804. The Consulate is the glorious, and on the whole an honourable period of Bonaparte's life, though his own will and circumstances were all the time preparing the way to the imperial power. Prejudice can never deprive him of the praise that is his just due, for his moderation, his activity, and his large and enlightened views. Mignet's brief characteristic of the Consulate and of the Empire which followed, is perhaps as fair and impartial as a few words can express: "The Consulate was the last period of the existence of the Republic. The Revolution began to be a man. During the first period of the Consular government, Bonaparte attached the proscribed classes to himself by recalling them: he found a people still agitated by every passion, and he restored them to tranquillity by industry, to prosperity by the re-establishment of order; finally, he compelled Europe, vanquished for the third time, to acknowledge his elevation. Up to the treaty of Amiens he restored to the Republic victory, concord, prosperity, without sacrificing liberty.

* Sénatus-consulte Organique du 28 Floréal, an. XII. (18th May, 1804). 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 155—181.

If he had chosen, he might then have made himself the representative of this great age, which called for the consecration of liberty well understood, of a well-tempered liberty, of a more widely developed civilization, this noble system of human dignity. The nation was in the hands of a great man or of a despot: it depended on himself to maintain it free or to reduce it to servitude. He chose the accomplishment of his own selfish designs, and he preferred himself alone to all humanity. Bred under the tent, and coming late into the Revolution, he only understood that part of it which was material, and involved a question of interest: he had no faith in the moral necessities which had given it birth, nor in the opinions which had agitated it.* He saw a movement which was coming to an end, a people exhausted who were at his mercy, and an earthly crown which was within his grasp."

* Mignet, 'Hist. de la Révolution Française,' chap. xiv.; and compare the sensible judgment of Bailleul (' Examen Critique,' &c., ii., 412, &c.), who knew Napoleon well. One remark may be useful to those who form their opinion of him from Madame de Staël's 'Considérations,' &c.: "All the little reflexions in detail of Madame de Staël upon Bonaparte, though often very ingenious, give no idea of what he really was."

The history of the Consulat has often been written by Frenchmen. The work of Thibaudeau, which has been referred to, is on the whole fair and impartial, though in a very hostile spirit to the English government. The work of Norvins, entitled 'Histoire de Napoléon,' was written, as the author declares (Preface, p. 3), to "combat Sir Walter Scott," ('Life of Napoleon'), and to refute "the ignorance, the mistakes, the lies, and the injustice of the English romancer." It is a panegyric on Napoleon. There is also the 'Consulat' of Thiers, and Bignon's 'Histoire de France depuis le 18 Brumaire jusqu' à la paix Tilsit.'

CHAPTER LXXI.

THE EMPIRE.

The history of the empire, of the ten years from the assumption of the imperial title, is altogether unlike the history of the ten years of the Revolution which began in 1789; altogether barren of parliamentary interest; one of the least instructive periods of modern times. A political history of a nation is a record of its activity developed through its institutions; and in a free state the office of those in whose name and by whom government is exercised, is to be the exponent of that invisible power, which works in ways obscurely seen and imperfectly comprehended, towards the ends or purposes of social existence. A wise government may cherish and aid this organic growth: it can do little more. An unwise government may check and impede it, but the effort will be vain, and this feeble opposition must ultimately yield to a power which is as irresistible as the laws which govern the material world. Under Napoleon's administration the French nation was nothing: the government was everything; and the emperor was the government. It has been well remarked that his administration was not military, as some have called it; nor was it civil. It was himself, and nothing else. "In the order of our constitutional hierarchy," said Napoleon in 1808, "the first representative of the nation is the Emperor, and his ministers, the organs of his decisions; the second representative authority is the Senate; the third, the Council of State, which has real legislative attributes; the Legislative Council has the fourth rank." * But all these secondary authorities were nullities: there was only one authority. A just conception of the man and of his views is necessary for those who read the history of the empire. The unreflecting are dazzled by its barbaric grandeur, its armies, and its conquests. But it was not the true energy of a nation; it was the will of one man, a will that could not tolerate any organized system, any will but its own. Before this terrible power every tongue was silent; every knee was bowed. To hear was to obey. A whole nation and a great nation followed the impulse of one mind, which converted the French into an army, and France into a workshop, to feed it with men and horses, with arms and munitions. No man ever conceived so bold a design; no man ever wielded a force so immense. It was as if the energies and the arms of a whole people were absorbed in one superhuman power, and directed to the accomplishment of one single undivided purpose. Napoleon stands alone, or almost alone, in the boldness of his designs, the strength of his will, and the novelty of his situation; and his situation imposed upon him a necessity. His design was to change the face of the world, and force was the means which he employed: his failure resulted not so much from his measures as the viciousness of his ruling idea; for his head was clear and logical. He feared the ideas of the Revolution; he saw that freedom of thought was incompatible with his ambitious schemes and his personal aggrandisement: he feared public opinion; he feared the fickle temper of the French, and he saw nothing but enemies in the old dynasties of Europe. How was his power to be consolidated, how was it to be transmitted to his descendants, except by destroying everything that was hostile? And how was this to be done in the compass of a single life, except by force?

* 'Moniteur,' du 15 Décembre, 1808.

He had a feeling for the glory of France, but the conservation of his own power depended on putting France in hostility to the world, in making Frenchmen believe that without him France was nothing. He entertained the most gigantic designs—to subject Europe to his will, to cross the Caucasus, and overthrow the English power in the East; to encircle the Mediterranean in his arms, and, after traversing the world, make his armies, the ministers of his new civilization, meet at the Straits of Gibraltar. Yet his sagacity foresaw that his own dominion might be overthrown, and that no successor would be found to govern his extensive empire. So much daring and restless activity, so much ability and good sense, so much method, and such noble aspirations, were never before perverted by one false idea.* But vain are all the efforts of a single transient life, even if a man commands the whole material power of the world, against the uninterrupted existence of nations; vain is the contest of perishable force against the undying strength of the immortal mind. Aristotle has survived Alexander; freedom has survived Bonaparte; and though crushed and trampled on, its spirit is inextinguishable.†

The history of the empire is a thing by itself. All that is required in a History of the Revolutions of France, is a rapid sketch, to show how power attained its proud eminence, and how it was precipitated to its fall. The peace of Tilsit, in 1807, is the real term of Napoleon's greatest external prosperity.

"The Consulat for life," says Thibaudeau, "came out of the infernal machine: the Anglo-Bourbon conspiracy produced the empire: Georges said, 'We have done more than we intended; we came to give a king to France, we give her an emperor.'" It was between the arrest and condemnation of the conspirators, while they were untried, and opinion was wavering between Moreau and Bonaparte, that the first consul took the bold resolution of making himself emperor. The existence of a conspiracy against the person of the first consul and the tranquillity of the state, and that the English government had organized it, and furnished the means of execution, were considered to be well-established facts. The three principal persons who were implicated were Pichegru, Georges, and Moreau. Pichegru was dead: Georges admitted his design to overthrow the power of Bonaparte: Moreau was the only person of note whose guilt had to be proved; and he was brought before a special tribunal of twelve judges; for a Sénatus-consulte of the 28th of February, 1804, had suspended the functions of juries, and given to the criminal courts cognizance of high treason. The proceedings were watched with intense anxiety; the gendarmes who had charge of Moreau's person, and the soldiers on duty, treated the conqueror of Hohenlinden with respect. His friend, general Lecourbe, a man of character and ability, accompanied Moreau's wife to the court. Moreau's defence was rather a history of his life than anything else: he maintained his innocence of the offence with which he was charged; and probably he was guilty of nothing more than he admitted in his letter to the first consul. That he would gladly have seen Bonaparte's power overthrown, is certain; but such a wish was no legal crime. Seven judges against five were of opinion that Moreau was guilty; but it was settled among them, by nine to three, that Moreau was guilty, with extenuating circumstances, and he was condemned to two years' imprisonment. Georges and nineteen of his companions were condemned to death, four were condemned to imprisonment, and twenty-one acquitted. The emperor pardoned de Rivière, Armand de Polignac, and others, who were among the condemned to death. Moreau did not undergo his punishment: he was

* Bailleul, 'Examen,' &c., ii, 412, &c. His remarks on Napoleon are precise and just, better than what has often been said in more words. Bailleul's short essay, 'De l'Esprit de la Révolution et de ses résultats nécessaires,' is one of the few works on the subject which is worth reading. See also Bignon's Preface to his 'Histoire de France,' from the Peace of Tilsit to 1812; and in the second chapter of this work, Napoleon's own views of the office of a prince. His views were absolutely incompatible with the freedom of a civilized nation, in the just and proper sense of that term: and no will but his own could have maintained the power so long.

† There have been rulers who better deserve the name of Great than Napoleon, because they have done greater things. The half-barbarian Peter of Russia was an incomparably greater man than Napoleon; and so was Augustus. There have been two European conquerors like him, but both greater men than himself; greater, if in nothing else, in being free from some of the littlenesses of Napoleon—Alexander and Julius Cæsar. As a military commander, Napoleon has had superiors also—Hannibal for instance. Notwithstanding his wonderful success, his talent, as he said himself, was civil; in fact, the talents of a great general and a great administrator are akin. Napoleon was more like to Alexander than to Cæsar in his victorious youthful career. Like Cæsar he was a usurper; but when Cæsar began his conquest of Gaul, he was nearly as old as when Napoleon abdicated in 1814. His great schemes after he made himself dictator, are described by Plutarch ('Life of Cæsar,' c. 58): "His designs were to march against the Parthians, and after subduing them and marching through Hyrcania and along the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus, and so encompassing the Euxine, to invade Scythia; and after having overrun the countries bordering on the Germans and Germany itself, to return through Gaul to Italy, and so to complete the circle of the empire, which would be bounded on all sides by the ocean." Napoleon was a reader of antient history in a peculiar fashion, and his mind was filled with vague conceptions of universal dominion. He was, as Paoli said, "one of Plutarch's men, a man of the antient times." Cæsar left behind him a youth of great abilities and unequalled dexterity, who consolidated the dictator's power, and established the Roman empire. The situation of France and of the rest of Europe made a successor to Napoleon impossible; yet he said, in answer to an address of the Senate made just before his coronation, "My descendants will long preserve this throne." But not all his possessions: "after me," he said on another occasion, "the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Rhine. Beyond those limits he saw nothing capable of being permanently kept.

allowed to leave France. "General Moreau has set out for the United States," was the brief announcement in the 'Moniteur.' Georges and the rest of the condemned, who were not pardoned, died on the scaffold. This was the end of the plot, which most French writers believe to have been formed by the English cabinet. That the partizans of the Bourbons should attempt an insurrection against the actual government, was neither strange nor new: that Georges Cadoudal aimed at the first consul's power and life in some way, was his own admission. The English ministry did encourage royalist movements in France; they were in close communication with men who had schemes and plans for overthrowing the actual government; some of these men received pensions; and the English minister, Drake, at the court of Bavaria, and Spencer Smith, at Stuttgard, were in communication with Mehée de la Touche, an old Jacobin who had been deported by Bonaparte to the Isle of Oleron, from which he made his escape. Mehée played a double part: he encouraged the emigrants and the princes in London, and communicated what he had done to the French police. It was Bonaparte's interest to make the most of the plot; to give it the appearance of being directed solely against his person, whereas the direct object was the subversion of his government. The conduct of Drake and Spencer Smith led to an interchange of notes between Lord Hawkesbury on the part of the English government and Talleyrand, in which Lord Hawkesbury maintained "that belligerent powers have an acknowledged right to avail themselves of all discontents that may exist in countries with which they may be at war;" and if the "right," as he termed it, was in any degree doubtful, it was sanctioned by the French government, "which, since the commencement of the present war, has constantly kept up communications with the disaffected in the territories of his majesty, and has assembled at the present moment on the coast of France a corps of Irish rebels, destined to second them in their designs against that part of the United Kingdom." *

The grand juge Regnier was supposed not to have been so active as he might have been in the discovery of the plots against the first consul; and Napoleon resolved to re-establish the ministry of police, and he placed it again in the hands of Fouché, though he did not like him. But four councillors of state were attached to the ministry of police, in fact to watch Fouché, though the professed design of their appointment was to take part of the labour off his hands. The Revolution had never violated the secrecy of letters; but Napoleon resorted to this despicable measure. Lavalette was named director-general of the post-office; and luckily he was an honourable man. The festival of the great day of the conquest of liberty was no longer celebrated, and the 14th of July, 1804, was chosen, as if in mockery of the event, for the inauguration of the Legion of Honour, the reception of the oaths of the members, and the distribution of their decorations.

The emperor again visited his flotilla. He left Paris on the 18th of July, and was at Boulogne the next day. Nobody there knew anything about his movements till he was seen in the Roads of Boulogne looking at his gun-boats. He inspected his troops all along the coast from Boulogne to Ostend. He was again at Boulogne on the 16th of August, where his birthday was kept like a national festival: it took the place of the 14th of July. Eighty thousand soldiers were arranged in a semicircle in a natural amphitheatre near Boulogne. In the centre of the chord of this arch a throne of earth was raised, on which Napoleon sat, like a Roman emperor, with his legions around him. The columns were disposed like radii, all converging to the imperial throne. Behind the throne was a huge trophy of arms and colours taken from the enemies of France. Round the throne were the ministers and marshals of the empire. The helmets and the shields of Duguesclin and Bayard contained the decorations of the Legion of Honour, which the emperor was to distribute. The members of the Legion took the oath to defend the honour of the French name, their country, their emperor. The distribution of the decorations was followed by music, the beating of a thousand drums, the roar of thirty batteries of cannon. The troops defiled to their encampments amidst clouds of smoke. The members of the Legion were treated to splendid banquets, which the emperor visited. Dancing and singing prolonged the festivities to the night, and the rejoicings closed by 15,000 men ranged in order of battle discharging their muskets. It was now near three years that Bonaparte had kept his troops in constant expectation of orders for the descent on England; a proof of his unbounded influence over men who were accustomed to excitement and the novelty of great events. Those who have had the best means of judging of Napoleon, believe that all these demonstrations were still only a feint, and that he had not yet the intention to attempt a descent upon England.

From Boulogne the emperor went to Aix-la-Chapelle to join the empress, who was there. His object in this journey was to visit the four departments on the left bank of the Rhine. From Aix-la-Chapelle he went to Cologne and Coblenz, and from Coblenz to Bingen by the fine road which had been made under his own administration, along the base of the mountains which were washed by the waters of the Rhine, and where before only a narrow pass existed. At

* It is not the conduct of Bonaparte and the French which will justify the British government in this matter. That the English ministry never contemplated the assassination of Bonaparte, is granted. They were too honourable to think of that. But their conduct, and that of their diplomatic agents, might have led to it. Drake's instructions to his agents were not instructions to assassinate. They were means which at that time were considered to be justifiable; but at the present day there will not be the same opinion about them, at least with all people. The French view of this affair of the conspiracy is given by Norvins, 'Hist. de Napoléon,' Liv. vii., c. 3, and viii., c. 2; and by others.



CORONATION OF NAPOLEON.

Mainz he made numerous imperial decrees relative to matters of administration and local interest, as he had done at Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, and other places He ordered useful works to be undertaken, disposed of public property for various purposes, and regulated everything in his own name and by his own sole authority. His journey was like one of the emperor Hadrian's progresses through his extensive dominions, at whose bidding temples rose, narrow and dangerous paths became broad roads,* and waters flowed in aqueducts to carry to crowded cities freshness and salubrity.

The emperor returned to St. Cloud through Trèves and Luxembourg, after an absence of about three months. On the 2nd of December, 1804, he was crowned in the metropolitan church of Notre-Dame. The pope, Pius VII., came to Paris to perform the ceremony. Napoleon and the empress were received at the doors of the church by the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, who presented them with holy water, and conducted them to their seats. When the emperor entered, the pope quitted his throne and went to the altar. Napoleon made his profession of faith, and he and the empress kneeling before the altar received from the pope the sacred unction. The pope blessed the crowns of the emperor and the empress, the sword, the mantles, and the rings. Napoleon took the imperial crown himself, and placed it on his own head; and Josephine on her knees was crowned by her husband. After mass was over, the grand almoner brought to the emperor the book of the Evangelists, and the emperor seated, with the crown on his head and his hand on the book, took the constitutional oath, which was presented to him by the president of the Senate, and the presidents of the Legislative body and the Tribunat. The principal herald in a loud voice cried out, "The most glorious and august emperor Napoleon, emperor of the French, is crowned and enthroned; live the emperor." The response was, "Live the emperor; live the empress." A discharge of artillery announced to Paris the coronation of Napoleon. The pope gave out the Te Deum. It was night, and five hundred torches lighted the procession back to the Tuileries in the order in which it came.

The ceremonial was long and tedious, and Napoleon's countenance showed that he was weary of it. But it was his own choice. He refused a coronation civil and military in the church of the Invalides, and determined to receive the sacred unction from the pope n Notre Dame, and the crown from himself. He took t with the blessing of the pope upon it. No hand so fit as his own to place on his head what he had won by his own daring and ability. The pomp and pageantry of the coronation were imposing. The people outside, attracted by the novelty, looked on quietly. The day following there were public rejoicings, balls, music, illuminations, and fire-works, and an immense body of people moving about. But there was wanting the life and feeling which animated the first federation of the 14th of July. A nation in chains does not rejoice like a nation that has broken its bonds. A coronation is a spectacle in which a few actors figure before a few spectators. In a national festival all are actors and all spectators.

* Pausanias, i. 44, 6.

CHAPTER LXXII.

AUSTERLITZ AND TRAFALGAR.

The fall of Robespierre, on the 9th Thermidor, was the epoch from which commenced the new order of things which was perfected under the empire, when society was re-constructed on the principle of personal distinctions and well-paid places. The men who governed under the Convention worked hard for a few francs a day. They had no guards, no show, no titles. Under the empire there was an enormous civil list, and a class of persons created to be paid. The usages of the old monarchy were revived, and Napoleon even surpassed his model. A list of grand almoners and almoners, grand chamberlains and chamberlains, equerries, pages, and all the appendages of an antient court, formed the household of the emperor. The empress had her household also. The emperor's mother, who received the title of Madame Mère, the princes Joseph and Louis, and the princesses Elisa and Caroline, the emperor's sisters, had their establishments, with almoners, chamberlains, ladies in waiting, equerries, physicians and surgeons. All these places were eagerly sought after, and none sued to put on the emperor's livery and take a place among his servants more eagerly than the old nobility. Among his domestics were the names of Talleyrand, Ségur, La Rochefoucault, Colbert, Rohan, Bouillé, and many others. All solicited, prayed, and importuned: no place too mean for them, provided they were paid and could put their foot within the palace. Many of these men were emigrants, who had returned; and they now gave France a good opportunity of judging what they were. The Revolution was justified in its severity towards them: they cared not for France, and only sought their own personal aggrandizement. Yet a few remained faithful to the Bourbons, some of them pensioned by England; and these men were excluded from the amnesty. The emperor despised the old nobles, and made use of them.

He excused himself by saying that nobody else was fit to do the work: they were supple and obsequious, and their business was not suitable for men who were qualified to be soldiers or magistrates. They also served as a bond of union with the aristocracies of other countries. They were useful in their way, and excellent in maintaining the etiquette of the palace. There were also new men, the offspring of the Revolution, who received imperial favours. The best among them were the generals.

Napoleon had a civil list of twenty-five millions of francs, besides domains and residences. It was a large sum, and he might have taken as much more as he pleased; but he never spent all his allowance, and made great savings out of it. He kept his private affairs in excellent order, and contracted no debts. He did not, like the kings of France, rob the treasury to give away money; and he left no Livre Rouge behind him, like that which the Constituent Assembly published.

While Jerôme Bonaparte was landing at Lisbon, with his American wife, the emperor annulled his marriage, and Jerôme came to Paris alone, and his wife returned to the United States. Napoleon made marshal Murat, who had married his sister Caroline, grand admiral; and Eugène Beauharnais, Josephine's son by her first marriage, was made arch-chancellor of state of the Empire. Napoleon always showed the greatest attachment to Eugène; and he was well deserving of it. The prince Camillo Borghese, who had married Pauline, Napoleon's sister,—the widow of general Leclerc,—was made a French citizen by a Sénatus-consulte.

On the 27th of December, 1805, (6th Nivose, An. XIII.,) Napoleon opened the session of the Legislative body in the manner fixed by a Sénatus-consulte of the year XII. Before the imperial majesty the Assembly dwindled into insignificance. The emperor called the deputies his faithful subjects, and the French his people. The budget was the only interesting matter of the session, which closed on the 6th of March, 1805. Everybody is curious to know what a new government costs compared with an old one. The expenses of the year XIII. were fixed at 700,000,000 francs. The emperor wrote to the king of England (2nd of January, 1805,) to inform him of his elevation to the imperial throne, and to express his strong desire for peace. He addressed George III. by the terms "Monsieur, mon frère." The king replied to his new brother's letter, by lord Mulgrave, in a note addressed to Talleyrand (14th January, 1805). "There is nothing," said the note, "which his majesty has more at heart than to seize the first opportunity of restoring to his subjects the blessings of peace, provided it is founded on a basis not incompatible with the permanent interests and security of his dominions." But the king could not give a more specific answer without consulting the continental powers; "to whom he was united in the most confidential manner, and particularly the emperor of Russia."

The Directory surrounded France with republics. Napoleon changed them into kingdoms. Melzi, the vice-president of the Italian Republic, the Consulta of State, and some deputies, were invited to Paris to arrange about making their republic into a kingdom; and when all was duly arranged, Melzi and his associates offered the crown to Napoleon, seated on his imperial throne (17th March, 1805). The emperor accepted the title; and on the 26th of May he placed on his own head, in the cathedral of Milan, the iron crown of the Lombard kings. Josephine, who was present, was not crowned: she was merely a spectator. Eugène Beauharnais was made viceroy of the kingdom of Italy. The emperor made a progress through his new kingdom, during which he was actively engaged in giving orders for useful works, reviewing soldiers, and receiving the homage of the people. Most of the towns struck medals in honor of him. The people of Bologna put a just estimate on themselves, by offering to draw his carriage into the city: but the emperor had too much good sense to make even slaves into beasts of burden. The Ligurian Republic was a creation of France. On the 4th of June, the Doge of Genoa, with a deputation from the Senate and people came to Milan, "to supplicate the emperor to deign to unite to his empire this Liguria, the first theatre of his victories, the first step of the throne on which he was seated, and to grant them the happiness to be his subjects." The emperor condescended to grant this prayer, and the Ligurian Republic added to the bulky empire of Napoleon three new departments,—Genoa, Montenotte, and the Apennines. In Genoa, Napoleon met and gained over the abbé Maury, once an impetuous member of the Constituent Assembly, and now a cardinal,—a rank which he had earned by his hostility to his native country. In that sitting of the Senate in which Napoleon declared himself king of Italy, he gave the principality of Piombino, which had been promised to the king of Etruria, to his sister Elisa; and Baciocchi, the husband of Elisa, took the title of Prince of Piombino, and with it the rank of a prince of the empire. The republics of Italy were all gone, except San Marino, which was too poor to be worth taking, and Lucca. The Republic of Lucca prayed the emperor for a prince of his family, as if one of the newest would be the best, and for a constitution. Lucca was given to Baciocchi and his wife, who were installed on the 14th of July.

On his return from Italy, the emperor was busy with various departments of administration, and among others with education. Many special schools were established in different parts of France, but the primary schools were still in a deplorable state. "To embellish the head, they left the body in the grossest ignorance: there were schools for forming the first dancers in the world, in a country in which one half of the nation could not read," (Thibaudeau.) Napoleon still continued to show favour to the clergy, and zeal for the Roman Catholic worship. He named his mother protectress of the Sisters of Charity and of

other bodies of females who devoted themselves to the sick and the poor. He went to mass every Sunday, where he enjoyed both the incense that is grateful to the nostrils, and the incense of flattery that is grateful to the ear, which was liberally offered to him by the clergy for his great "piety." The consular government promised to maintain the Republican calendar, as the memorial of a victory obtained over fanaticism; but it was now little used, except for public acts. The re-establishment of the Roman Catholic worship necessarily brought back the Roman Calendar for all religious purposes. There were in fact now two calendars in use, but a Sénatus-consulte reduced them to one. The Gregorian Calendar alone began to be again in force from the 1st of January, 1806. Napoleon disliked the Republican Calendar, because it was Republican, and because it was incompatible with the Catholic religion, which he had made his ally in the empire.

Napoleon was still engaged on his plan for a sea-campaign, the result of which was to be a descent on England. He had now the Spanish navy at his disposal, for Spain had declared war against England on the 12th of December, 1804, and an offensive alliance was formed between Spain and France.* Napoleon visited Boulogne for the last time (2nd August, 1805), and probably with the intention of now effecting his descent, if he could unite all his naval force before Boulogne. The day after his arrival he reviewed the infantry of the army of England on the sea-shore. One hundred and eight thousand men were ranged in one line of battle, extending from Cap Alpreck to Cap Grisnez, in sight of the English cruisers. He also inspected the flotilla, which was no longer shut up in the ports, but lined the coast from the tower of Andreselles to the mouth of the Canche. The whole of the formidable force which Napoleon had directed against England amounted to 2,415 sail; of which 73 were ships of the line, and 951 were transports, not armed. The vessels carried 11,554 cannons, and above 90,000 men. The land force amounted to 176,000 men, with 572 pieces of artillery, and above 14,000 horses. The stores of all kinds were immense. For the defence of the British islands there were 728 sail; 75 of which were ships of the line: the vessels carried about 11,000 cannons, and above 80,000 men. The regular army was above 90,000 men, the militia near the same number, and above 100,000 volunteers were armed. There was also a large number of ships and soldiers employed in the defence of the colonies and foreign possessions. Napoleon was daily expecting news of the combined Spanish and French fleet, which was under the command of Villeneuve. But the French admiral had retired into the port of Cadiz, and Napoleon's great design was at an end. His object was to unite the Spanish, French, and Batavian fleets in the Channel, which would have been superior in number to the English fleet. As this could not be accomplished, it is said that he even thought of attempting the passage with his flotilla alone, as a large part of the English naval force was removed from off Boulogne, and was kept employed by watching the fleets at Brest and at Cadiz.

But the British minister had formed a third coalition against France. On the 11th of April, just at the time when Napoleon was setting out for Italy, a treaty was signed between Russia and England, the object of which was to compel the French government to peace and an equitable settlement of the affairs of Europe. Austria joined the coalition on the 9th of August, and her forces were already in motion. Napoleon hastily left Boulogne for Paris, and came to the Senate on the 23rd of September, to inform them of the war with Austria, and to ask for 80,000 conscripts, and the re-organization of the National Guard, with the view, as he said, of protecting the coasts. The decision on both these measures belonged to the functions of the Legislative body, but they were nevertheless decreed by the Senate. The emperor did not wait for their decision, but set off for Germany on the 24th. The camps of Boulogne were broken up, and the army of England, now become the army of Germany, was marched to the seat of war. Eighty-five thousand men, under the archduke Ferdinand and general Mack, had crossed the river Inn, and were in Bavaria, the ally of France; the archduke John was at the head of 35,000 men in the Tyrol; and the archduke Charles was advancing upon the line of the Adige with 100,000 men. The Russian force of 120,000 men, was on its march to join the Austrians. Napoleon crossed the Rhine at Strassburg on the 1st of October. He had about 200,000 men on the banks of the river at his disposal. Masséna had to keep the archduke Charles employed in Italy: a convention was made with the king of Naples, by which he promised Napoleon to remain neutral: and Saint Cyr, by the order of Napoleon, threw a garrison into Ancona, which was the commencement of the quarrels between Napoleon and the pope. Thus the French emperor, by his bold measures, secured himself on the side of Italy, while the divisions of the French army in Germany marched with precision and rapidity towards their object. A hundred thousand Frenchmen under Soult, Davoust, and Bernadotte, crossed the Danube at Donauwerth, Neuburg, and Ingolstadt. The Austrians were defeated at Wertingen and Günzburg. The French were on both sides of the Danube, and the Austrian forces were separated. The mass of the Austrian army under Mack was concentrated at Ulm, with no chance of escape, unless the Russians came to their aid, or the Austrians should send reinforcements. Bernadotte was ordered to march upon Munich, and get possession of the bridge over the Isar; Davoust was ordered to Dachau, and Marmont to Augsburg. Napoleon resolved to finish with Mack before the Russians could reach Munich; and if they did arrive at the Bavarian capital before he had beaten Mack, he trusted that the

* The cause of the rupture with England belongs to a history of the European war.

divisions of Bernadotte, Davoust, and Marmont, would be a match for them. On the 28th of October, Mack surrendered at Ulm: above 30,000 men laid down their arms; and all the artillery and stores were given up to the French. Another body of Austrians, 10,000 in number, capitulated at Trochtelfingen. In less than a month Bavaria was cleared of the Austrians, and the French were invading the Austrian dominions. The imperial court left Vienna for Olmütz only a few days before general Sebastiani entered Vienna at the head of a brigade of dragoons. Napoleon fixed his quarters at the palace of Schoenbrunn. On the 2nd of December, the anniversary of Napoleon's coronation, the combined Russian and Austrian army, under the command of Kutusoff, engaged the French in the plain of Austerlitz, which is in the neighbourhood of Brünn, in Moravia. Kutusoff had about 80,000 Russians and 25,000 Austrians. The French force was somewhat inferior in numbers. The battle began at sunrise, and ended in the complete defeat of the allied army. A great number of the Russians were drowned in a lake, along the frozen surface of which they attempted to make their escape. The French soldiers called this the battle of the Three Emperors, for the emperors of Austria and Russia were present. Napoleon called it the battle of Austerlitz.

The emperor of Russia, with the remnant of his army, retreated as quick as he could. The emperor Francis paid a visit to Napoleon in his camp on the 4th of December, who said to him, "For two months I have had no palace but this."—"You make such a good use of it," replied Francis, "that it must be agreeable to you." A treaty of peace with France was signed at Presburg, on the 26th of December, by which Francis gave up to the kingdom of Italy those parts of the Venetian states which he had acquired by the treaties of Campo-Formio and Luneville. He also made various cessions to the electors of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden; and he recognized the title of king, which the electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg assumed. Austria thus paid all the expenses of the war which she had undertaken; and by a secret article the emperor agreed to pay forty millions of francs, in place of the same amount of forced contributions which the French had laid on the hereditary states of Austria, but had not yet collected. They had however already subjected the emperor's people to heavy contributions. Napoleon emptied the arsenal of Vienna, and sent the cannon to France, together with many curious objects; but he respected the trophies taken from the Ottomans, which were in the arsenal that belonged to the city.

On the 19th of November, an Anglo-Russian army landed at Naples, and was joyfully received. The whole force of the kingdom was put in motion to march upon the French army of Italy. It was eight days after the battle of Austerlitz when Napoleon heard of this news; and when the treaty of Presburg was going to be signed, he declared that general St. Cyr was already on his way to Naples to punish the treachery of the queen and to precipitate her from her throne. On the day on which the treaty was signed he published a proclamation to his army, in which he said: "The dynasty of Naples has ceased to reign; its existence is incompatible with the repose of Europe



INTERVIEW OF THE EMPERORS NAPOLEON AND FRANCIS AFTER THE BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ.

and the honour of my crown." Leaving the command of the army to Berthier, Napoleon went to Munich, where Josephine was waiting for him. Her son Eugène was ordered to come there also, to receive in marriage the eldest daughter of the new-made king of Bavaria. The king was proud of his alliance; and the marriage was celebrated with all the pomp of royalty. This was the beginning of the union of the new Napoleon dynasty with the old dynasties of Europe. The emperor and empress arrived at Paris on the night of the 26th of January, 1806, and entered the city privately. He immediately set about the affairs of administration with his wonted activity.

While Napoleon was planting his eagles on the ramparts of Ulm, his fleet was destroyed off Cape Trafalgar. He heard the news when he was on the road to Vienna. Villeneuve left the harbour of Cadiz with the combined French and Spanish fleet of thirty-three sail of the line and seven frigates. He tacked to the north, and formed his line on the larboard tack, with Cadiz open to retreat to. Lord Nelson, with twenty-seven sail of the line and four frigates, had St. Pedro and Cape Trafalgar under his lee. Collingwood, in the 'Royal Sovereign,' led the lee line of thirteen ships, and Nelson the weather line of fourteen. The memorable day was the 21st of October, 1805. It was the most decisive victory ever obtained at sea over superior force. Twenty of the enemy's ships struck, but only four were secured, for a gale came on, and some of the prizes went down and some were driven ashore. Nelson received his death-wound from the hand of a rifleman in the mizen top of the French ship the 'Redoubtable.' Four of the French ships, under rear-admiral Dumanoir, took no part in the action; and while they were escaping, they fired not only into the 'Victory' and 'Royal Sovereign,' but into the Spanish captured ships. Dumanoir and his ships fell in with Sir Richard Strachan, who captured them.* Villeneuve was taken prisoner, but afterwards set at liberty. On his return to France, he was not allowed to come to Paris; and he committed suicide at Rennes, in April, 1806. To accuse Napoleon of his death, as some writers have done, is a scandalous calumny; for there is not the slightest evidence to support such a charge. Dumanoir was, some time after, brought before a court-martial, all the members of which were friendly to him, and he was acquitted. The judgment of the court was that he had done all that he could do in the battle of Trafalgar, but that he was blameable for the loss of the four vessels.

Not only was the Spanish and French navy annihilated by the defeat of Trafalgar, and other losses which soon followed, but the spirit of the men was broken. The sailors had no longer any confidence in their commanders. The particulars of this heavy disaster were concealed as much as possible from the French people, and the victory of Austerlitz soon engaged all the public attention. On the 30th of December, 1805, the Tribunat expressed a wish that in "one of the principal places of the capital there should be erected a column, surmounted by the statue of the emperor; and that the column should bear the inscription—'To Napoleon the Great, the country grateful.'" On the 1st of January, 1806, the Senate decreed to consecrate a triumphal monument to Napoleon the Great, in the name of the French people. After his Prussian campaign, Napoleon erected, with the bronze of the cannon taken from the enemy, the column which now ornaments the Place Vendôme; but he dedicated it to the grand army.

* Southey's 'Life of Nelson.'

CHAPTER LXXIII.

TILSIT.

The session of 1806 was opened by the emperor on the 2nd of March, and some important measures were passed; but the Legislative body was dumb as usual, and there was no real discussion in the Tribunat. A conseil de prud'hommes was established for Lyon, one of the functions of which was to settle in a conciliatory way such differences as daily arose between workmen and their employers; and in case they could not bring the parties to terms, to decide, if the matter in dispute did not exceed the sum of sixty francs, summarily and without any appeal. The law empowered the government to establish similar conseils in other manufacturing towns. A law was also passed, consisting of three articles, for the formation, under the name of Imperial University, of a body which should have the superintendence of instruction and of public education all through the empire; and it was decreed that the organization of the body of teachers should be presented in the form of a law to the Legislative body in its session of 1810. The Code Civil contained merely the rules of law applicable to such matters as were comprehended within it. A Code de Procédure was now presented to the Legislative body, and adopted without many dissentient votes, to take effect from the 1st of January, 1807. It is a striking instance of the base flattery which was now practised, that Jaubert, in a discourse pronounced at the close of the sittings of the Legislative body, attributed to the emperor the

solution of the principal difficulties that had presented themselves in the formation of this Code; and yet it was notorious that he was absent from Paris during the time of these discussions. Besides this, the Code de Procédure was not a field in which even the emperor's genius could distinguish itself. He expressed a wish that the forms of procedure should be simplified; but the lawyers had it all their own way with this Code.

Finance occupied the emperor's attention very particularly. Whatever was done or said by others was nothing more than the expression of his will and thoughts, for he regulated everything. France, he said, in a state of peace, required 400,000 soldiers, and the navy would cost from 100 to 200 millions of francs annually. The Roman empire under Augustus had not one-fourth of the soldiers that France was obliged to maintain: he wished the good of his people, and he would not be stopped by the murmurs of the taxpayers. He lived for posterity: France required heavy taxes, and they should be laid on. A tax was again raised upon salt; a measure which, though often talked of, had hitherto not been adopted, because of the remembrance of the odious gabelle of former times. It was a favourite scheme of Napoleon to exclude English manufactures from France, partly with the view of damaging England, and partly with the view of giving an impulse to French industry. Accordingly the importation of muslins, and cotton cloth both plain and coloured, and of other cotton articles, was prohibited. Cotton thread was also subjected to a heavy duty. The system of Napoleon was one of prohibition. In some cases bounties were given on the exportation of French goods. To form an adequate notion of the restless activity of the man, and of his administration, it is only necessary to imagine everything that can by any possibility be the object of government superintendence or interference, and to view the emperor as planning, controlling, and directing. There was some apprehension that the new system of weights and measures would share the fate of the Republican Calendar; but the emperor did not carry his anti-revolutionary dislikes so far as to destroy what he knew to be useful. The government distinctly declared its intention to maintain "this institution of the Revolution." During all his wars the emperor still carried on public works, useful and ornamental. New roads were constructed, and old ones repaired. The great roads of Mont-Cénis and of the Simplon, over the Alps, were constructed. The navigation of the rivers was improved; canals were made, and bridges built. Vessels were already constructing at Antwerp, and the ports of Flushing, Dunkerque, and other places, were improved. Paris was full of activity: new markets were built, new streets planned, and the commencement made of many useful undertakings and architectural embellishments.

Napoleon had pronounced sentence against the king of Naples, and his soldiers executed it. On the 8th of February, 1806, the French army occupied Naples, from which the queen fled to join her husband, who had already avoided the storm by retiring to Palermo. Gaeta held out for some time, but there was little resistance anywhere else. Joseph Bonaparte entered Naples on the 15th of February, and he was well received both there and in other parts of the kingdom which he visited. On the 30th of March, Napoleon sent a message to the Senate, in which he informed that body of his determinations on various matters. First: wishing to give security to the condition of the people of Naples and Sicily who had fallen under his power by the law of conquest, and were also part of the great empire, he acknowledged as king of Naples and Sicily his well-beloved brother, Joseph Napoleon, and declared the crown to be hereditary in the male line. He established in these two kingdoms six grand fiefs of the empire, with the title of duchies; and he reserved to himself the disposal of a million of francs annually from his brother's new kingdom, to be distributed among the generals, officers, and soldiers of the French army. Joseph, who had left Naples as his brother's lieutenant, and was making a tour in Calabria, received notice of his elevation to the regal dignity on the 13th of April, and on the 20th May he made his entry as king into Naples. By another imperial decree, Napoleon attached the Venetian states to the kingdom of Italy, and he erected into fiefs, as grand duchies, eleven of the Venetian provinces, reserving to himself the investiture of these fiefs, to be transmitted hereditarily in the order of primogeniture to the male descendants of those in whose favour he should dispose of them. By a third decree he made his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, grand duke of Cleves and Berg, with all the rights that the kings of Prussia and Bavaria had possessed in these territories. Marshal Berthier, by a fourth decree, was invested with the sovereignty of the principality of Neufchâtel. A fifth decree converted the principalities of Massa and Carrara, and the states of Parma and Placentia into fiefs and grand duchies; and a sixth disposed of the principality of Guastalla in favour of his sister, Pauline Borghese. Thus he began the re-establishment of a kind of feudal system, and the construction of an empire something like the Germanic. The Tribunat and the Legislative body were silent spectators of these acts, which were offensive to the national feeling; and the Senate, the humble instruments of the emperor, were merely the registrars of his decrees, like the parliaments under the old monarchy.

Among the first whom Napoleon rewarded, were the grand chamberlain, Talleyrand, minister for foreign affairs, and marshal Bernadotte. He gave to Talleyrand the principality of Benevento, and to Bernadotte that of Ponte Corvo, to possess in full ownership and sovereignty, as fiefs immediately dependent on his crown, and transmissible to their male descendants in order of primogeniture. These two principalities were a matter of dispute between the king of Naples and the court of Rome; and Napoleon settled the question in this summary way. Bernadotte had not taken any

part in the 18th of Brumaire; and though the brother-in-law of prince Joseph, he had conspired against Napoleon, had been pardoned, and was now rewarded. No doubt the emperor thought that he should secure the fidelity of the two princes, and that they would never betray him. The emperor had not ventured to plant on French ground hereditary fiefs; but what he did not dare to do directly, he did indirectly. He used to say that he could play either the fox or the lion; and there was too much of the fox in his character to entitle him to the name of great or magnanimous. The princess Borghese made a cession to the kingdom of Italy of the principality of Guastalla; and a Sénatus-consulte provided that there should be purchased with the money paid for this cession an estate on the French territory, to be held by the princess Pauline and her husband, and their male descendants, as to hereditary character and reversion, in the same manner as the principality of Guastalla, and on the same terms, conformably to the act of the 30th of March preceding. But the Sénatus-consulte went further. It provided for similar arrangements as to lands belonging to other duchies then held of the French empire, or hereafter to be created; and for the acquisition of lands in place of them within the French territory, to be held and to descend in the same manner as the original lands of the said duchies. This was the most insidious, the most counter-revolutionary of all Napoleon's public acts, and gives us a just measure of his views.*

The hereditary prince of Baden married Stéphanie Beauharnais, niece of the empress, who had been adopted by the emperor. Napoleon's sisters were all married, or the Catholic kings and princes in Europe would have been humble suitors for their hands. The emperor undertook to direct the political education of the hereditary prince of Baden, and also of the prince royal of Bavaria, who came to Paris in February, 1806, and was lodged in the Tuileries. The emperor made the two princes attend the sittings of the Conseil d'Etat, where they would hear himself discourse on matters political.

Since the beginning of 1806, Napoleon had informed Schimmelpenninck, the grand pensionary of Holland, of his wish to assimilate the Batavian Republic to the monarchical form of France, and to give to the Hollanders his brother Louis as king. The grand pensionary professed to desire to concur with the emperor in consolidating the government of the Batavian Republic in a form "adapted to the character and the manners of the people;" but he was in fact very desirous to evade the emperor's proposal, and he did all that he could to prevent the change. The Batavian Republic, however, was in the hands of the emperor: his resolution was fixed; and the Assembly of Dutch notables, which had been convened to consider the matter, made the best terms that they could. On the 5th of June the Dutch plenipotentiaries came to the Tuileries, and much against their will prayed the emperor to give them a king. The emperor gave them his brother Louis, who was present at the audience: he said, "I grant your wish; I proclaim prince Louis king of Holland: you, prince, reign over these people —but never cease to be a Frenchman—maintain in your new subjects sentiments of union and love for France: be the terror of the bad, and the father of the good: it is the character of great kings." This was the end of the Batavian Republic, which had been a steady ally of France, but henceforth the Hollanders looked on the French as conquerors and tyrants.

He who thus disposed of crowns, and surrounded himself with royal pomp, was simple and economical in his habits: his personal expenses were trifling. He dressed in the morning for the whole day, despatched his breakfast in a few minutes, and then worked frequently to six in the evening. He dined alone with the empress, except on Sundays, when all the royal family were invited; and on Wednesdays, when the ministers met in council, and dined with him. He had only one course to dinner, followed by the dessert, and he drank little wine, and even that generally mixed with water. Fifteen to twenty minutes was all the time that he took for dinner; and as his stomach was not overloaded and his head was clear, he was fit for work immediately. He continued his labours after dinner, and seldom put off anything to the next day. He slept well at night, as calm and sound as a child. His constitution, naturally good, and his great temperance, enabled him to undergo an enormous quantity of labour. His industrious life was only diversified by occasional visits to the theatre, or by riding out or hunting in fine weather. He looked after his household expenses most strictly. There was neither waste nor parsimony. He was an economist, because he loved order; and he saved, not because he was fond of money, but in order to spend liberally on fit objects:* and he did expend his savings liberally and nobly.

On the 1st of August, 1804, a secret treaty was made public, by which the kings of Bavaria and of Würtemberg, the elector arch-chancellor of the Germanic empire, the elector of Baden, the duke of Berg and Cleves, the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, and ten other petty sovereign princes, declared their separation from the Germanic empire, and their formation into a new confederation, which was to be governed by a diet sitting at Frankfort, and a prince-primate. The prince-primate, named in the act of confederation,

* This Sénatus-consulte is simply entitled 'Sénatus-consulte qui autorise l'acquisition en France de biens destinés à remplacer la principauté de Guastalla, cédée au royaume d'Italie par la princesse Pauline et le prince Borghese son époux;' ('Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 210); as if it were a mere family arrangement, and had no further object.

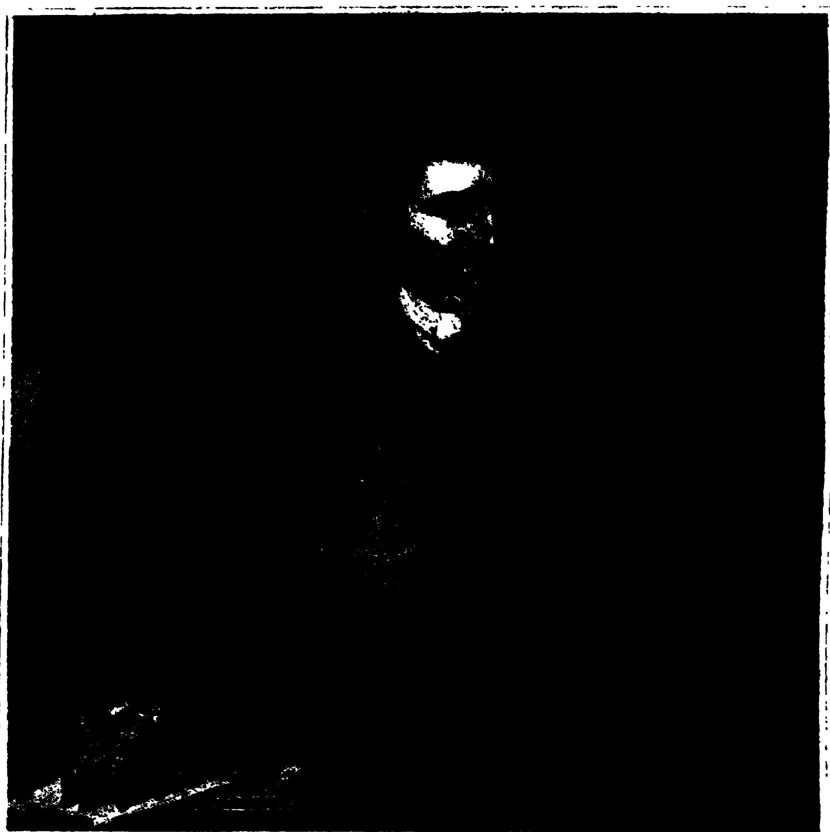
* The two most methodical rulers on record are the emperors Augustus and Napoleon. The character of the Roman is drawn in lively touches by Suetonius (*August.*, c. 77). Like his great uncle, the Dictator, he was most moderate in eating and drinking. The virtues and the vices of the Dictator, and of his successor, find something like a parallel in the French emperor.

was the elector arch-chancellor; and Napoleon was appointed Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. The confederate States formed an alliance offensive and defensive; and the contingent which each was to furnish in case of a continental war, was fixed. On the 1st of August, 1806, the confederates announced to the diet at Ratisbon their separation from the body of the Germanic empire; and Napoleon informed the diet that he no longer recognized the existence of the Germanic body. The emperor Francis, upon this, formally renounced his title of emperor of Germany (6th of August), released the members of the Germanic body from their obligations to him, and assumed the title of emperor of Austria. The scheme of the Confederation of the Rhine seems to have originated with Napoleon; and it is said that he thought of it during his residence at Mainz, but he was then on friendly terms with Prussia, and the idea was not developed into any plan. When he discovered, from the crooked policy of the court of Prussia, that he could not depend on the alliance of that kingdom, he reverted to the scheme of forming a new body of allies in the minor states of Germany, which he might oppose to Austria and Russia. The establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine caused great dissatisfaction among the Germans, who looked upon it as an encroachment on their national independence. Pamphlets were published, for the purpose, as it was alleged by Napoleon, of exciting the Germans to insurrection against the French armies, which were still in Germany, and to excite the French soldiers to insubordination to the emperor. Berthier, who was in the command of the troops, sent several booksellers before a court-martial. Two only were condemned to death, according to some accounts; but Napoleon only ordered one man to be executed; and this was Palm, a bookseller of Nürnberg, who was shot on the 25th of August. His offence was the publication of a pamphlet by Gentz, which told the Germans that they must depend on themselves for their deliverance, and not on England or Russia. The pamphlet was published in Nürnberg, a free city, by a man who was no subject of Napoleon. But the French emperor feared the press; and though he was not a cruel man, he cared nothing for human life when he had an object to accomplish. His purpose was to strike terror by an example.

Pitt died on the 23rd of January, 1806, and the Whigs came into office, with Fox as secretary for foreign affairs. Fox was anxious to make peace with France, and negotiations were commenced between Napoleon and the British government, but they had no result, except to hurry on a rupture between France and Prussia. Fox died in September, 1806.

The conduct of Frederick-William III., king of Prussia, had been all along insincere, wavering, and contemptible. He had a large force on the borders of Moravia just before the battle of Austerlitz; and no one knew, perhaps not even himself, which of the two sides he was going to join. He waited for the result; and on the 15th of December, a few days after the battle, he made a treaty with Napoleon, by which he ceded to the emperor certain territories in Franconia, which the grand duke of Berg had already invaded, and received Hanover from Napoleon, the electorate of his friend and ally king George of England, with the intention of finally keeping it, if he could. The king of England retaliated by clearing the seas of all the Prussian ships by his cruisers. But the king of Prussia soon found that he had exchanged a faithful ally for an imperious master, who treated him with contempt, never consulted him about the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, and in his negotiations for peace with the British cabinet, even offered to restore Hanover to the king of England. The king of Prussia now began to listen to the proposals of the emperor Alexander of Russia, who promised his support in a war against France; and to convince the Prussian king of his sincerity, he refused to ratify a treaty with France, the terms of which had been the subject of discussion ever since the peace of Presburg. Hostilities between Prussia and England were also suspended; and at last Frederick-William sent his challenge (1st October, 1806) to Napoleon, by requiring that the French armies should retire west of the Rhine, and that there should be no obstacle placed, on the part of France, in the way of the formation of a league of the northern states of Germany, which should comprise all the states not included in the fundamental act of the Confederation of the Rhine. Napoleon, who knew the king of Prussia's intentions, did not wait to receive his ultimatum at Paris. He left his capital on the 25th of September, to superintend the concentration of his troops, which were assembling from all parts of his empire; and he was at Bamberg when he received the king of Prussia's note. From his quarters in this city he sent a message to the Senate (October 7th) to inform them of the necessity of a new war.

A new coalition had been formed, composed of England, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Saxony, and some of the minor German princes. Prussia alone had an army of above 200,000 men, proud of the remembrance of the Great Frederick, and confident of victory. Her troops were the first to move, and the prince of Hohenlohe entered Saxony with 55,000 men, while the Russian troops advanced towards the Prussian frontier. Napoleon was prepared for them. He had a force of near 200,000 men, and his plan was to beat the Prussians before they could receive any help. The emperor came up with Hohenlohe at Jena, on the Saale. The prince had above 70,000 Prussians and Saxons under his command. Napoleon, with superior force, attacked him unexpectedly on the 14th of October, and gained a decisive victory. On the same day, Davoust, with a much inferior force, defeated the duke of Brunswick and the best troops of Prussia at Auerstädt, to the north of Erfurt; and the duke fell in the battle. The two battles entirely disorganized the Prussian army; no further resistance was made to Napoleon, and on the 25th of October he entered Berlin. In less than



a month, Hanover, Electoral Hesse, and Saxony, were occupied by the French. Napoleon treated with the elector of Saxony, and set the Saxon princes at liberty. By the middle of November he was master of all the Prussian territory as far as the Vistula; but he consented to an armistice, by the terms of which the king of Prussia should retire to Koenigsberg, between the Vistula and the Niemen; the French should occupy all Prussia as far as the Vistula from the confluence of the Bug to Danzig; and the territory of New Prussia and Polish Prussia should not be occupied by French, Russians, or Prussians. Negotiations for peace were to be carried on at Charlottenburg. The king of Prussia, after some hesitation, refused these terms; he still hoped for success with the aid of Russia. It remained, therefore, for Napoleon to beat the Russians before he could bring the king of Prussia to submit.

During his stay in Berlin, Napoleon received men of science and letters with marked attention. He had a long conversation with Johann Müller, the historian of Switzerland, who has recorded his recollections of it. Müller was much struck with the variety of knowledge that the emperor possessed, the largeness of his views, and the soundness of his judgment. Müller had talked with Frederick the Great, who was also undoubtedly a man of ability, but of the Voltaire school; and he thought the emperor superior in the extent and depth of his understanding. His manners, when he chose to make himself agreeable, were very pleasing. But his reflections on the queen of Prussia, in his bulletins published both before and after the battle of Jena, were unworthy of a soldier. The queen had used all her influence to induce her husband to enter on this fatal contest, and even showed herself in the ranks of the Prussians, as it is said, and harangued the soldiers. "The queen of Prussia," said Napoleon, in his eighth bulletin after the battle of Jena, "has been several times in sight of our posts—she reviewed her regiment—she wished for blood; the most precious blood has flowed." And again: "the queen is a woman with a handsome person, but little sense, incapable of foreseeing the consequences of her acts." Napoleon hated women who did not confine themselves within the usual limits prescribed to the sex. Josephine wrote to the emperor from Mainz, to complain of what he said of the queen of Prussia in his bulletins. He defended himself in his answer (6th of November, 1806), and said: "Thou seest then that I love women who are good, natural, and amiable; but it is because these are the only kind of women which resemble thee." *

A British order in council of the 16th of May, 1806, declared in a state of blockade all the ports between Brest and the mouth of the Elbe; and consequently neutral vessels could not enter these ports without risk of being taken. Napoleon retaliated by his Berlin decree of the 21st of November, the grounds of which were stated in the preamble, but not truly. Among other things the preamble stated: "Great Britain declared places to be in a state of blockade before which she had not a single vessel of war, though a place was not really blockaded until it was so invested that a ship could not attempt to come near it without imminent danger." By the Berlin decree, Napoleon declared the British islands in a state of blockade, and prohibited all commerce and all correspondence with them; every English subject who should be found in a country occupied by French or allied troops, was to be considered a prisoner of war; all merchandize and property belonging to an Englishman was declared lawful prize; trade in English manufactured goods was prohibited, and all merchandize belonging to England or coming from its manufactories or colonies, was declared lawful prize; no vessel coming directly from England or the English colonies, or which should have been there since the publication of this decree, should be received in any port. This decree was communicated to the Senate at Paris, who thanked the emperor in an address. This is what was called the Continental System of Napoleon, which was intended as a retaliation for the measures of England; a system which was as injurious to neutrals and the commerce of Europe generally, as to the country against which it was directed; and like all such extravagant attempts to fetter the freedom of man's action, it could only be partially enforced. On the 24th the decree of Berlin was communicated to the senate of Hamburg, and the French commandant there made a proclamation for its execution, and all persons who held property belonging to Englishmen were required to declare it within forty-eight hours, and also the debts that were due to them. The English in Hamburg were arrested. There were the same proceedings at Bremen, Lübeck, Travemünde, and other places.

Napoleon provided for the administration of the conquered countries. Prussia was divided into four departments. All the local authorities, judiciary and administrative, were maintained, and they were required to swear that they would faithfully perform their duties, and enter into no communication with the enemies of Napoleon. The deputation of the Senate which came to Berlin to compliment him on his victories, returned to Paris with the colours taken from the enemy, and with the sword and other insignia of Frederick the Great. A Polish deputation came to see him at Berlin, and urged him to proclaim the independence of Poland; but he evaded their request, and only gave them arms. On the 28th of November the French entered Warsaw, where they were joyfully received; and the emperor himself was there on the 19th of December. A large part of his force had already crossed the Vistula. The French having forced the enemy to abandon Polish Prussia, took up their winter quarters on the eastern side of the Vistula, from Elbing to Warsaw, expecting to have a little rest. But Benningsen, the Russian commander-in-chief, did not remain quiet. He attacked Bernadotte, who repulsed him. Bernadotte then advanced towards Thorn, on the Vistula, pursuant to

* 'Lettres de Napoléon à Joséphine (i., 195).

Napoleon's orders, with the object of drawing Benningsen in that direction, and giving Napoleon the opportunity of falling upon him. But Benningsen discovered the design of Napoleon, and retired to Preussisch Eylau, a small town on the Pasmer, in the circle of Königsberg. He was followed by the French, and on the 8th of February was fought in the midst of the winter, while a cold north-east wind was blowing and snow was falling, the bloody battle of Eylau, in which many thousands fell on both sides. Napoleon, even in his bulletin, could hardly claim a victory; and certainly he did not gain one. He retired towards the Vistula, and Benningsen towards Königsberg. The publication of Napoleon's bulletin produced an unfavourable effect at Paris, and the funds fell considerably. The facility with which the Russians had been beaten at Austerlitz made the French expect easy victories; but after the battle of Eylau, the Parisians began to doubt about the result of the campaign. The chief cause of the successful resistance of the Russians was the exaltation of the courage of the soldiers by the aid of religion. They fought with all the energy of faith, to which the French opposed the glory and honour of France.

Napoleon was urged by several of his generals to repass the Vistula; but his judgment was sounder than theirs, and instead of thus proclaiming his fears, he ordered Lefebvre to take Danzig, which was garrisoned by 18,000 men. The siege began on the 1st of April, and the place capitulated on the 24th of May. Lefebvre gained by his success the title of duke of Danzig, which Napoleon afterwards conferred on him. The emperor Alexander had now strengthened his army, and Napoleon also had received large reinforcements. On the 14th of June, in the afternoon, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, the Russians, under Benningsen, were entirely defeated at the small town of Friedland, on the Alle, a branch of the Pregel. On the 16th the French were in Königsberg, and on the 19th in Tilsit, on the Niemen. The emperor Alexander wished for peace, and Napoleon was not unwilling to come to terms. An armistice was signed on the 22nd of June, and the two emperors had an interview on a raft in the Niemen on the 25th, and arrangements were made for peace. The king of Prussia also came to Tilsit, and was joined by his wife. Peace was concluded on the 7th of July. The Prussian king lost his Polish dominions, which, under the name of the grand duchy of Warsaw, were given to Napoleon's new ally, the elector of Saxony, who had assumed the title of king. Alexander received the duchy of Bialistock, which belonged to his friend the king of Prussia. Frederick-William also gave up all the territories between the Elbe and the Rhine. His humiliation was a just retribution for his past conduct; but the real sufferers by his conduct were his own people. Nothing was done for Poland; and the French blamed the emperor for not having taken advantage of this opportunity to create for France a powerful ally in the north. The Prussian king was further required to reduce his troops to 40,000 men, to pay about £6,000,000 of money to France, and to submit to the occupation of Berlin and the chief fortresses by French troops, until the money was paid.

Napoleon arrived in Paris in time to open the session of 1807, on the 16th of August. On the 18th of September, the day on which the session closed, the Tribunat and the Legislative body were informed that, by a Sénatus-consulte passed on the 19th of August, 1807, which they now heard of for the first time—the Tribunat was abolished. Thus the emperor, by his mere will and by the form of a Sénatus-consulte, altered the Imperial Constitution. The discussion of laws which had been hitherto conducted by the sections of the Tribunat, was henceforth to be conducted by three commissions of the Legislative body, a commission of Legislation Civil and Criminal, a commission of Internal Administration, and a commission of Finance. The president of the Tribunat replied to the orators of the government, that the Tribunat "received with respect and confidence the Sénatus-consulte, which conferred its attributes on the Legislative body:" and the Tribunat voted that a deputation should carry an address "to the feet of the throne," to thank "the monarch" for putting an end to their existence. The president of the Legislative Assembly, Fontanes, was enraptured at the announcement of the new Sénatus-consulte; and, if possible, exceeded all his former effusions of adulation.

In this session the Code de Commerce was completed and adopted by the Legislative body; and some alterations of little moment were made in the Code Civil. But there was one change which was important: it permitted the lands which formed the endowment of an hereditary title (*majorat*) to be transmitted hereditarily, which was contrary to the principle of equality, one of the bases of the Code Civil. But the feeling of the nation was against this violation of a fundamental principle which had been established by the Revolutionary Assemblies; and if we except the *majorats*, which Napoleon himself established, and the nobility that he created, there were very few persons who solicited this privilege. There were only 212 established under the empire, which represented an income of less than £80,000 a year. People paid very little attention to the labours of the Legislative bodies: their attention was absorbed with military and internal affairs. On the 19th of August, Brune drove the Swedes out of Stralsund, and on the 3rd of September he occupied the Isle of Rügen. All Swedish Pomerania was now in the hands of the French. Denmark possessed a fleet, and Napoleon had none; and as there was a probability that he would at least have the advantage of Denmark as an ally, the British government sent a fleet under Lords Cathcart and Gambier to demand the surrender of the Danish fleet. The Danish government refused compliance, and Copenhagen was bombarded from the 2nd to the 5th of September, and a large part of the city was damaged or destroyed before the Danish government submitted. The English

carried off the Danish fleet, and from this time Denmark became and continued to be the most faithful of the allies of Napoleon. About the same time Alexander marched an army into Finnland, which it was agreed, by a secret article of the treaty of Tilsit, that the Russian emperor should take from Sweden. This was an important acquisition to Russia, for Finnland was so near a neighbour that the sound of the Swedish cannon could be heard even in the palace of the Czar at Petersburg.

In the month of January, 1807, a British order in council was published with the view of making resistance to the Berlin decree; and in November of the same year, the government issued fresh orders in council, which declared France and all her allies to be in a state of blockade, and all vessels subject to seizure which should trade with any of the countries thus declared to be in a state of blockade: neutral vessels bound for France or any other hostile country were required to first visit a British port, and to pay certain duties there, before they were allowed to proceed on their voyage. These orders were as unjustifiable as Napoleon's Berlin decree: between the two, the traffic of neutrals was stopped, commerce was suspended, and merchants ruined; and no advantage of any kind was gained commensurate with the evils resulting from these scandalous violations of the first principles of equity and justice. "France and England," says an American writer, "in their deadly conflict, had now adopted a new course of policy towards neutrals, and instead of either of them trying to conciliate their favour, and appropriate to itself the benefits of their trade and friendship, they seemed to vie with each other who could commit the most flagrant violations of the neutral's rights; and if they could thereby not compel him to take sides in the war, how they might, by preying on his commerce, most profit by his neutrality." *

This year Napoleon made another king. On the 15th of November he gave a constitution to a new kingdom of Westphalia, of which his brother Jerôme, a mere youth, took possession on the 1st of December. Alexander, at Tilsit, not only recognized the kingdoms of Joseph and Louis Bonaparte, but he consented to the formation of the kingdom of Westphalia, which was constructed out of the states of Hesse-Cassel, a portion of Prussia, and of Brunswick, part of the electorate of Hanover, and a few other fragments. If a kingdom can be made in this way, a nation can not. Jerôme carried with him to his Westphalian kingdom a new wife. In August (1807) he had married the daughter of the king of Wirtemberg, a woman of beauty and talent.

* Tucker, 'Life of Jefferson,' ii., 284.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

The peace of Tilsit secured for Napoleon the advantage of a rupture between Russia and England. Prussia was humbled; Austria did not venture to stir; and there were no continental powers which were rebellious to Napoleon's will and his new system, except Sweden and Portugal. Russia was left to deal with Sweden, and Napoleon undertook to settle the affairs of Portugal; but between Napoleon and Portugal lay Spain, destined to become his stumbling-block. When the accession of Joseph Bonaparte was notified to the Spanish court, Charles IV., the brother of the dethroned king Ferdinand, expressed by his minister his concurrence in everything which "could contribute to the success of the general plan of the emperor." This contemptible answer was not the result of fear only, but of rivalry and jealousy between the two families of Naples and Spain. Yet Spain was not sincere in her French alliance; and the prince of Peace, the royal favourite, who was in fact king of Spain, was preparing to join the enemies of France, and was only checked by the news of the battle of Jena. Napoleon was aware of his treachery, but resolved to make him his tool; and Godoy, whose power depended on the life of the king, and who was in violent hostility to the prince of Asturias, the successor to the throne, lent himself to Napoleon's views, in order to secure himself. After the peace of Tilsit, Napoleon entered into negotiations with Godoy as to Portugal; and on the 12th of August the court of Portugal was summoned to accede to the continental-system, to confiscate English merchandize, and to arrest all the English within Portugal. The court of Portugal would not go so far as this; and the French and Spanish ambassadors immediately left Lisbon. This was followed by a treaty concluded at Fontainebleau, on the 27th of October, 1807, between the agent of Godoy and general Duroc, on the part of Napoleon, by which Portugal was divided into three portions, one of which, the Algarves, was to be given to Godoy, with the title of prince of the Algarves. Preparations were making for the execution of the treaty before it was settled; for the French crossed the Bidassoa on the 18th of October; and on the 19th of November, general Junot, with an army of raw French recruits, was within the frontiers of Portugal. On the 24th he was at Abrantes, whence he wrote to the Portuguese minister to say that he should

be at Lisbon in four days. With such an army, and an extremely difficult country to make his way through, Junot's enterprize would have been a signal failure, if Portugal had been an enemy worthy of the name. But instead of defending their throne, the royal family fled before an army of beardless recruits, exhausted by forced marches, lean, hungry, and ill armed. Eight large vessels, three frigates, and a great number of ships, carried the prince-regent, the royal family, and their treasures, to Brazil. An English squadron was in the Tagus to protect the Portuguese ships. About 15,000 persons left Lisbon on the 29th of November,* carrying with them, as it is computed, about one half of the current coin of the kingdom. The prince-regent left a provisional government behind him. On the 30th of November, Junot, with his advanced guard of 1,500 men, entered Lisbon without meeting with any resistance; and the whole kingdom of Portugal was occupied jointly by French and Spanish troops. Thus Spain was opened to the French, to give them a way into Portugal, and Spain herself soon felt the results of Godoy's villainy.

After the treaty of Presburg the French troops did not evacuate the Austrian territories, because Austria, instead of surrendering the mouth of the Cattaro on the Adriatic, according to the treaty, had allowed Russia to seize it, or at least had not prevented the seizure. One hundred thousand Frenchmen were still in the heart of Germany, and the strong post of Braunau was held by the French. But after the treaty of Tilsit, a supplemental treaty was concluded at Fontainebleau on the 10th of October, 1807, between M. de Champagny, then minister of foreign affairs for France, and Metternich, which settled all disputes between Austria and France. Austria acceded to the continental system of Napoleon, and thus completed the exclusion of English commerce from the continent. Napoleon had now no enemy to oppose him except England; and all his efforts were directed to bring this formidable power to terms, by doing her all the mischief that he could.

In December, 1807, Napoleon was at Milan, from which he dated a new decree, called the Milan Decree (December 17), founded upon the British orders in council of the 11th of November. The preamble of this decree* refers to the terms of the orders, which subjected the vessels of all neutral powers to a visit from English vessels, and also required them to repair in certain cases to an English port, and to pay a duty; it declares, that by these acts "the English government had denationalized the vessels of all the nations of Europe;" and that it had taken advantage "of the tolerance of all governments to establish the infamous principle that the flag does not cover the goods, and to give to their blockade an arbitrary extension, which is an attack on the sovereignty of all states." The emperor then decrees, that every vessel of any nation which shall have submitted to the terms of the orders in council, is thereby denationalized, has lost the security of its flag, and is become English property; and all such denationalized vessels are good and lawful prize, if they enter any port of France, or of the allies of France, or are taken by French cruisers. The British islands were further declared to be in a state of blockade both by land and by sea. The fourth article declared, "These measures, which are only a just reciprocity for the barbarous system adopted by the English government, which assimilates its legislation to that of Algiers, shall cease to be of any effect with respect to all nations, which shall oblige the English government to respect their flag: They shall continue to be in force during all the time that this government shall not return to the principles of the Law of Nations, which regulates the relations of civilized countries in a state of war: the dispositions of the present decree shall be abrogated, and null in fact, as soon as the English government shall have returned to the principles of the Law of Nations, which are also the principles of justice and honour." This decree was a European measure; for it was communicated to all the states dependent on France, and to her allies, and enforced by them. Between the orders in council and the Milan decree, the neutral had nothing to choose: in either way he suffered. These violent measures of the British government and of Napoleon were particularly injurious to the commerce of the United States, the citizens of which had hitherto carried on a very profitable European trade; and nothing but fear of the consequences of war made the United States refrain at present from declaring war against Great Britain. Yet the active spirit of commerce still prosecuted its adventures in spite of the orders in council and the Berlin and Milan decrees.*

During his Italian tour Napoleon visited Venice for the first time. When he shamefully handed it over to Austria, he had the decency not to show his face there. But he had now annexed the former mistress of the seas to his own kingdom of Italy; and the Venetians were grateful for the change, for they hated the dull leaden rule of Austria. There were great rejoicings and festivities in Venice during the emperor's stay, but his time was chiefly occupied by serious matters; and he made many orders for the improvement of the town and the harbour. At Mantua, Napoleon saw his brother Lucien, and offered to make him king of Portugal, if he would dissolve his second marriage, and marry his eldest daughter to Ferdinand, prince of the Asturias, who had already written to Napoleon (11th of October) to ask for the honour of an alliance with his "august family." Lucien would not give up his wife, even for a crown.†

* Bignon, 'Hist. de France sous Napoléon, Deuxième Époque,' i., c. 1.

* The full examination of this subject belongs to a different work. It is discussed by Bignon judiciously, on the French side. Tucker's 'Life of Jefferson' contains the American view of the matter.

† Bignon, c. 2. Lucien's own account of the interview is contained in his 'Réponse aux Mémoires du général Lamarque.'

On his return to Milan, the emperor published a constitutional statute, by which he adopted Eugène Beauharnais, and named him his successor in the kingdom of Italy, in default of legitimate male issue of his own. In the treaty with Spain, it was provided that the king of Etruria should cede Tuscany to France, and take a new kingdom in Portugal, composed of the provinces Entre Douro and Minho. As Portugal was now occupied by French and Spanish troops, the queen regent of Etruria announced that her son had been called to govern other people, and that their new sovereign was the emperor Napoleon. The emperor got Tuscany, but the king of Etruria never was able to get possession of his kingdom of 'Northern Lusitania.' Tuscany was well administered under Napoleon, who had the merit of appointing honest men for the organization of the country. His administration was not like that of the princes who had preceded him, which, if not injurious to their states, was at least in general of little advantage. Napoleon's government was active, and marked by undertakings of public utility. When the Italians contrasted their present ruler with such as they had in former times, they might be excused, in some degree, for their enthusiasm and adulation. The best period of Napoleon's administration was the short time between the peace of Tilsit and the Spanish war. Though bold in his designs, and fertile in invention, he preferred to keep to routine in matters of administration, and was averse to new things; a principle that is wise, so far as it avails itself of past experience, but which it requires great ability and freedom from prejudice to reconcile with change and progress, the immutable law of social existence. Napoleon returned to Paris on the 1st of January, 1808, ready to accomplish his designs against Spain, on which he had been meditating for some time.

By the treaty of Fontainebleau (27th of October, 1807) France was to keep, until the settlement of a general peace, the central part of Portugal, which comprised Lisbon and the provinces of Tras-os-Montes, Beira, and Estramedura. Napoleon's object was to deprive England of the only part of the continent on which she could set her foot; and besides this, the occupation of Portugal would serve as a pretext for introducing his armies into Spain. He had dethroned the Bourbon of Naples, and the dissensions in the royal family of Spain invited him to interfere in the affairs of that country. The king was governed by his wife, who was governed by Godoy, whom her influence had raised from the station of a garde du corps to the rank of prince. She had given him for wife a cousin of the king, who had also put in his hands the command of all his forces. Godoy and the prince of Asturias hated one another, and the nation, which saw with disgust and indignation the elevation of this unworthy favourite, took the side of the prince of Asturias. Godoy, who had sold his country for a title, was impatient to take possession of his principality of the Algarves, but he heard no more on that subject, and French troops were continually pouring into Spain. The French took possession of Barcelona, Pamplona, St. Sebastian, and other places. On the 22nd of November (1807) Dupont, with 27,000 men, occupied Valladolid and Salamanca; in January, 1808, Moncey occupied Biscay; and in February general Dusheeme led an army into Catalonia. Godoy was too much alarmed to make any resistance, and he gave instructions to all the commandants of places to yield to the summons of the French. The designs of the French emperor were now clear; he intended to govern Spain at his pleasure, and to dismember it; he wished for the country between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, in exchange for which he would give all Portugal to the king of Spain. But Godoy suspected that Napoleon intended to dethrone the Bourbons, and he advised the royal family to imitate the house of Braganza, and to take refuge in the American possessions of Spain. Preparations were made for the royal family removing to Seville; but on the 17th of March, all the approaches to the royal palace of Aranjuez were crowded with people and soldiers; the prince of Peace was arrested, Charles IV. abdicated in favour of his son, and Ferdinand was proclaimed king of Spain. On the 20th March, Ferdinand wrote to inform Napoleon that "the Divine Providence had called him to the government of his people;" and professing his esteem and admiration for the emperor, he promised to do every thing in his power to cooperate "in the vast plans of his majesty against the common enemy." On the very next day, Charles protested against his abdication, and he wrote to Napoleon, to say that he had yielded to force, and he declared that he had adopted the resolution to submit to all the emperor's arrangements with respect to himself, the queen, and the prince of Peace. Thus Napoleon was invited to settle the differences of the royal family of Spain.

Murat was already at Burgos on the 13th of March, where he took the title of commander-in-chief and lieutenant of the emperor. On the news of the abdication of Charles he set out for Madrid, which he entered on the 23rd of March, at the head of a brigade of the imperial guard and a division of infantry. He was well received by the people, who thought that he came to support the new king, who entered Madrid on the same day. Murat, however, observed neutrality between the two kings. Napoleon, who saw that the time was come for settling the Spanish disputes, set out for Bayonne. Savary, who had been sent by Napoleon to Spain as soon as he heard of the insurrection at Aranjuez, was at Madrid early in April. He expressed to the old king the interest that the emperor took in his situation, and also paid a visit to Ferdinand, who, after the interview, set out to Burgos, to meet Napoleon. He wished to stay there, but on Savary assuring him that the emperor could not be far off, he continued his journey unwillingly to Vittoria. After Ferdinand's departure, Godoy was delivered to the French authorities, to be sent to France. As soon as his son was gone, the old king desired to resume his authority, and he announced his intention to the supreme junta of

government whom Ferdinand had left behind him. But it was settled in a conference between Murat and two delegates of the junta, that Charles and his wife should set out for the frontiers, where everything would be arranged between him and his son and the emperor.

Napoleon was at Bayonne on the 14th of April. Before he left Paris he had a discussion with Champagny and Talleyrand as to what should be done with the royal family of Spain; but nothing was settled. Ferdinand stopped at Vittoria, being afraid to venture any further; and he wrote a letter to the emperor, in which he prayed him to put an end to the painful situation to which the emperor's silence reduced him, for Napoleon had evaded giving an answer to the ambassador whom Ferdinand sent to announce his accession to the throne. Napoleon replied in a letter, which contained many wise remarks on the condition of princes: no doubt he felt the truth of what he said, but it was the language of profound dissimulation, and worthy of the emperor Tiberius. He added: "If the abdication of king Charles is of his own pure motion, if he has not been forced to it by the disturbance at Aranjuez, I have no difficulty in admitting it, and I recognise your royal highness as king of Spain: and I wish to speak with you on this subject." The letter was long and artful. Ferdinand and his advisers pondered over the imperial letter, and endeavoured to fathom the meaning of Napoleon; and one man, if he did not ascertain what Napoleon then intended, for it is doubtful what his views really were, foretold what would happen. This was the ex-minister Urquijo, a man of great sagacity, who had retired to Biscay, his native country, but had hurried to Vittoria, to see Ferdinand. It was, however, resolved that Ferdinand should proceed. The people of Vittoria, as is often the case with the mass, had a surer instinct than the prince's advisers, and a crowd assembled before the house which Ferdinand occupied, and for a time delayed his departure, by cutting the harness of the horses. On the 20th of April Ferdinand reached Bayonne, and dined with the emperor, where he learned his fate. He was no longer king; and Napoleon had resolved to put an end to the dynasty of the Bourbons in Spain. "The interests of my empire," said he in his familiar conversation with the canon Escoiquiz, who supported Ferdinand's title, "require that the house of Bourbon, the implacable enemy of my house, shall lose the throne of Spain." Napoleon spoke of his house as if he were one of the old royal families of Europe. He reminded the canon, while he was playfully pinching his ear, that Charles IV. wished to make war on him, when he was engaged with Prussia, just before the battle of Jena; "he profited by my pretended danger, to circulate in his kingdom a proclamation for the arming of all his subjects against me: never, I repeat it, can I trust to Spain, as long as the Bourbons reign there." The emperor had now resolved to seize the crown of Spain, and make another new king. On the 30th of April, the old king and his wife reached Bayonne, and without taking time to rest, he sent for his son, and in the presence of the queen and Napoleon, ordered him to give him back his crown. On the 1st of May, Ferdinand made a conditional renunciation, but this was not what Napoleon required. On the 4th of May news reached Bayonne that the Spaniards in Madrid had risen against the French, as soon as they heard that Ferdinand was in Napoleon's power; and this was the commencement of the bloodshed which drenched the fields of Spain for years. The insurrection was soon put down. Charles was in a furious passion when he heard of the outbreak; he sent for Ferdinand, upbraided and menaced him, and demanded an immediate and absolute renunciation. He hesitated, but Napoleon told him his pleasure, and on the 6th of May, Ferdinand renounced unconditionally. The day before, without waiting for the renunciation of his son, Charles, by a treaty signed by Godoy and Duroc, resigned to the emperor all his rights to the throne of Spain and the Indies, on the condition that the integrity of the kingdom should be maintained, and the catholic religion should be the only one in Spain. Ferdinand signed the treaty on the 10th of May, and his example was followed by his brothers. Charles went to live at Compiègne, where he had a handsome allowance. Ferdinand, his brother Carlos, and his uncle, Don Antonio, retired to the château of Valençay. The Spanish Bourbons became prisoners in France. The meanness and baseness of this family brought on them a merited punishment. Ferdinand, whose servility was only equalled by the cruelty of his temper, afterwards wrote to Napoleon, to felicitate his successor, and even sent him a letter for king Joseph, in which he asked for the new king's friendship, and begged the emperor to present the letter "to his Catholic majesty." The scene at Bayonne has been highly coloured by writers who care more for effect than for truth. But the truth itself is disgraceful enough for all parties. The Spanish princes were decoyed to Bayonne, outwitted, frightened, and robbed. Nobody pitied them, and they deserved no pity: but the fraud of Bayonne has fixed on the name of Napoleon an indelible blot; and the justice of a French historian finds an apt parallel between the treachery of Tiberius and the cunning of the emperor.* Bayonne was to Napoleon the commencement of his troubles and reverses.

The grand-duke of Berg aspired to the throne of Spain; but the emperor let the junta at Madrid know that he wished them to ask for a king, and that his brother Joseph was to be their choice. The junta and the municipality of Madrid did as they were told, and sent to ask for Joseph Bonaparte. Joseph received notice from his imperial brother to come to Bayonne, to receive the crown of Spain and of the Indies, in place of the crown of Naples. A Cortes, or assembly of Spanish notables, was summoned to Bayonne for the

* Bignon, i., c. 5. His history of the affair of Bayonne is impartial. Compare the treatment of three kings by Tiberius (Suetonius, *Tiberius*); and the affair of Rhescuporis, as told by Tacitus (*Annals*, ii., 67).

15th of June, and the emperor addressed them in a pompous speech. He said, "Your princes have ceded to me all their rights to the crown of Spain: I wish not to reign over your provinces, but I wish to acquire an eternal title to the love and gratitude of your posterity; your monarchy is old; my mission is to give it fresh youth. It is my wish that your latest posterity may preserve the remembrance of me, and say, He is the regenerator of our country." Perhaps he was partly sincere in what he said. He had incurred the odium of despoiling a royal family by treachery; and there was no way so honourable or so appropriate, to cover his acts with oblivion, as to shut out the Bourbons for ever from Spain, and to give to the country a better constitution. On the 7th of June, king Joseph was at Bayonne. On the 15th the junta commenced its sittings, and formed a constitution which was accepted by all the body and the new king on the 7th of July. This constitution, which we must suppose to be the work of the emperor, had its merits as well as its defects. It made all offices, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, open to all classes equally; it imposed on the nobility the same duties and taxes as on the people; and it organized the deliberative assemblies of the Cortes; and, as in the kingdom of Westphalia and Italy, it gave access to the national representation to all persons without distinction, without any qualification of payment of a certain amount of taxes, or any other condition. After acquiring the kingdom of Spain and of the Indies, and giving it to his brother, Napoleon returned to Paris, amidst the enthusiastic rejoicings of the French, such as never attended the progress of a prince of the old dynasties, for the homage was paid to the man, not to the emperor, wherein consisted both the genuineness of the offering, and the political error of the French, who looked to a man whose life is short, as the object of their admiration, and not to institutions which should secure their permanent freedom.

Before leaving Bayonne, the emperor, by a decree dated the 15th of July, ceded to Murat, grand duke of Berg, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The amount of the naval and military force which the king should place at the disposal of Napoleon, was settled between him and the new king. With great courage and many excellent qualities, Murat was altogether unfitted for his office; but Napoleon's weakness was to make kings of his brothers, and queens of his sisters, whose husbands of course must be kings. Murat, by a proclamation, dated the 20th of July, promised to observe the constitution which had been granted to Naples by his predecessor, Joseph, and guaranteed by the emperor.

But Spain was already in a state of insurrection; and the rising, which at first was limited to a few provinces, was general in the month of June. The old constitution of Spain, the town and village councils, called Ayuntamientos, one of the most antient municipal constitutions in Europe, were the origin and the centres of these risings. The alcalde of Mostóles, a small village near Madrid, raised the national standard against the emperor of the French and his new king; and the Spaniards, betrayed by their king, by the nobles, and the clergy, rallied round their antient privileges. All the French generals had plenty of work upon their hands; for it was not soldiers, but a nation that was in arms against them. The roads were cut up, the French were massacred, and even cruelly tortured. A regular army, which attempted to cut off the communication between Madrid and Bayonne, was totally routed by Bessières at Medina-del-Rio-Seco on the 14th of July. Napoleon thought that this victory secured the crown of Joseph, who slowly advanced to Madrid, received on the way with official homage and the silent hatred and contempt of the people. He entered Madrid on the 20th of July, to take possession of a throne placed on a volcano. A few days afterwards, the French general, Dupont, who had distinguished himself in Andalusia by plundering and robbery, was overtaken by a force sent against him by the junta of Seville, and capitulated at Baylen. The news caused great rejoicing at Madrid, and king Joseph, fearing an explosion, left the city with his court.

The Portuguese, too, rose against the French, and were aided by their old ally, England. A well-appointed English force landed at the mouth of the Mondego, and, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, defeated Junot at the battle of Vimeiro. This defeat was followed by the convention of Cintra, signed the 30th of August, 1808, by which the French troops were to be carried in the English vessels to their own coast, and to be landed there. Thus the treacherous policy of Napoleon roused Spain and Portugal against him, and gave to the only enemy whom he feared a footing on the peninsula, which the English never lost. The events of the Portuguese and Spanish wars, from 1808 to 1814, belong to the history of the Peninsular war, one of the most bloody contests that Spain has witnessed, though she has always been a battle-field since the time of the Carthaginian occupation. In this war the British soldiers, who hitherto had not signalised themselves on the continent, gained a reputation not surpassed by any of Napoleon's troops, under the brave and able generals who commanded them; and one man above all earned an undying name, which is above the reach of malice and detraction. The Spanish war lasted until 1814, during which six years above half a million of French soldiers were poured into the peninsula, the greater part of whom left their bones there. The loss of the Spaniards is unknown, but it must have been as great, or greater; and probably nearly a million of human beings perished in Spain and Portugal, through the fraud and the mad ambition of the emperor of the French.

Napoleon was all the while making his encroachments in the north. He had obtained the cession of Flushing from Holland: he attached to the French frontier Kehl, which is opposite to Strassburg, and the fort of Cassel, which is on the right bank of the Rhine, opposite to Mainz. In Italy, the duchies of Parma

and Piacenza were made a French department, under the name of Taro (24th May, 1808). Tuscany, which was divided into three departments, and put under a governor-general and French law, was not yet definitively united to France: but the Roman states, and Rome itself, were occupied by French troops, and the emperor was engaged in a hot dispute with the pope, whom he wished to declare war against England. In order to have forces at his disposal in the south of Europe, he endeavoured to secure himself in the north. He made a new treaty with Prussia (8th September), by which he put an end to the military occupation of that country, which had continued to the present time, and he negotiated an interview with the emperor Alexander. On the 10th of September the Senate decreed a levy of 80,000 conscripts, to reinforce the army of Spain, and these men were taken from the classes which were already released from the conscription, those of 1806, 1807, 1808, and 1809. The Senate also placed at the disposal of the government 110,000 conscripts from the class of 1810. By a Sénatus-consulte of January, 1808, there had been already levied 80,000 men on the class of 1809. Thus in 1808 there were demanded from France 270,000 of her children to be offered up to the Moloch of war. On the 11th of September the emperor reviewed his soldiers at the Tuileries, and told them that he should march with them into Spain, to avenge their wrongs. On the 22nd he left Paris, and met the emperor Alexander at Erfurt, in Germany. The two emperors staid together there until the 14th, living on terms of the greatest intimacy, and promising mutual and eternal fidelity. Many of the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine joined the brilliant circle at Erfurt, and Austria sent an envoy there, to make professions on the part of Francis, of his friendly dispositions. Napoleon left Erfurt with the confidence that he should have peace in the north long enough to enable him to reduce Spain to obedience; and in the mean time the divisions of the grand army were evacuating Germany, and marching across France to the Pyrenees. On the 18th of October, Napoleon was again at St. Cloud; and on the 25th he opened the session of the Legislative body. He told them that he and the emperor of Russia were for ever friends, both for peace and for war; that he was going to put himself at the head of his armies, and, with God's aid, to crown at Madrid the king of Spain, and to plant his eagles on the forts of Lisbon. Four days later he left Paris for Spain.

The session lasted to the 31st of December, 1808. The budget, the Code d'instruction Criminelle, and some other matters, were presented to the Legislative body, and accepted. Certain organic decrees, which the emperor had presented to the Senate some months before, were received with humility and respect. By one of these imperial statutes Napoleon gave the Revolution a deadly blow: "Napoleon, &c., considering the Sénatus-consulte of the 14th of August, 1806, We have decreed, and decree as follows: 1. The titularies of the grand dignities of the empire shall have the title of Prince and most Serene Highness. 2. The eldest sons of the grand dignitaries shall have a right to the title of Duke of the Empire, when their fathers shall have established in their favour a *majorat* which produces an income of 200,000 francs: this title and this *majorat* shall be transmissible to their descendants direct and legitimate, natural or adoptive, from male to male in the order of primogeniture. 3. The grand dignitaries shall have the power of establishing, for their sons elder or younger, *majorats* to which shall be attached the titles of Count or Baron, according to the terms hereinafter determined. 4. Our ministers, the Senators, the Councillors of State for life, the Presidents of the Legislative body, the Archbishops, shall have during their life the title of Count: there shall be given to them for this purpose letters patent sealed with our great seal." The statute, which consisted of fifteen articles, contained many other regulations as to titles. The fifteenth article forbade "all others our subjects to assume titles or qualifications which we shall not have conferred on them, and civil officers, notaries, and others, from giving these titles to them; renewing, so far as shall be necessary against those who violate this article, the laws at present in force." * "The object of this institution (the establishment of *majorats*)" said the emperor, in a second statute, which determined the mode of establishing the *majorats*, and the rules to which they should be subject, "has been not only to surround our throne with the splendour which is suitable to its dignity, but also to nourish in the heart of our subjects a laudable emulation, by perpetuating illustrious remembrances, and preserving for future ages the image always present of the recompenses which, under a just government, follow great services rendered to the state." This is the worst of all the arguments ever urged for hereditary titles, and land attached to them. A great name is not forgotten because there is no living person to sustain it. The name lives in the most durable of monuments, the remembrance of a nation. The present possessor of a past great name, if he is unworthy of it, only bears a badge of dishonour. "The necessity," said this second Imperial Statute, "of preserving in families the property set apart for the maintenance of the titles, brings with it an obligation to except this property from the common law, and to subject it to peculiar rules, which, while they shall preserve it from alienation or dismemberment, shall prevent abuses, by letting all our subjects know the conditions under which this property is placed." Nothing is so absurd and inconsequential as these Statutes. We are here to infer that, because everybody would know the law to which this property was subject, there was nothing to find fault with in the law. The Statutes had been sent to the Senate to be registered, just as the kings of France did to the parliaments. The Senate had nothing to say in reply, except an address of thanks. They were thankful for anything.

* This Imperial Statute was dated the 1st of March, 1808. 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 257.

The condition of France at this period is well delineated in a work which is not favourable to Napoleon. "France did not turn her eyes towards the servile assemblies, which had not even the courage that the parliaments so often had shown, which could not even perform the function of transmitting to Napoleon the complaints of the nation. France wept over her children who were sacrificed purely to serve the purpose of an individual or a dynasty. The mass of the people were not consoled by glory; they had long since lost all relish for victory; accustomed to success, they were only sensitive towards defeat. The emperor no longer inspired the feelings which they had for the first consul. The people were discontented: every new conscription caused a desolation which every family felt. Mothers calculated with anxiety, in looking at the growth of their little children, whether it were possible that the war could last till they were twenty years of age. The most sacred sentiments, as well as the deepest, were kept in a state of continual agitation by the terrible system of the empire: there was no great, no national hope to console those who dreaded the loss of their children: it was not for liberty, nor for equality, nor for European fraternity, that they had to fight: it was for the grandeur of Bonaparte and his family. The emperor, doubtless, was not acquainted with this dissatisfaction. The people were as dumb and silent as the Legislative body: the press was slavish, servile, and adulatory. When the emperor, between a double file of soldiers, passed through the crowd which was attracted by the sight of a pompous retinue, he did not even perceive that the crowd was silent. At a signal given with the sword by their officer, the troops shouted; bodies of men paid by the police followed the imperial carriage, making the air resound with their purchased *vivat*. In the public festivals men simulated rejoicing; the officers of police went from house to house, to order every person to illuminate, and they threatened those who should venture not to do it. Finally, the youthful conscripts who were fed in their schools with the narrative of the great deeds of the army, young, without experience, eager for the splendour of a uniform, fond of action and novelty, generally set out joyfully for the army. If Napoleon had been less greedy of power, if he had maintained a single free institution, he would have learned that he must check himself, and he would have been compelled to it; and we know now at least that this would have been a great service rendered to himself and to his dynasty." * This tyranny, which weighed so heavily on the French nation, was still more oppressive to the subject and the vanquished states. To humble a king, or even to dethrone one, might be looked on with indifference; but to insult and pillage a nation was folly, and the wantonness of power. Nations have a feeling that they are something, that they have an existence and a character; and he who trampled upon whole peoples, soon found the living mass, instinct with life, begin to heave beneath his feet, till the insolent oppressor was cast down and humbled in the dust.

Napoleon gave the French a catechism, which was founded on that of Bossuet, and adapted to the imperial system. After stating what are the duties of Christians with respect to the princes who govern them, and in particular what were the duties of the French towards Napoleon I., and on what they were founded, the Catechism puts these questions and answers:—"Are there not particular reasons which ought to attach us more strongly to Napoleon I. our emperor?—Yes, for it is he whom God has raised up in the most difficult circumstances to re-establish the public worship of the holy religion of our fathers, and to be the protector of it: he has restored and preserved public order by his profound and active wisdom: he defends the state by his potent arm; he is become the anointed of the Lord by the consecration which he has received from the Sovereign Pontiff, the head of the universal church.—What ought we to think of those who should fail in their duty towards our emperor?—According to the apostle Saint Paul, they would be resisting the order established by God himself, and would render themselves worthy of eternal damnation." "The Imperial Catechism was put in active operation by the bishops, and exalted in their mandatory letters; but eight years will not pass away before they shall devote it to public execration." †

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 261. This is a just picture, though it is not every French historian who will admit the truth of it. There is nothing like France under the latter period of the empire, except Rome under the dominion of her worst tyrants. The reigns of Napoleon and Tiberius, two men unlike in most respects, yet furnish striking parallels in the debasement and servility of their senates, and in the system of terror by which they governed.

† Thibaudeau, 'Empire,' ii., c. 21.

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE PEACE OF VIENNA.

The Spaniards had not made the best use of their opportunities: their efforts were divided and ill-directed. There were various juntas in different parts of Spain, out of the contending elements of which had arisen a central junta, composed of deputies from the provincial juntas. This central junta sat at Aranjuez. The emperor attacked the Spaniards before they expected him. On the 7th of November he was at Vittoria,

and advancing towards Madrid by the route of Burgos. The Spaniards were defeated at Burgos, Espinosa, and Tudela; and the emperor marched from Burgos to the difficult defile of the Somo Sierra, through which leads the road to the high table-land on which Madrid is seated. The defile was defended by general St. Jean, and commanded by his artillery, but the batteries were carried by the Polish lancers; and Napoleon, on the 2nd of December, was before Madrid. The place was prepared to make resistance, but it surrendered on the 4th to the threats of the French emperor. The occupation of Madrid was marked by great reforms, the value of which the Spanish nation was not competent to appreciate. On the very day that Napoleon entered Madrid, he abolished the Inquisition, and reduced the number of convents, reserving an allowance to those religious who renounced the monastic life, and giving part of the property of the suppressed houses to augment the income of the parish priests. He suppressed feudal rights, and a variety of exclusive privileges, and destroyed the custom-houses which were placed at the barriers of the several provinces. The authority of Joseph was in a manner suspended; and there was some apprehension among the Spaniards that Napoleon would unite Spain to France. This, however, was not his intention. King Joseph again entered his capital on the 22nd of January, 1809.

The Anglo-Portuguese troops under Sir John Moore were entering Spain on the side of Portugal, while the French troops were passing the Pyrenees. Moore directed his march towards Madrid, but the news of the capitulation of the Spanish capital, and the position of his own troops with respect to the French, determined him to retreat. He commenced his retrograde movement from Salamanca, while Napoleon was advancing against him (22nd of December), amidst rain and snow, from the foot of the Sierra Guadarama. The emperor hurried on to overtake Moore, but the English general crossed the Ezla, a branch of the Douro, twelve hours before Napoleon reached it. Napoleon went no farther than Astorga, where he gave the command to Soult, with orders to drive the enemy into the sea. The English army made good their retreat through a mountainous country in the midst of winter; and under the walls of Coruña (16th January, 1809) they repulsed the French forces. The English commander fell in the battle, but his army was secured, and embarked in their vessels on the 17th. The emperor moved from Astorga to Valladolid, where he stayed ten days, and all at once set out for Paris, where other matters called for his presence. On the 23rd of January he received at the Tuileries the public bodies, and resumed his unwearied activity both in matters of administration and in preparations for the war which Austria threatened.

Napoleon could not rely upon Prussia, whom he had humbled; and all that he could expect from Alexander was neutrality. The Austrian army was reformed and strengthened. Including the landwehr, the emperor Francis had above 500,000 men at his disposal. Austria, though so often defeated, was not discouraged, and her losses had taught her to improve the organization of her armies. The resistance of the Spaniards gave the Germans hopes of throwing off the yoke of the French emperor, and the national spirit was roused and excited by pamphlets and the secret societies which were formed in Germany. The immense preparations of Austria, though not professedly made with a view to war, could have no other object and lead to no other result, notwithstanding all the protestations of Metternich, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, who had promised that the court of Vienna would not carry military preparations any further, and that Francis would recognize king Joseph; but neither of these promises was kept. On the 6th of April the archduke Charles addressed a proclamation to his army, in which he spoke "of the safety of their country, of the liberty of Europe, which had taken refuge under their banners." On the 9th the Austrians crossed the Inn, and the archduke declared war against Bavaria, the ally of France. The Austrians invited the Germans to rise in the name of liberty: they appealed to the people, and not to the governments. On the 12th of April, Napoleon was informed by the telegraph of the movements of the Austrians, and he set out to join his army the next day, at two o'clock in the morning. On the morning of the 17th he was at Donauwerth on the Danube, where he fixed his head-quarters. The archduke Charles had nine days' start of Napoleon, but the tardy Austrians had gained no advantage. The first business of Napoleon was to concentrate his forces, which Berthier, who had been appointed provisionally commander-in-chief, had dispersed, contrary to the emperor's design.

The campaign was carried on in the valley of the Danube, which is the high road to Vienna. In five days Ratisbon was taken (April 23rd); and Austria, which had commenced a war of aggression, had now to sustain a war of defence. A series of battles had opened to Napoleon the way to Vienna. On the 22nd of April above 100,000 Austrians, under the archduke Charles, were routed in the battle of Eckmühl, chiefly by the army of Davoust, who was afterwards rewarded for his services with the title of prince of Eckmühl. On the 10th of May, twenty-seven days after leaving Paris, the emperor was before Vienna. On the 12th Vienna capitulated, and on the next day the French took possession of it. All the imperial family had left Vienna except the archduchess Maria Louisa, who was unwell and remained at the palace. But the capture of Vienna did not terminate the war, and the Austrian force was still unbroken. The French occupied the islands in the Danube below Vienna, the largest of which, named Lobau, is the nearest to the left bank of the river, on which side the archduke Charles was. The French established a bridge between Lobau and the left bank, and carried over a part of their troops. The archduke, who had a large force under his command, took possession of the villages of Gross Aspern and Essling, between which lies a small plain along

the banks of the Danube and opposite to the island of Lobau. On the 21st and 22nd of May were fought the bloody battles of Aspern and Essling, commonly called the battle of Essling, in which the loss on both sides was immense, and the French could not claim a decisive victory. Marshal Lannes was killed by a cannon-ball. The French retired into the island of Lobau, where their situation appeared critical in the extreme, and for a time it was thought by the emperor's enemies that his good fortune had deserted him. Partial insurrections broke out in Germany against the French rule; but the most formidable was the rising in the Tyrol, at the head of which was an inn-keeper named Hofer. But Napoleon was fertile in resources, and never despaired of victory. He re-organised and strengthened his army at Vienna, fortified the island of Lobau, and increased the number of bridges, by which he designed again to cross over to the left bank of the Danube. On the night of the 4th of July the whole French force was concentrated in the island of Lobau; on the 5th the French crossed to the left bank. On the 6th was fought the hard-contested battle of Wagram, in which the French gained a victory, but with great loss. Some of the French accounts state their number of killed between 6,000 and 7,000, among whom were three generals, and the wounded at 15,000. The Austrian loss is said to have been still greater; but the army retired in good order towards Moravia and Bohemia. Napoleon named Macdonald, Oudinot, and Marmont, marshals on the field of battle; and Berthier, a second-rate man, was honoured with the title of prince of Wagram. The Saxon allies of Napoleon, under Bernadotte, behaved badly in the field; and yet Bernadotte, in an order of the day, after the battle, spoke in high terms of their courage and good services. The emperor was displeased, and would not see Bernadotte, who left the army and went to Paris. The conduct of the prince of Ponte Corvo, on this and previous occasions, had given to the emperor great and just cause for dissatisfaction; but he was the brother-in-law of king Joseph, and thus a kind of limb of Napoleon's family.

The Austrians had still an immense force at their disposal, and it was necessary for Napoleon to use caution in following the archduke Charles, for he had to watch the archduke John, who was in his rear, and all his bridges to protect. On the 11th of July the emperor came up with the archduke at Znaym, fifty miles north of Vienna, and a battle had already commenced, when an armistice was agreed on. It was signed on the 12th of July. The principal conditions were, that the Austrians should evacuate the Tyrol, the Voralberg, and all the territory of the confederation of the Rhine. The interval from the 12th of July to the 14th of October, when the peace of Vienna was signed, was a time of great anxiety for Napoleon. He was in the heart of Germany, in the midst of a population which had become exalted by appeals to the national spirit of the Germans; the situation of affairs in Spain caused him great uneasiness; the English were sending an immense force to the Schelde; and the intentions of the emperor Alexander were doubtful. The English expedition to the Schelde, commonly called the Walcheren expedition, undertook the siege of Flushing, a strong fort in the island of Walcheren, at the mouth of the West Schelde. Flushing surrendered on the 15th of August; but this was all the result of the campaign. The attack on Antwerp and its dock-yards, the object of the expedition, was abandoned, and the troops in Walcheren were destroyed by the fevers of that low and unwholesome island—a result which Napoleon predicted. The imbecility of the commander, lord Chatham, and of the government in putting such a man at the head of the expedition, added to delay in sending it out, ruined the enterprise. If this fine force had been sent to Spain, instead of the unhealthy islands of Zealand, lord Wellington might have entered Madrid in 1809. The English did not evacuate the pest-house which they had conquered, until after the signature of the peace of Vienna. They destroyed the works of Flushing before leaving the island.

The negotiations which preceded the peace of Vienna were tedious, and many difficulties arose.* On the 13th of October an attempt was made to assassinate Napoleon at Schoenbrunn, by a young German named Stapz, who declared that his motive for attempting the emperor's life, was his conviction that there would be no peace for Germany so long as Napoleon lived. Being asked by the emperor what he would do if he were pardoned, he replied, "I would still attempt to kill you." He was executed. On the 14th of October, the very day after the attempt of Stapz, the treaty of Vienna was signed. On the 17th, Napoleon left Vienna for Munich, and on the 27th he was at Fontainebleau.

Austria lost above three millions and a half of subjects by the peace of Vienna. The greatest part of the ceded territory came into the hands of the allies of Napoleon. The kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the grand duke of Baden, the emperor of Russia, and the duchy of Warsaw, all got some accession of territory. Some small additions were made to the kingdom of Italy, which were necessary for the communications of this kingdom. The Illyrian provinces were all that France got, a distant and uncertain possession. As usual in the treaties of this period, there were secret articles, by one of which the emperor of Austria agreed to reduce the whole number of his forces of all kinds to 150,000 men, during the continuance of the maritime war. By the last article, the sum of 200 millions of francs, which had been imposed on the Austrian provinces occupied by the French troops, was reduced to 85 millions, of which 30 millions were to be paid before the evacuation of Vienna. This levying money on conquered people, this Roman plan of making enemies pay the expenses of a war, was a part of Napoleon's system, which he explained himself in a letter (7th August, 1809) to M. Daru, intendant-général of

* See, on this treaty, 'Bignon,' vol. ii., c. 8, Brussels ed.



NAPOLEON RECEIVING THE DEPUTATION AT MADRID.

the army and of the conquered countries: "It is not my will," said he, "that the army since the 1st of April should cost a single sou to the treasury of France or to the extraordinary fund: from this date to the 1st of October, the army must be paid out of the funds of the fifth coalition: these funds consist of all the revenues of the countries occupied in Germany, and of the contributions levied on the countries conquered since the commencement of the new war: all the advances made during this time, from the 1st of April to the 1st of October, must be repaid to the public treasury." He not only got the means of freeing France from the expenses of war, but he applied the proceeds of the contributions levied on the conquered countries to reward his generals and his soldiers. This had been his practice ever since the beginning of his Italian campaigns up to the present time; but henceforward this resource began to fail him, and he already found that he could not altogether carry on the Spanish war in this economical way.

The king of Prussia had been conciliating his subjects in Germany, while Napoleon had done nothing for the Germans except to make them feel the burden of war. The king of Prussia had abolished the exclusive corporations of arts and trades: he had suppressed the hereditary jurisdictions, with an indemnity to the possessors: he had abolished corporal punishment in the army, and given every soldier the chance of becoming an officer: and in 1809 he had opened all the highest grades to every person, and subjected the nobility to the land-tax. He had been making a revolution, and establishing equality, while Napoleon had been doing just the reverse. The French emperor had also lost much in the opinion of the Catholic population by his quarrel with the pope, who, after refusing to accede to all Napoleon's demands, threatened him by a brief, dated the 27th of March, 1808, with the censures of the Church; to which Napoleon replied (2nd of April, 1808) by a decree, which annexed the provinces of Ancona, Urbino, and Macerata and Camerino, to the kingdom of Italy. These provinces were formed into three departments. The quarrel grew still warmer, and at last, in the midst of his Austrian campaign, the emperor took the resolution of dethroning the pope. A decree of Napoleon's, dated Schoenbrunn, the 17th of May, 1809, founded on the consideration that "Charlemagne, emperor of the French, our august predecessor, made a donation of various counties (comtés) to the bishops of Rome," as fiefs; and that the union of temporal and spiritual authority in the popes was inconsistent with the "safety of our armies, the tranquillity and well-being of our peoples, and the dignity and integrity of our empire"—declared that "the states of the pope are re-united to the French empire." Rome was declared an imperial and free city, and an extraordinary Consulta was to take pos-

session of the states of the pope, and to make the necessary arrangements, in order that "the Constitutional regime be organized and put into effect on the 1st of January, 1810." * On the 20th of June a discharge of artillery from the castle of St. Angelo, and the unfurling of the tricolor flag in place of the papal colours, announced the arrival at Rome of the decree of Schoenbrunn. The pope had expected it, and the bulls of excommunication were already sealed. Cardinal Pacca asked the pope what was to be done. "What would you do?" said the pope. "The question of your holiness," replied the cardinal, "causes me some trouble: let your holiness raise your eyes to heaven, let your holiness give me your orders, and be assured that what shall proceed from your holiness' mouth will be the will of Heaven." The pope raised his eyes to heaven, and after a short pause said, "Come what will," and the bulls of excommunication were published.

The news of the battle of Essling had reached Rome when the sentence of excommunication was published; the fortune of Napoleon was supposed to be on the wane, and the people were ready to rise against the French. At this critical time general Miollis, governor of Rome and one of the Consulta, took the bold resolution, apparently without precise orders from Napoleon, to carry off the pope. Pius was arrested in the Quirinal palace on the night of the 5th and 6th of July, the date of the battle of Wagram, and sent off with cardinal Pacca to Tuscany. From Tuscany he was carried to Grenoble in France; and after staying a few days there, he was removed to Savona. The scandal of the pope's deposition was forgotten for a time in the noise of the victory at Wagram.

The emperor's care was for his house, and his new dynasty. His people, or his subjects, as he called the French, were a secondary matter. The close of the year was marked by an event which had been long anticipated, the divorce of Josephine, as a preliminary to a new marriage of the emperor. Fouché, who had divined the intentions of Napoleon, had the impudence to break the matter to Josephine, in 1807, during Napoleon's absence in Italy; for which he received from his master a severe reproof. But the emperor's intention to divorce Josephine still remained; and on his return from Fontainebleau, after the peace of Vienna, the embarrassment of his manner announced what was in preparation. On the 30th of November he declared to her his resolution; and the blow, though long foreseen, was not the less severe. The emperor himself appeared affected, and his sorrow was probably sincere, for there is no doubt that he was attached to his wife. The children of Josephine, Eugène, and her daughter Hortense, who was married to Louis, king of Holland, were in a painful position. They owed everything to the emperor, who had always been a kind father to them: they deeply felt the separation of their mother from Napoleon, but they still continued to show him their respect and affection. On the 15th of December all the members of the imperial family were assembled in the Tuileries, and the arch-chancellor, Cambacérès, now duke of Parma, was present in his official capacity. Napoleon spoke. He said, "The policy of my monarchy, the interests and the wants of my peoples, which have constantly guided my actions, require that I leave to my children, the heirs of my love for my peoples, this throne on which Providence has placed me: for several years past, however, I have lost the hope of having children by my marriage with my well-beloved wife, the empress Josephine; and this leads me to sacrifice the dearest affections of my heart, to consider only the good of the State, and to determine on the dissolution of our marriage." He spoke of the affection of his wife, of their union of fifteen years, and declared that she should retain the title of empress, and should never doubt of his attachment to her. Josephine, in a few words, interrupted by tears, declared her willingness to sacrifice her union with the emperor to the good of the nation. The minutes of these declarations were taken to the Senate, and a Sénatus-consulte was forthwith passed, by which the emperor's marriage was dissolved, and Josephine was allowed to retain the rank of empress, with a dower of two millions of francs charged on the treasury. Grégoire, it is said, had prepared a discourse against the divorce, but there was no discussion permitted in the Senate. Yet out of eighty-seven votes, there were seven against the divorce, and four blank papers. This was considered a sign of great opposition. The Sénatus-consulte only dissolved the civil marriage, and it remained to obtain the sanction of the Church. The pope was the proper person to apply to, but the pope's consent of course could not be obtained. On the 9th of January, 1810, the dissolution of the marriage was declared by the diocesan court of Paris, and confirmed by the metropolitan court.*

On the 3rd of December the emperor opened the Legislative session by an address, in which he stated that, with the exception of Spain, the continent was

* This extraordinary decree is printed in 'Bignon,' vol. ii., c. 6, Brussels edit.

* The collection of letters of Napoleon and Josephine contains the letters of Napoleon written both before and after the divorce. The letters written after the divorce are still affectionate; and he was anxious to provide for her comfort. In one of his letters after his second marriage, he announces to Josephine the pregnancy of the new empress. Josephine was fond of expense, and even of extravagance. The emperor, in one of his letters, recommends order in her affairs, and to make savings. His advice was always good—"Mets de l'ordre dans tes affaires: ne dépense que 1,500,000, et mets de côté tous les ans autant; cela fera une réserve de 15,000,000 en dix ans pour tes petits-enfans: il est doux de pouvoir leur donner quelque chose et de leur être utile. Au lieu de cela, l'on me dit que tu as des dettes: cela serait bien vilain—Si tu veux me plaire, fais que je sache que tu as un gros trésor. Juge combien j'aurais mauvaise opinion de toi, si je te savais endettée avec 3,000,000 de revenu." From this it appears that Josephine's allowance was in all 3,000,000.

at peace. Fontanes, the president, replied to the address in his usual style of adulation. The session closed on the 22nd of January, 1810. After the peace of Vienna, the army of Italy was employed in reducing the Tyrol, the inhabitants of which were driven into their villages by the snows of the winter. Hofer, the leader of the insurrection, was taken and shot. Russia, after taking possession of Finland, threatened Stockholm, which added to the discontent of the people with king Gustavus IV. of Sweden, produced a revolution. The king was arrested in his palace on the 13th of March, 1809, and on the 29th he signed his abdication. The states of Sweden named the duke of Sudermania king of Sweden (5th June), under the title of Charles XIII. The new king had no children, and the States appointed as his successor the prince Christiern-Augustus of Holstein. Sweden made peace with Russia on the 17th of September, and formally ceded Finnland to Russia, with the islands of Aland and a part of West Bothnia. Sweden, after being thus plundered by Russia, was compelled by Napoleon to enter into his continental system, as the only condition of peace with him. Thus the peace of Vienna, which gave France, Trieste, Fiume, and the litoral of Hungary, prevented Austria from admitting English merchandise, and the accession of Sweden completed the exclusion of England from the continent, which was closed to her commerce, with the exception of Portugal. Spain was still the scene of a bloody contest. The great events of the year 1809 were the siege and capture of Saragossa by the French, the invasion of Portugal by Soult, and the defeat of the French in July, under Victor and Jourdan, at Talavera de la Reyna, by sir Arthur Wellesley. Though the French historians are unwilling to admit that the English gained a victory at Talavera, public opinion at Paris considered it a defeat. The war of Spain was unpopular with the French. Its origin was unjust and impolitic; and Spain, like a second La Vendée, was the grave of the children of the French.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

THE AUSTRIAN MARRIAGE.

Napoleon, at the beginning of 1810, seemed to have attained the pinnacle of prosperity and power. He had disposed of crowns and kingdoms, and compelled all the princes of Europe to ally themselves with him against England. Spain was his only continental difficulty. But people were beginning to be tired of him, and the French saw that they gained nothing by his wars. From the close of 1805 to the end of 1809, France had given Napoleon 556,000 of her children under the conscriptions. The extraordinary resources derived from war and confiscations in foreign countries began to diminish; but the necessity for supporting a large army would continue even in the midst of universal peace; and Napoleon himself foresaw that the time must come when his immense armies must be supported by the labour of the French people alone. To provide for this emergency, he had adopted the system of raising the taxes chiefly on articles of consumption; an oppressive and injurious system of finance, which offers the easiest means to a rapacious government to fill its treasury, but in the end dries up the sources of wealth, and cripples industry. He had diminished the direct taxes on immovable property, with the intention of availing himself of this resource at a future time. When a government has extracted indirectly all that it can get, and then adds to the load a heavy burden on immovable property, it has exceeded the limits of possible taxation, and must be content to take the consequences, bankruptcy and revolution. In 1810 he put the monopoly of the manufacture of tobacco and snuff in the hands of government. Salt and tobacco, two articles of universal consumption, have often furnished needy governments with a temporary resource,* one from the necessities, the other from the luxury of the poor. The French had now nothing but glory to console themselves with. There was neither liberty of speech nor liberty of the press; and many men could remember that they enjoyed more freedom before 1789 than in the year 1810, under the rule of a man, sprung from the people, whose ordinary form of expressions were "my subjects," "my people," "my empire," my everything.

The session of 1810 opened on the 1st of February, 1810, eight days after the close of the preceding session. The draft of the Code Pénal was presented to the Legislative body, and adopted in seven laws. The expenses of public worship in the rural communes were provided for by a law of the 14th of February. A law of the 20th of April re-organized the administration of justice, and the number of judges was increased. Some of the judges received the title of conseillers de l'empereur; and advantage was taken of the change in the administration of justice, to recall to the courts all the surviving members of the old parlemens. The budget for this year was 740 millions; and it was calculated that in future years it could be raised to 1000 millions, if it were necessary. The session closed on

* In 1798 the British government laid a duty of 10*s.* a bushel on salt, which in 1805 was raised to 15*s.*, a consequence of war. Salt was then 4½*d.* a lb. Since the duty was taken off, in 1825, it has been about ½*d.* a lb. The duty on tobacco in England was 10*d.* a lb. in 1786; it was raised at intervals, till, in 1815, it reached the enormous sum of 4*s.* a lb., since reduced to 3*s.*

the 21st of April. But many of the most important matters were not brought before the Legislative body: they were settled by Sénatus-consultes, or by the emperor himself.

The domaine-extraordinaire was regulated by a Sénatus-consulte of the 30th of January, 1810. This domaine consisted not only of the contributions levied on foreign countries or payable pursuant to treaties, but of moveables confiscated or seized in foreign countries, and of property purchased in France, lands, shares, palaces, and the like. The entire receipts from this source, in 1810, were about 750 millions of francs, or as much as the budget of the state. Out of this sum there was given, in 1810, to thirty-seven marshals, generals, or ministers, the sum of 18,000,000 to buy residences and to make other purchases. Above 11,000,000 were distributed in presents among the officers and soldiers; and a considerable sum was spent on 5716 dotations, which varied from 5000 to 500 francs a year. There were also expended in this year, out of the domaine-extraordinaire, near 300 millions of francs for the service of the army. After all this outlay there still remained above 300 millions of francs—the produce of the year 1810—out of the domaine-extraordinaire, at the emperor's disposal; but about one-half of this sum consisted of payments due from Prussia, Austria, Saxony, and other states, which were not yet received. Never since the time of the Roman dominion had conquered states furnished such resources to a foreign treasury. One of Napoleon's great objects was to build up again a numerous nobility, who should be devoted to his person and his dynasty; and to this object he devoted a part of the funds of his domaine-extraordinaire, by his system of dotations. He had destroyed the equality, which was one of the conquests of the Revolution, and he ended with the total destruction of liberty, by establishing the old regime as to newspapers, printing of books, and personal freedom, by two decrees (5th Feb. and 10th of March, 1810). The imperial decree of the 5th of February established a director-general of the book-trade; and the publication of books was subjected to a rigorous censorship. Publishers and printers were licensed and sworn. This decree did not make the condition of the journals any worse: they were already enslaved: it merely organized their servitude. The decree of the 10th of March re-established lettres-de-cachet under another name.

An important affair occupied the attention of the emperor at the close of 1809 and in the early part of 1810,—his marriage. Napoleon professed his wish to marry a Frenchwoman; but there were, he said, reasons of state for looking out for an alliance with one of the royal families of Europe. The question was between a Russian, a Saxon, and an Austrian princess. Napoleon's inclination was to marry a sister of Alexander, and negotiations were opened with the Russian court; but the mother of Alexander, who had the power of disposing of her daughters, by an arrangement made at the coronation of Paul, raised difficulties as to religion and other matters. Napoleon managed the negotiation so as not to have the vexation of receiving a direct refusal from Russia, and in the mean time he made up his mind to have an Austrian princess. It was so arranged that the consent of the Austrian court was secured before the princess was asked for. On the 8th of February, the duc de Cadore and the prince of Schwarzenberg signed the marriage-contract between Napoleon and Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor Francis, the grand-niece of Marie-Antoinette. The prince of Wagram went as ambassador-extraordinary to Vienna, and on the 7th of March formally asked for the arch-duchess. The marriage was solemnized by proxy on the 11th; and two days after the new empress set out for France. The emperor cut short all the prescribed ceremonials by hurrying on horseback to meet his wife as she approached Paris. While the carriage of the empress was changing horses, he opened the door, jumped in, and drove off rapidly with her to Compiègne. The civil marriage was celebrated at St. Cloud on the 1st of April, and on the following day the emperor and the empress made their public entry into Paris. They received the nuptial blessing at the Tuileries; four queens of Napoleon's family supporting the train of the empress. Magnificent fêtes for several days followed; but there was no real rejoicing among the people, who looked with fear and dislike on this Austrian alliance. The former members of the Convention saw in the new empress another Marie-Antoinette: and Maria Louisa saw at the court of the Tuileries the minister of police; but the blood-stained Jacobin was disguised under the name of duke of Otranto.

Napoleon formed for the empress a household composed of members of the antient nobility. On the 27th of April he set out with her on a tour to the north, to show her his vast possessions, and to show his new wife to his subjects. He visited his brother Louis at Amsterdam, and also Antwerp, Brussels, and other Belgian towns; and he returned to Paris by way of Dieppe, Hâvre, and Rouen. His return to Paris was followed by the disgrace of Fouché, who had impudently presumed to enter into some negotiations for peace with the British cabinet, through the contractor Ouvrard. He hoped to be able to offer such terms to the emperor as he could not refuse. This impertinent meddling was going on at the same time with some proposals made to the British cabinet through the ministry of Louis, king of Holland, with the approbation of the emperor, who was ignorant of the fact that Fouché had also an agent of his own in England. This double dealing could not fail to cause confusion, and as soon as Napoleon knew that there had been secret agency, he suspected Fouché. The duke of Otranto denied everything, but nobody believed him; and the evidence was conclusive against him. He was deprived of his ministry, and his agent, Ouvrard, was sent for a time to prison. Napoleon wanted his private letters from Fouché; but the duke declared, by all that was sacred, that he had burned them,—a declara-

tion which made Napoleon say, he was sure they were all safe: and, in fact, Fouché afterwards sent the burnt letters to the emperor. For the present the duke retired from the public stage, and Savary, duke of Rovigo, was made minister of police.* "Fouché," said Napoleon, "is a man who meddles with everything; intrigue is as necessary for him as food; his rage is to be in everything; and to be always trying to shove his feet into other people's shoes."

Napoleon and the king of Holland had not been on the best terms for some time. Louis had almost forgotten that he was a Frenchman: he desired to rule only for the advantage of his Dutch subjects: he wished to manage his kingdom in his own way, independent of the emperor. "When I placed you on the throne of Holland," said the emperor, "I thought that I had placed there a French citizen, as devoted to the grandeur of France and as jealous as myself of everything which concerns the interest of the mother country." A letter of king Louis to his ministers, dated from Paris, (January, 1810,) explains the ground of the disputes between him and the emperor: "If I have succeeded in effacing some unfavourable impressions of the emperor, or at least in modifying them, I must admit that I have not succeeded in reconciling in his mind the existence and independence of the kingdom with the success of the continental system, and particularly of France against England. I have ascertained that France is firmly decided to unite Holland to the empire, in spite of all considerations, and that she is convinced that the independence of Holland cannot be prolonged if the maritime war continues: in this state of cruel certainty, we have only one hope, which is in a negotiation for a maritime peace." This letter was the origin of the negotiation of the Dutch ministers with the British ministry, through M. Labouchère, a merchant of Amsterdam. Louis said in his letter that the prospect of France seizing on Holland, and the consequent extension of the French coast and of the French marine, might furnish a motive to the British cabinet for preventing the annexation of Holland by coming to terms with France. It is said that the emperor was informed of the letter of king Louis to his ministers, and that he thought it did not show clearly enough the inconvenience that might result to England from the annexation of Holland to France: he wished this inconvenience to be expressed in strong terms, in order to induce the British cabinet to make some proposal for peace; and as he expressed this opinion in the month of January, it is inferred that he wished for negotiations to commence with England, to prevent the necessity of extreme measures with Holland. But all this seems very doubtful. The obstinacy of Louis and the imperious temper of his brother, rendered the continuance of the independence of Holland impracticable. On the 29th of June, the French troops, under Oudinot, took possession of Utrecht, and Oudinot demanded the surrender of Amsterdam. Louis would have surrounded Amsterdam with water and defended it against the French; and he was much surprised that his ministers were not of the same mind. There was nothing left but to abdicate. He signed his act of abdication in favour of his son Napoleon Louis, on the 1st of July, and retired to Toeplitz in Bohemia. In his 'Memoires,' published in 1820, among many complaints against Napoleon, Louis gave him credit for looking to the interests of France, but to nothing else: "It was his wish that every interest should disappear before that." It was a mistake on the part of the princes whom Napoleon had placed on the thrones of Holland, Westphalia, Naples, and Spain, to suppose that they could maintain an independent position with respect to the man who put them there. The desertion of Holland by her king rendered the annexation to France a measure of necessity; and on the 9th of July an imperial decree made it a part of the empire. Amsterdam was declared the third city of the empire. In the following year Holland was put under French administration and divided into departments; but the annexation of Holland did not make the Dutch devoted subjects of Napoleon. The eldest son of Louis had been named grand duke of Berg, in 1809, when Murat was promoted to the throne of Spain. He still kept the duchy, and the affection of his uncle.

The prince royal of Sweden died suddenly of a stroke of apoplexy, on the 23rd of May, 1810; and as Charles XIII. had no children, it was necessary to provide a successor to the crown. The king wrote to Napoleon (2nd of June) for his support and advice, and told Napoleon that he thought the best choice would be the brother of the deceased prince royal. Napoleon fully assented to what the king proposed; but Frederick VII., king of Denmark, aspired to the throne of Sweden, being ambitious to unite again in his person the crowns of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; and he wrote to Charles XIII. (July 18) to urge his claims, and the advantages of a union of the three kingdoms. The king of Sweden replied to Frederick that he would not fail to communicate his proposal to the States-General, who were going to assemble, but that the choice of a successor was entirely in their hands. The expression of the slightest wish on the part of Napoleon would have decided between the king of Denmark and the prince of Holstein Augustenburg; but the king of Denmark was not a favourite candidate with the Swedes, and a new one was suggested. Colonel Suremain, a Frenchman by birth, and now an aide-de-camp of Charles XIII., said to M. Désaugiers, the French chargé d'affaires,—for there was no minister yet at Stockholm,—"The least French general would be better received here than the king of Denmark:" and the name of Berna-

* There is an amusing account of this affair of Fouché's negotiations, and of the burnt letters, true or false, in the work of St. Hilaire, 'Napoléon au Conseil d'État,' i., 235, &c. The work of St. Hilaire is apparently a piece of patchwork. A note (i., 332) states the enormous income which Fouché enjoyed by the bounty of Napoleon, out of the spoils of conquered countries and the labour of Frenchmen.

dotte was soon mentioned. He was favourably known by his treatment of a corps of 1500 Swedes, who fell into his hands after the capture of Lübeck, in the Prussian war, in 1806. Matters were in such a state at the end of July and in the beginning of August, 1810, that it was quite uncertain who would be elected. The general Diet of Sweden was assembled at Orebro, and an electoral committee of twelve members was formed, to which the king presented three candidates —the prince of Holstein, the king of Denmark, and marshal Bernadotte, prince of Ponte Corvo. The prince of Holstein had eleven votes in the committee, and Bernadotte had one (14th of August). This choice was agreeable to all parties,—to the Swedish king, the nation, and Napoleon; and yet the prince of Holstein was not elected by the Diet. A French merchant, who had become a bankrupt at Gottenburg, was now in Sweden, under pretence of arranging his affairs, and he went to Orebro, where he assumed a kind of political character: at any rate, his meddling made the Diet believe that he had some mission. This man, whose name even is not mentioned by those who have stated the facts of the election with most particularity, gave Sweden a king. The Swedish ministry were in some way persuaded by him that Napoleon was in favour of Bernadotte, and the belief became general. The report of the electoral committee was annulled, and the king presented Bernadotte to the Diet in such terms as to render his election certain. On the 17th of August, the electoral committee recommended Bernadotte by ten votes out of twelve; and a few days after, the Diet confirmed the recommendation. Napoleon made no objection to Bernadotte's accepting the reversion of the crown of Sweden, and he even advanced him money for his urgent expenses; but he declared distinctly that he had nothing to do with the election, and he took every opportunity of making this declaration public. Bernadotte conformed to the required condition of professing the Lutheran faith, and took possession of his new title under the name of Charles John. He entered Stockholm on the 1st of November, 1810.*

In 1810 the emperor gave up Hanover to the king of Westphalia, and formed a grand duchy of Frankfort, which consisted of the duchy of Aschaffenburg, the towns of Frankfort and Wetzlar, and a large part of the principalities of Hanau and Fulda. This new duchy was given to the prince primate; and prince Eugène, viceroy of Italy, was appointed his successor. In December the republic of the Valais was annexed, by a Sénatus-consulte, to France, under the name of the department of the Simplon; but the same Sénatus-consulte of the 13th of December contained much more extensive usurpations. The annexation of Holland carried with it of course the outlets of the Schelde, the Maas, and the Rhine; but this Sénatus-consulte added the mouths of the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, to the empire, and the Hanseatic towns. The dominions of Napoleon now extended from the Baltic to Terracina, the southern limit of the Roman states. The arrangements as to the extension of the northern frontier affected the duke of Oldenburg, the brother-in-law of the emperor Alexander; for the Sénatus-consulte of the 13th of December enveloped the duchy in the new acquisitions of France. "The annexation of Holland," said the French minister for foreign affairs, "has brought on that of the Hanseatic towns; and as this annexation has enclosed Oldenburg within the limits of the empire, it will of necessity be subjected to our custom-house regulations." This affair gave great dissatisfaction to the emperor Alexander; and he issued a ukase on the 31st of December, which was a great matter of complaint for Napoleon. This ukase, which regulated the customs' duties on all articles imported from foreign countries into Russia, prohibited all articles which were not mentioned in it; and among the articles not mentioned were most articles of French manufacture, which were consequently prohibited. French brandies were excluded, and French wines were subjected to an enormous duty. But the ukase allowed colonial produce to be imported in neutral vessels; and in this way English property would be introduced. Thus, under a disguised form, Russia renounced the continental system of Napoleon. The duchy of Oldenburg, and the ukase of December 31, were henceforth two topics for mutual recrimination. In the early part of 1810, Alexander had urged Napoleon to agree, in formal terms, that the kingdom of Poland should never be re-established; and though Napoleon had no intention to restore the nationality of Poland, he objected to the formal terms which Alexander insisted on. The negotiations had no other result than to leave the emperor Alexander dissatisfied, and to furnish matter for the future quarrel.

The most formidable enemy of Napoleon was the helpless old man, whom he kept a prisoner at Savona, pope Pius VII. Deprived of his advisers and counsellors, whose loss he complained of, the pope only became the more resolute in his opposition to the will of the emperor. In vain some of the cardinals and bishops, both French and Italian, urged the pope to confirm the canonical institution of the bishops whom the emperor had appointed to the vacant sees in France and in Italy. The pope addressed a brief to cardinal Maury, who had been named archbishop of Paris by the emperor, and forbade him to accept the nomination, and to undertake the administration of this diocese: "Is this the way then," said the pope to the cardinal, "is this the way, after having so eloquently defended the cause of the Catholic church in the most stormy times, that you abandon the same church, now that you are loaded with its dignities and its favours? You do not blush to take part against us in the cause that we maintain in defence of the dignity of the church." The States of the church lost nothing by the suspen-

* There are various accounts of the election of Bernadotte, of the promotion of a man who entered the French army as a volunteer in 1780, to a throne; but the statement most conformable to all undisputed facts is that given in the text.

sion of the pope's temporal power; and here, as in other conquered countries, the despotism of the emperor of the French made many valuable reforms. He suppressed the convents of monks and nuns, but four of the finest convents for females were preserved and re-organized, on the ground that these establishments for females might be useful to the community. Pensions were to be paid to all the religious of both sexes who should be restored to a secular life. Provision was made for the liquidation of the public debt, as had been done also in Holland. Useful works were undertaken, and the drainage of the Pomptine marshes, for which Pius VI. had done a great deal, was continued under a commission, in which the chief members were the mathematician Prony, and Fossombrone of Florence.* The French occupation of conquered countries was not in all respects injurious to them. The activity of the emperor and his enlarged and liberal views on most matters, where his personal authority was not concerned, made him in many respects a reformer. His fault was, that he did not lay the foundation of free institutions; but freedom was inconsistent with his system, which was to direct everything himself, both great and small. In Holland his administration embraced everything. Louis, though less prodigal than Joseph and Jerome, had made a great many dotations in Holland, and rather as a matter of favour than as a reward for services. The emperor annulled them without any ceremony: "Such things," he said, "cannot be allowed in a country which is loaded with debt: the king had no right to give what did not belong to him, either out of the domains of the crown, or those of the State."

The fixed idea of Napoleon was the maintenance of his continental system,—the complete exclusion of English commerce from the continent. The English were now suffering from this system, and it was supposed that England must finally come to terms. There were men called scientific, who encouraged the emperor the hope of success, by proving that the soil of Europe might be made to raise all the products of America, and thus Europeans could do without colonial produce. If his system were only intended as a means of compelling England to such a peace as he wished, or to submit to his own terms, we cannot value his sagacity in this matter very high. How could he hope to change the paths of commerce, and the industry and the habits of whole nations? If his views went further, as they appear to have done, we must charge him with being ignorant on one of the most vital questions, the freedom of commercial exchange between all parts of the earth. On the subject of trade he shared many of the vulgar errors of the French. One who has a favourable opinion of his administration, says of the year 1810, "The emperor, in the preceding years, had no uneasiness with respect to subsistence, the exportation of grain having been put under great restrictions." Here is contained the absurd assumption that there is no reason to dread an insufficient supply of a thing, if those who produce it are prevented from sending it out of the country; that is, are limited in the power of sale; a limitation which diminishes production as surely in degree as if all sales were prohibited. "But," continues Bignon, "when the system of licenses had given it more extension, it was soon perceived that if the exportation were entirely free, it was not without danger: accordingly it was soon forbidden entirely for rye, and rendered more difficult for wheat by doubling the duty." "If it were true," said the emperor (in 1810), "as some would persuade me, that forty millions of grain have been exported to England since August last, that would be alarming." The ground of alarm to the emperor was, not that England would get what she wanted, but that France would have an insufficient supply; as if a country which exports its products could ever want them itself. It was part of his system to give money, and offer prizes and bounties for the production of sugar; for the discovery of some indigenous plant that could serve in place of indigo; for the cultivation of cotton in the Roman states, in Italy, and in Corsica, and the like. As he wished to know everything that was going on, he had plenty of reports and letters on all subjects, even the minutest; and he busied himself about all. In fact, his immense empire, constructed of such heterogeneous parts, was only held together by his incessant activity; but a state which requires superintendence like a household, is built on a foundation of sand. After excluding English goods from the continent, and confiscating them when they were seized, the next step was to burn them; which pleased the French manufacturers, because they expected to be sure of customers for their own goods. But they were disappointed: the emperor placed a heavy duty on several raw materials, cotton among the rest; the manufacturers raised the price of their articles, and found no sale. The emperor then resorted to the childish expedient of proposing to help them with discounts, when all that they wanted was customers.

"Without doubt," says Bignon,* "Napoleon pushed to extremes the rage for directing everything, administering everything, in France: if he often said, like Louis XIV., 'The State, it is I,' the State was in him much more than in Louis XIV.: the government was himself; the administration was himself; and not only the general administration, but that of every department, of every town, of every commune." Unless this fact is clearly apprehended, we can have no idea of what the imperial government was. But we ought not to do Napoleon the wrong of comparing him with so insignificant a personage as Louis XIV. His mind was comprehensive and powerful, but his ideas of government were fundamentally false. His administration, simply as such, was excellent: in method,

* This commission led to the publication, in 1823, of Prony's valuable and very interesting work, entitled 'Déscription Historique et Hydrographique des Marais Pontins,' with maps and plans.

* Vol. iii., c. 8; Brussels edit.

punctuality, decision, and sagacity, he had no equal. But difficulties were crowding round him. Both the union of Holland and the war of Spain produced financial difficulties. Spain was quite a novelty, a country which did not produce enough to pay for the expense of subjugating it. In 1810, while Napoleon was adding to his continental dominions by the annexation of Holland and the Hanseatic towns, England was taking the few foreign possessions that yet remained to France,—Guadaloupe in the West Indies, and, in the Indian Ocean, the islands of Bourbon and France, now called the Mauritius. The conduct of the war in Spain, under lord Wellington, showed England that she had at last found both a general and a battle-ground; a position from which the colossal empire of Napoleon could be assailed by the attacks of a regular army, and by a nation in insurrection.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

THE KING OF ROME.

On the 20th of March, 1811, the empress Maria-Louisa gave birth to a male child, who was baptized by cardinal Maury, now archbishop of Paris. His name was Napoléon-François-Charles-Joseph, and his title on the day of his birth was king of Rome. The birth of an heir to the emperor was a subject for rejoicing and felicitation, in which flattery exhausted all its resources. The constituted authorities, with the Senate and the Council of State, paid their respects to the king in his cradle, made addresses to him, to which the chief nurse replied, and then defiled past his majesty with humble reverences. This ridiculous scene furnished amusement for the Parisians. Those whose fortunes were attached to the existence of the empire rejoiced at the prospect of the dynasty of Napoleon being secured on the throne of France.

The session of the Legislative body was opened by the emperor on the 16th of June, who told them, in reply to their address, that his son would answer to the expectation of France; that he would have for their children the same feelings that he had: "The French," he said, "will never forget that their happiness and their glory are attached to the prosperity of this throne which I have founded, consolidated, and aggrandized with them and for them; I desire this to be understood by all the French; in whatever position Providence and my will have placed them, the bond, the love of France, is their first duty." This insolent language was now familiar both to Napoleon and his subjects. The Legislative body contained some new members, who were called the deputies of the departments of Holland, of the Hanseatic towns, of the Roman states, and of the Valais. These new members were named by the Senate, though no list of candidates had been made by the electoral colleges of the departments; for these electoral colleges were not yet organized. It appeared, from a report on the state of the empire, that France had received an accession of sixteen departments, five millions of people, and 100 millions of revenue. The expenditure of this year was fixed at 954 millions, of which 148 millions went to the payment of the interest on the debt, and of pensions. For several years past the expenditure had exceeded the estimates; and besides this, there were the sums expended out of the secret revenue of the police, and out of the domaine extraordinaire. The budget of the Legislative body, as it was called, was not, therefore, the measure of the real expenditure. It was further stated, that France had 800,000 men under arms, of whom 350,000 were employed in Spain. The conscription was rigorously enforced. One hundred and twenty thousand men were demanded for the year 1811. The session closed on the 25th of July.

It was part of the emperor's system of administration to spend largely; and he who spends largely, and pays, must receive largely; and the source of the receipts of government is the industry of the people. There were few important towns within his dominions which did not receive some benefit from the emperor's active spirit of improvement: he demolished and built, established hospitals, theatres, and schools, made canals, roads, and bridges. But if these things were good in themselves, the means of producing them were not. He took people's money from them to spend, instead of letting them expend it their own way. Against the impulse given by the emperor to improvement, and the undoubted advantages that he conferred on many places, we must set the heavy taxation that he imposed directly and by his prohibitory system, and the suppression of the vital energies of all society, the free development of industrial, intellectual, and moral power. He wished to conquer mendicity, and he thought that it could be subdued by dépôts de mendicité. Forty-two of these dépôts were established in the empire, and funds were set apart for their support; that is, the industrious paid for them. The scheme failed: it was one of the innumerable failures of Napoleon, which are forgotten amidst the external splendour of his reign. He heard that Bordeaux was suffering; and he proposed to remedy the evil by ateliers de travail, workshops for those who were able and willing to work. As if the want of work was not itself a sufficient indication of want of means to give employment in Bordeaux, he would diminish the means still further,

by the forced production of something which nobody wanted. Many of the emperor's notions were foolish and puerile; but, as is often the case, the energy of his action was mistaken for wisdom. He was more successful in combating the mendicity of the highest classes, because the numbers were comparatively few. It is within the powers of government, by pensions and places, to provide for a limited number, even on a handsome scale; but a general invitation to live at the expense of the industrious, produces a host of guests who only increase by being fed. Napoleon provided against the mendicity of literature and science, by pensions derived from the profits of the 'Journal de l'Empire' and 'Journal de Paris.' His system did not allow free scope to the industry of journalists; and those journals, which he permitted to be published, had to give up part of their profits, to be employed by the emperor in acts of munificence. And such munificence—less than a hundred a year to Laporte du Theil, the translator of Strabo; the same to Gosselin and Corai; and about £120 a year to Legendre. Monge had double of what Legendre had. But Fouché had an income of about £4,000 a year, simply as duke of Otranto, besides other things. The same rule of proportion is observed in all countries in which the public money is given away.

The quarrel with the pope was still a cause of great uneasiness to Napoleon. After taking the opinion of an ecclesiastical commission upon various matters relating to the pope's authority, and what was best to be done for the interests of religion, he resolved to convoke a council. This council, consisting of the bishops and archbishops of France, and of those parts of Italy and Germany which were subjected to the empire, met at Paris on the 17th of June, 1811, and went in solemn procession to Notre Dame. The council were not unanimous, and a great part of the members maintained that the acts of councils were not valid, unless they were accepted by the head of the church. The emperor being informed of these discussions and of the opinions of the council, dissolved it by a decree, and put three of the bishops in prison. After dissolving the council, the minister of worship got together as many of the bishops as he could, to the number of about eighty, and a decree was drawn up and sent to Savona to the pope, who approved of it by a brief dated the 20th of September. The most important article was, that within six months after the nomination to a bishopric, his holiness should give institution conformably to the concordats. The pope approved of the decree, but his brief contained certain words which displeased Napoleon, and he rejected it. He had in fact obtained from the holy father very considerable concessions; and it is doubtful if he rejected the brief for the reasons alleged, or because he did not yet wish to release the pope from his state of dependence. Negotiations again commenced, but the emperor soon had other affairs on his hands.

The war in Spain continued. It seems to have been an error on the part of the emperor, not to have gone there to conduct it in person; for he alone could have given unity to the operations of the French commanders. He still continued sending in his troops, just as if he were giving aid to a foreign power. The marriage of Napoleon appears to have rendered him less active for a time, and more disposed to indulge in repose. In fact, he had enjoyed no rest since the 18th of Brumaire. In 1812, the Legislative body was not called together. The emperor was too busy with preparing for a war with Russia, which everybody expected, to trouble himself about this idle formality. The duchy of Oldenburg and the evasion by Russia of the strict rule of the continental blockade, were two matters that could not be settled. Napoleon, in order to secure Alexander, had let him take Finnland from Sweden, and deal with the Turks as he pleased. Russia had a large army on foot; and after obtaining some advantages over the Turks, Alexander opened negotiations for peace with Turkey at Bucharest, in order to have all his troops at his disposal. In 1811, Prussia, placed between the two powers, feared to be crushed in the shock, and would have formed an alliance with either of them; but neither of the emperors would take any step that might betray his designs. Early in 1812, it was clear that these two powers could not agree, that there was no way of settling their differences, except by the sword; and Napoleon now required Prussia to decide between them. Davoust was instructed to seize the Prussian states, if the king did not come to the terms of Napoleon; and Davoust could easily have done this, as the most important places were still occupied by French garrisons. On the 24th of February, 1812, the king of Prussia signed a treaty for a defensive alliance; but there were secret articles, one of which bound him to furnish a contingent to act with the French troops against Russia, in case of war between Russia and France. In the preceding month, the emperor had ordered Swedish Pomerania to be occupied by Davoust,* which had become an entrepôt for English wares. This brought on a negotiation with Sweden, and Bernadotte offered the alliance of Sweden on condition of being allowed to take Norway from Denmark, and of a subsidy: but this was refused by Napoleon, who would not abandon his faithful ally, Denmark, nor give a subsidy. On the 24th of March, a treaty, offensive and defensive, was made between Sweden and Russia, by which Sweden agreed to furnish troops for a diversion in Germany, in case of a war with France; and Alexander, less scrupulous than Napoleon, agreed to secure Norway to Sweden. The bad faith of Bernadotte is manifest in this transaction. An alliance with France or with Russia was indifferent to him, if he could only secure Norway. Even after the 24th of March, he proposed to Napoleon to form a treaty of alliance with him, if the emperor would consent to Sweden seizing Norway; but Napoleon refused.

* Davoust and Bernadotte hated one another; a circumstance which probably contributed to the quarrel between Sweden and France.

On the 3rd of May, England acceded to the treaty between Russia and Sweden. Napoleon, on his side, was not inactive. On the 14th of March, 1812, he concluded a treaty with his father-in-law, by which the emperor Francis agreed to furnish him with 30,000 men. There were also secret articles in this treaty. The emperor Alexander at first confined himself to a defensive alliance with Great Britain, not wishing to commence the war; and it was not till the 20th of July that he formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Spanish regency at Cadiz, and on the 1st of August with Great Britain. Napoleon was not acquainted with the treaty of alliance between Sweden and Russia until he was at Vitepsk.

The negotiations between Alexander and Napoleon resulted in a note of prince Kourakin, dated the 30th of April, in reply to a note of the duke of Bassano, on the part of Napoleon. The Russian emperor demanded the conservation of Prussia, and her freedom from all political engagements directed against Russia: he declared that there must be a neutral country between France and Russia, and that "the first basis of all negotiation must be a formal engagement on the part of France for the complete evacuation of the Prussian States and all the strong places in Prussia; a diminution of the garrison of Danzig, and the evacuation of Swedish Pomerania and an arrangement with the king of Sweden, such as would satisfy the crowns of France and Sweden." If these demands were yielded, the Russian emperor would then be willing to treat of a modification of the tariff of 1810, an equivalent for the duchy of Oldenburg, which Napoleon had seized, and the introduction of a system of licenses in Russia. The note terminated by declaring that the evacuation of Prussia and Swedish Pomerania, the reduction of the garrison of Danzig, and the promise of a negotiation with Sweden, "could alone render an arrangement between the two courts possible." On the 7th of May, Kourakin pressed the duke of Bassano for an answer to the note of the 30th of April, and said that if his terms were not accepted without modification the next day, he must consider the want of an answer as "the choice of war," especially as it was announced that the emperor of the French was going to leave Paris on the 9th of May, which would destroy all hopes of any answer; and he must ask for his passports. This was the end of the negotiation. On the 28th of April, Alexander was at Wilna, and reviewing his army.

Napoleon left Paris on the 9th of May, with the empress. War had been imminent from the beginning of the year, and he had been making preparations for it. Fearing that the pope might be carried off from Savona, he removed him to the palace of Fontainebleau. Bread was dear in France this year; in some departments wheat was near a hundred shillings the quarter. The remedy was a mitigated maximum, the renewal of some of the revolutionary decrees. On the 13th of March, the Senate made a decree relative to the National Guard, which was divided into a first ban, a second ban, and an arrière ban. In April, Napoleon made overtures for peace with Great Britain, for he saw that he had a weighty affair on his hands in the impending war with Russia. He proposed to guarantee the integrity of Spain; that the present dynasty should be independent, and Spain governed by a national constitution of Cortes; that Portugal should be guaranteed to the house of Braganza, the kingdom of Naples to the actual king, and Sicily to the then king of Sicily, formerly king of Naples. George III. was now suffering from mental aberration, and his eldest son, the prince of Wales, was regent. His answer was sent through lord Castlereagh: it touched only on one point: if the present dynasty of Spain meant Joseph, and the Cortes was the Cortes of Joseph, instead of Ferdinand VII. and the Cortes now invested with the powers of government in his name, then the prince regent would not listen to proposals for peace founded on such a basis. It is said that Napoleon had, before this, for a moment thought of restoring Ferdinand to the throne of Spain; but if that was ever his design, it was to make a tool of him, and to get some cession of territory which Joseph refused. To guarantee both the throne of Spain to Ferdinand, and the integrity of Spain, did not suit his views: and he resolved either to keep a member of his family on the throne of Spain, or to have a man there whom he could treat as he pleased.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

RUSSIA.

On his road to Dresden, at Mainz, Aschaffenburg, and at Würzburg, Napoleon was received by princes. Francis and the empress of Austria paid their respects to him at Dresden, and the king of Prussia presented his son, the prince royal. The reigning princes of Saxe-Weimar and Saxe-Coburg, and other inferior dignitaries, waited on Napoleon; and two men, since well known under the title of princes, Metternich and Hardenberg. The meeting at Dresden was not a concourse of princes on equal terms. It was a homage like that of vassals to their liege lord; but hollow and insincere. On the 29th of May, Napoleon left Dresden to join his army. He passed through Danzig and Königsberg to Gumbinnen (19th June), on the Pregel.

The grand army, at the beginning of May, was prepared to move. A large part of the force was already on the Vistula, extending from Danzig to Zamosc; and some other corps were on the Oder and the Elbe. New orders were issued from Dresden for the movement of this mighty force. The estimates of the grand army of Russia do not agree. According to a careful writer,* the old guard, commanded by Lefebvre, and the young guard, commanded by Mortier, amounted to 40,000 men. There were eleven corps, commanded respectively by Davoust, Oudinot, Ney, prince Eugène, Poniatowski, whose division was Polish, marshal St. Cyr, Reynier, Junot, Victor, Macdonald, and Augereau, amounting to 400,000 men. The cavalry was 69,700. The total was 509,700. Besides Frenchmen, the army consisted of Italians, Spaniards, Poles, Bavarians, Saxons, Westphalians, Prussians, and Austrians. Above 1,200 pieces of cannon, and 3,000 carriages for artillery, accompanied the army; 4,000 carriages for the general purposes of the army, besides an immense quantity of baggage and vehicles of various kinds, swelled the whole number of vehicles to about 20,000, and the number of horses to 200,000. Ségur gives a higher estimate of the numbers just at the time when the army was going to cross the Niemen: " From the banks of the Guadalquivir and the Calabrian Sea to those of the Vistula, 617,000 men, of whom 480,000 were already present; the materiel for bridges and a siege, several thousand provision-wagons, innumerable droves of cattle; 1,372 pieces of cannon—had been summoned, assembled, and placed a few paces from the river of the Russians (the Niemen)." † After crossing the Niemen (24th of June) at Kowno, the main body of the army advanced through Lithuania by Wilna; but it went too quick for the provision-wagons. The roads were bad, and the least rain made them impracticable. As the wagons were in the rear, the soldiers had to live by plunder, and large bodies lagged behind, dispersing themselves over the country, and committing great excesses. Before the army reached Wilna, a large part of the wagons were abandoned on the roads, or were sticking in the mud, and hunger already began to be felt. At Wilna the emperor attempted to restore order to the commissariat; but it was all in vain, and there was nothing left but to organize a system of plunder. The corps of Davoust and Eugène carried on their pillage systematically, and were kept together; but other divisions were disorganized. On reaching the Dwina the numbers were greatly diminished; the hospitals were filled with the sick; dysentery was prevailing, owing to the use of ill-made rye bread; for the soldier was his own baker. " From the Niemen to the Vilia" (the river of Vilna), said Mortier to the emperor, " I have seen nothing but houses devastated, carriages and baggage abandoned, dispersed on the roads and in the fields, open, with the things strewed about and pillaged, as if they had been taken by the enemy: ten thousand horses were dead, and their carcases were rotting on the roads: some of the soldiers of the young guard had died of hunger."—When the provisions reached Wilna, the army had left; the men marched first, and the food dragged behind them. Before fighting a great battle, in the march from the Niemen to the Dwina, the effective force of the grand army was reduced by about one-third. But after deducting four corps, which were placed to secure the left, the duchy of Warsaw on the right, and the rear, and to operate along the Dwina, there still remained above 230,000 men at the disposal of Napoleon.

The Russians had three armies ready to act, one on each of the flanks of the French, and another against the centre. There was also an army of reserve, and behind that the levies which were raising in the empire. Alexander had at least an equal force to resist the army of the invaders; and he had just made peace with the Turks. Barclay de Tolly, who commanded one of the three Russian armies, had his head-quarters at Wilna, and on hearing of the passage of the Niemen by the French, he ordered a retreat. Napoleon stayed at Wilna till the 16th of July, where he received the news of the United States of North America proclaiming war against Britain. The grand army followed the Russians, who retreated in good order. On reaching Vitepsk on the Dwina (27th of July), they found it deserted by the Russians, who still retreated, while the French followed amidst a suffocating heat. Murat, the king of Naples, who commanded the advanced guard, was impatient to come up with the enemy, but the hopes of a great battle were constantly frustrated by the retreat of the Russians. At Vitepsk, Napoleon, contrary to his custom, held a council to determine whether he should winter at Vitepsk, or advance. He was long undecided: at last he determined to advance to Smolensk, to the banks of the Borysthenes. Smolensk was taken by assault (17th of August), and part of it was destroyed by the flames; and the whole would have been consumed but for the exertions of the French, for it was chiefly constructed of wood. The emperor got possession of a half-burnt town, deserted by the Russians, and filled with dead bodies. The Russians still retreated, and the hope of a great battle was again deferred. The grand army had marched from Kowno to Smolensk, four hundred miles, and instead of the brilliant results of the Italian and German campaigns, they were exhausted with following up an enemy who was drawing them further from home into a country, the very aspect of which depressed the spirits of the soldiers. Alexander showed no dispo-

* Thibaudeau, 'Histoire de la France et de Napoléon Bonaparte; Empire,' vi., c. 80.

† 'Histoire de Napoléon et de la Grande-Armée pendant l'an 1812,' par le général comte de Ségur. This work is severely criticised in the 'Examen Critique de l'Ouvrage de M. le comte Ph. de Ségur, par le général Gourgaud.' As a military history it is of no value; and though it contains many curious facts, it is full of exaggeration. Ségur is always straining after effect. " The 'History of the Grand Army,'" says Gourgaud, " is only the amplification of a rhetorician.—The chief defect is want of historic truth."

sition to come to terms, and Napoleon resolved to cross the Borysthenes in pursuit of the Russians, on the road to Moscow. But before the French could advance they had to fight the Russians at Volontina, near Smolensk; and after a bloody contest the French lost, through Junot's inactivity, the advantage which they had gained. The Russians secured their retreat, and the two armies of Barclay and Bagration effected their junction, and continued their march towards Moscow. The French army was surrounded with difficulties: they wanted food; the hospitals were insufficient for the wounded and sick; the Russians ravaged the country, and the people were hostile. It was hazardous to advance, hazardous to retreat; but advance alone could keep the army together; and Napoleon (August 24) began to follow the Russians on the road to Moscow. From Smolensk he advanced to Dorogobuje. The Russians were not there; they left it in flames behind them, and retreated to Viazma. From Dorogobuje, Napoleon sent his instructions to all who were in his rear; to the duke of Bassano, who was at Wilna, to Victor, Macdonald, St. Cyr, and prince Schwarzenberg. He gave orders for the conscription of 1813 to be levied in France. After providing for everything in his rear, he was in full march for Moscow. On the 1st of September he was at Gjatsk, where he learned that Barclay was superseded by Kutusoff in the command of the Russian army; and this was a sign that the Russians were going to fight. On the 5th of September the French came in sight of the Russian camp at Borodino, on the banks of the Moskwa, one of the tributaries of the Volga. They were now no longer within the proper boundaries of Europe, for the basin of the Volga belongs to the Caspian. On the 6th Napoleon received news from Spain: Marmont had lost the battle of Salamanca. On the same day a courier brought the portrait of the king of Rome, painted by Gérard. The young king was represented in his cradle playing with a globe and a sceptre. The emperor placed the portrait at the door of his tent. Kutusoff carried through the ranks of his army a miraculous image of the Virgin, which had been rescued from the flames of Smolensk.

On the 7th of September the sun rose bright and clear. "It is the sun of Austerlitz," said Napoleon: but the sun shone cold; the autumn had commenced. In the bloody battle of Borodino, or of the Moskwa, as it is sometimes called, the French got possession of the works with which the enemy had strengthened their position; but the Russians were not defeated. Napoleon's guard of 20,000 men took no share in the battle, and he resisted all the importunity of his generals, who called for its assistance to complete their success. But Napoleon would not run the risk of breaking the force of his guard: it was the very kernel of his army. His prudence in this matter is sufficiently justified. Ségur represents him as completely overpowered during the battle, inactive, and dull, and leaving things to take their course. Gourgaud maintains that he was most attentive to all the movements of the troops on both sides, and gave his orders with precision. There is no doubt that he was suffering severely from illness on this day. The battle of the Moskwa is one of the most terrible that have ever been fought. The Russians, it is said, lost in killed and wounded 50,000 men. Among the dead was Bagration. The loss of the French cannot be known from the imperial bulletins, for Napoleon manufactured bulletins according to his pleasure. Larrey, the surgeon-in-chief, estimated the French loss in the battle of the Moskwa at 9,000 killed, and 13,000 wounded. It was a frightful slaughter, a horrid butchery; but it had one result. It proved that the Russians would die, but would not submit.*

The French still advanced on the road to Moscow, and the Russians retreated before them; but not to defend Moscow. Kutusoff passed through this great city and took the road to Kolomna, which is near the junction of the Oka and the Moskwa. Murat entered Moscow on the 14th of September, before the rear guard of the Russians had quitted it. During the march from Smolensk to Gjatsk, between the 19th of August and the 1st of September, the French army was diminished by 40,000 men. On the 2nd of September, out of 160,000 men who left Smolensk, only 120,000 answered to the call. But these 40,000 men had not all perished: plunder and sickness had kept most of them behind, and a great number rejoined the army at Moscow. On the 15th, Napoleon entered Moscow. All was silent: the great bulk of the inhabitants had fled. No deputation came to greet him, or to ask for his mercy. Moscow was almost a desert; but it abounded in wealth; for the palaces of the nobles, and the houses of the rich were full of furniture and provisions. Pillage could not be entirely prevented; but order might have been established, if a dreadful catastrophe had not happened. In the evening of the 14th there were some partial fires, which the French extinguished; but on the night of the 15th they became so numerous, that the flames got the mastery. Nine-tenths of the city were consumed, and the conflagration was followed by pillage, in which the Russians got their share. Some thousands of wounded Russians, who had dragged themselves from the field of Borodino to Moscow, perished in the flames. Report at first accused the French of firing Moscow, which is absurd. It was, however, the effect of design; and Rostopchin, the governor, is said to have planned the destruction of the city, though he afterwards denied it.

An immense stock of provisions was found in the cellars of Moscow; but forage could only be procured by sending detachments into the country and taking it from the peasants, who made resistance. A company of French actors, who were found at Moscow,

* The bulletin of the battle of the Moskwa (the eighteenth bulletin) is dated from Gjatsk, the 10th of September. It stated the loss of the French at 2,500 killed, and 7,500 wounded. The 'Mémoires de Sainte Helène' make the French killed and wounded 20,000 men. Napoleon greatly under-rated the loss of the French in his bulletin.

served to amuse the army; and two Italian actors occasionally diverted the more serious thoughts of the emperor. Napoleon lodged at the Kremlin, which had escaped the fire, and here he received couriers from France every twenty-four hours. He had reached Moscow, one of the capitals of Russia; but the occupation of a burnt city was no triumph, and Napoleon would have gladly made peace with Alexander, to whom he sent a letter. But Alexander was not disposed to lose the advantage that was now within his reach. On the 28th of August he had seen Bernadotte, at Abo, in Finnland, and the alliance between them was strengthened. Norway was secured to Sweden, and Sweden engaged to assist Russia against the French. On the 13th of October snow began to fall at Moscow, the sign of an early winter. This and other considerations determined the French emperor to retreat, before he received Alexander's negative answer, which was dated from St. Petersburg on the 21st of October. Kutusoff had turned round Moscow, and placed himself on the Nara, on the road to Kaluga. Murat, with his cavalry, had followed him, and posted himself opposite to the Russian army. On the 17th, the Russians attacked Murat, who only saved himself from total ruin by his intrepidity; but he lost baggage, artillery, and many men. This affair greatly weakened the French cavalry.

On the morning of the 19th the French evacuated Moscow. About 90,000 Frenchmen had entered Moscow, but more than 100,000 quitted it; for many of the wounded and sick had arrived there. The cavalry was about 12,000 strong, and there were 600 cannons and 10,000 carriages for transport: it was still a formidable army. But behind it there came another army, an incumbrance, and not a help,—men of all nations, without uniform and without arms; French, German, and Russian women, with children; wagons and vehicles innumerable, filled with provisions and booty picked up in the ruins of Moscow and the neighbourhood. Mortier was left behind to blow up the Kremlin.

The French retreated towards Viazma, by way of Borowsk and Malojarolawetz. At Malojarolawetz (25th October) the Russians fell on the corps of prince Eugène, and there was a great slaughter on both sides. The French now regained the great road to Smolensk, and leaving Mojaisk on their right, passed in sight of the battle-field of Borodino, still strewed with human carcases and the wrecks of the battle. The dead bodies were frozen; for the weather, which hitherto had been tolerable, was now intensely cold. On the 31st of October, Napoleon was at Viazma with his guard, followed slowly by his columns, for which he waited. On the 3rd of November, while the corps of prince Eugène and Poniatowski were defiling upon Viazma, and Davoust was following, Davoust was attacked by Miloradowich and Platoff with his Cossacks; but Eugène came to his assistance, and the troops of Davoust forced their passage. The Russians, however, followed the rear of the French, and drove them out of Viazma. Kutusoff, who was coming up with the main body of the Russian army, declined hazarding a general engagement. He trusted to two allies, who were daily becoming more powerful,—hunger and cold. From the 6th to the 7th of November, a heavy snow fell; the cold became more severe, the roads were covered with ice, and so slippery, that the few horses which remained could hardly get along. The men ill-fed, and ill-clothed, and exhausted with fatigue, could not bear up against their sufferings. Then commenced the horrors of the retreat. Famine, cold, and the unrelenting enemy, destroyed the grand army of Russia.

Before he reached Smolensk, Napoleon received intelligence of the conspiracy of general Malet, which had been discovered in Paris on the 23rd of October. Though the conspiracy failed, it showed him how unstable his throne was, and that it was time for him to be at home.* On the 13th of November the whole army was at Smolensk, and mustered about 50,000 armed men, who kept good order; but there were as many more, of all kinds and conditions, mingled in confusion. When the army left Smolensk (13th—16th November), the cold was 18° below the freezing-point (Réaumur); and the men had to encamp in the open air. The twenty-ninth bulletin told the truth as to the disasters of the grand army, but not the whole truth. After leaving Smolensk, it said, "the horses of the cavalry, of the artillery, and of the wagons, perished every night, not by hundreds, but by thousands,—especially the French and German horses: above 30,000 horses died in a few days: our cavalry was all dismounted; our artillery and our wagons were without the means of transport; we were obliged to abandon and destroy a large part of our cannon, and of our munitions of war and provisions." The bulletin said nothing of the men who died. If we only imagine them to have died as fast as the horses, we shall fill up the measure of this frightful calamity, which the emperor's bulletin announced to all Europe. In the midst of their sufferings the army bravely repelled the attacks of the Russians; and at Krasnoi, on the road between Smolensk and Orcha, Napoleon made a stand against Kutusoff's superior force, and secured the safe retreat of the main body of the army. On the 19th, the French reached Orcha on the Borysthenes, where they found provisions. On the 20th, they left the Borysthenes, whence their march was to Borisow, on the Beresina, a branch of the Borysthenes; but the Russians burnt the bridge at Borisow, and the destruction of the army appeared inevitable. The cold had been less severe for some days, and there had been a thaw. Again a frost came on (24th of November), and the Beresina was loaded with floating ice; but the pontonniers worked in the water up to their shoulders, and constructed two bridges at Studianska, above Borisow. The situation of the emperor, surrounded by the Russians, and with the enemy on

* This affair of Malet is told at length by Thibaudeau, 'Empire,' vi., c. 85.



NAPOLEON AT MOSCOW.

the other bank, appeared hazardous. Yet the difficulty was not so great as it has been represented, and the passage was effected; but on the 28th, the Russians, under Wittgenstein, were at the bridge. While Wittgenstein's cannon was roaring, a mass of stragglers and camp-followers were crowding across the bridges, exposed to the enemy's balls, and in their hurry and the struggle, trampling one another down. One of the bridges broke, and many of these unfortunate wretches were plunged into the river. Victor, with 7000 or 8000 men, remained on the left bank to protect the passage against the Russians. On the 29th, he crossed the river with 3000 men, all who remained, and burned the bridges. On the 3rd of December, the emperor reached Malodeczno, from which he dated his twenty-ninth and last bulletin, which threw consternation into Paris, though it told not half the truth. On the 5th of December, at Smorgoni, he announced to his officers his intention to leave them and hurry to Paris, where affairs required his attention. The command of the army was given to Murat, under whom Berthier acted as major-general. Napoleon set out in a sledge, accompanied by Caulaincourt and a Polish interpreter. His only other attendants were his mameluk Rustan, and one valet. His enemies admit that he showed great courage and ability in conducting the retreat; and he refused to leave the army till it had crossed the Beresina.

Murat was a brave soldier, but not a fit man for the crisis, and Berthier was feeble. The emperor's departure and the severity of the cold completely disorganized the army. In a march of three days between Smorgoni and Wilna, during which they were pursued by the Russians, thousands of men perished. Wilna was well provided with everything that the army required, but disorder was at its height; and the French quitted the city on the night of the 10th of December, as soon as they heard the sound of the Russian cannon. On the 13th the remnant of the grand army crossed the Niemen at Kowno. The number is stated at from 20,000 to 36,000. If we deduct from the sum-total of the grand army which invaded Russia, the corps of Macdonald, which consisted partly of Prussians, the Austrian corps of Schwarzenberg, and the Saxon corps of Reynier, the result is, that this campaign cost France near 400,000 men. The army of Kutusoff, which was near 170,000 strong when he left Moscow, was reduced in the pursuit to about 50,000 men. If the Russian operations had been directed with more unity and ability, not a single Frenchman would have reached the banks of the Niemen. After crossing the Niemen, Murat conducted the wreck of the army to the Vistula, where he gave up the command to prince Eugène (16th January, 1813), who made good his retreat to the Oder. But the army hardly existed; and a great number of men made their way back to France singly. Among those who distinguished themselves most in this disastrous retreat was marshal Ney, to whom Napoleon gave the title of prince of the Moskwa by a decree of the 21st of February, 1813.

The emperor passed through Dresden, where he saw the king of Saxony. He arrived at Paris, when nobody was expecting him, on the 18th of December, twenty-four hours after the publication of his twenty-ninth bulletin. On the 20th of December the Senate, by their president Lacépède, came to congratulate him on his return. The address was in a style of fulsome flattery. The reply was vague and pompous; but it was the reply of a man who still felt that he was master. "My army," he said, "has sustained losses, but it was owing to the premature severity of the season." The less that he said on this matter, the better.*

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 390, &c. The Council of State also made their address in a style of adulation. The emperor's reply said nothing of Malet's conspiracy, but it was directed to that subject. One part of it is very singular: "It is to *ideology*, this misty metaphysic, which subtly prying into first causes, would found upon them the legislation of nations, instead of adapting laws to our knowledge of the human heart and to the lessons of history, that we must attribute all the evils which this beautiful France has experienced: these errors necessarily must, and in fact did, produce the regime of the men of blood. Who, in fact, proclaimed the principle of insurrection as a duty? Who flattered the people, by proclaiming that they possessed a sovereignty which they could not exercise? Who destroyed the sanctity and the respect for the laws, by making them depend not on the sacred principles of justice, on the nature of things and civil justice, but merely on the will of an assembly composed of men who were ignorant of laws civil, criminal, administrative, political, and military? When one is called to regenerate a state, it is exactly the opposite principles that must be followed." The lecture is not all bad; but it was rather strange in the mouth of a man who had been causing the loss of more life than all the "men of blood;" and in a cause where "the sacred principles of justice" were in no way concerned.

A sketch of the Russian campaign in a few pages is of little value. It must be inaccurate, simply owing to incompleteness, if to no other cause. Neither the French nor the Russian bulletins can be taken as authority on all matters; and Ségur's narrative, which is one of the most popular, is not trustworthy. Gourgaud's criticism on it is instructive, and will enable a reader to estimate better the character of the Russian campaign, and to refuse credit to the exaggerations of some writers. The narrative of the Russian, Boutourlin, 'Histoire de la Campagne de Russie,' is moderate in its tone, and judicious.



BONAPARTE LEAVING RUSSIA.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

GERMANY.

As soon as Napoleon arrived at Paris he set about putting affairs in order; and he began with the pope. On the 1st of January, 1813, he sent to compliment him on the commencement of the new year; and on the 19th of January he paid him unexpectedly a visit at Fontainebleau, and had a long conference. Negotiations were again opened with the pope, who signed a new Concordat on the 25th of January. The pope was restored to his functions, with an income of two millions of francs, and Avignon was assigned for his residence. The Concordat was published on the 13th of February as a law of the state. But as soon as the pope was again surrounded by his cardinals, he began to repent of what he had done; and he, who was infallible, declared that, through human weakness, he had signed that which he could not conscientiously execute. On the 24th of March, the pope, in a letter from Fontainebleau, retracted his signature, and proposed a fresh negotiation. The emperor took no notice of the pope's retractation.

On the 14th of February, Napoleon opened the session of the Legislative body with an address, in which he spoke of the "failure of all the hopes of the English in Spain," of his Russian victories, and the conquest of Moscow; but the excessive and premature cold in Russia had brought on his army "a dreadful calamity." He said that the agents of England were propagating among all the neighbours of the French "the spirit of revolt against their sovereigns: England would like to see the whole continent a prey to civil war, and to all the fury of anarchy; but Providence has designed England herself to be the first victim of anarchy and of civil war."—"The French dynasty," he continued, "reigns, and will reign, in Spain." During the continuance of the maritime war, "his people must be prepared for every kind of sacrifice." He spoke of the United States of America having had recourse to arms against Great Britain, to maintain the independence of their flag: "The wishes of the world accompany them in this glorious struggle; if they

terminate it by compelling the enemies of the continent to acknowledge the principle, that the flag covers the merchandise and the crew, and that neutrals ought not to be subjected to a paper blockade, in conformity to the stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht, America will have deserved well of all nations: posterity will say that the old world had lost its rights, and that the new world has recovered them." On the 25th of February the minister of the interior presented a very minute account of the condition of the empire in 1811 and 1812; from which it appeared, that notwithstanding all her calamities and wars, and the continental system, the industry of France at this time, and the amount of its products, far exceeded what they were in 1788, or at any time after that date; a result owing first to the Revolution, and next to the establishment of order under the empire. In the twelve years since the accession of Napoleon, 1,005 millions of francs had been spent in the empire on public works, and all of them works of utility or ornament—fortifications, ports, roads, bridges, structures of various kinds. The amount spent on imperial palaces and buildings belonging to the crown, was only 62 millions of francs. Louis XIV., who began this system of public expenditure, laid out money chiefly for the gratification of his own caprice. He did little for the public service. The financial report showed that the revenues of 1811 and 1812 respectively had fallen short of the estimate. The budget of 1813 was fixed at 1,150 millions of francs; for, in order to make up the estimated receipts of this year, and the deficits of 1811, 1812, a supplemental sum of 232 millions was required. It was impossible to increase the taxes; for when taxation has reached a certain point, a higher rate does not produce more in total amount, but less. The deficiency was supplied by taking part of the property of the communes, to the value of 370 millions, and selling it. The communes were to receive a title to dividends on stock, which dividends should be equal in amount to the clear income of the property that was taken from them. The communes were not deprived of woods, pastures, public buildings, public walks, or anything that was enjoyed in common; but lands, houses, manufacturing establishments, and such things as were let for rent, were ceded to the state. This was a clear symptom that Napoleon's government would soon be in financial difficulties, notwithstanding the ability of his administration. But the civil list was managed with economy. In the nine years and three months (23rd September, 1804, to the end of 1813), Napoleon's savings out of his allowance were about one-third of the whole amount.

The danger that had threatened his government, from the conspiracy of Malet, and the necessity of soon leaving Paris to oppose his enemies, determined the emperor to provide for a regency. He had the foolish hope that, if he died, a piece of paper could secure the throne of France to his son. A Sénatus-consulte of the 5th of February regulated the regency during the minority of the French emperors. On the 30th of March the emperor conferred the regency on the empress Maria-Louisa.

Napoleon was busy, in the early part of 1813, with forming a new army. A Sénatus-consulte of January, 1813, placed at his disposal 100,000 men of the first ban of the National Guard; 100,000 conscripts of the years 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, who ought not to have been called to form a part of the active army; and 150,000 conscripts of the year 1814, though the conscripts of 1813 were already mustering: in all half a million of men. The city of Paris, and the other towns of the empire, offered to supply horsemen mounted and equipped, each in proportion to its means. For three months the columns of the 'Moniteur' were filled with addresses and offers, made and signed by functionaries, municipal councils, and great proprietors, who in one year more transferred to the Bourbons the same expressions of zeal and insincerity. But all this preparation was not enough; and on the 5th of April the Senate, on the recommendation of the emperor, placed at the disposal of the ministry 180,000 more men "to increase the active armies." Of this number 10,000 were called mounted guards of honour, who were to equip themselves at their own cost. This demand fell on the children of the noblesse and the bourgeoisie, who had hitherto escaped the conscription by hiring substitutes at an enormous price. "The gardes d'honneur," says Thibaudeau, "were hostages, who would be a security to the emperor that their families would not form conspiracies in the interior of the empire: in fine, they were 10,000 men more in the ranks of the army." This immense consumption of the male population of France took away a large part of those who would otherwise have added to the national production; but such a drain does not necessarily diminish the population of a country; for though it does so directly, the indirect effect is the other way. The whole number of men placed by the Senate at the disposal of the French government, that is, at the disposal of Napoleon, from the month of September, 1805, to the 15th of November, 1813, was 2,103,000.*

The emperor's preparations were great, but those of his enemies were equal to them. The emperor of Russia was raising an immense force, and the intentions of the king of Prussia were soon apparent. The French were still in possession of Danzig, Glogau, Stettin, and other Prussian places, and they had a garrison in Berlin, besides an army of 30,000 men in Posen. Frederick-William, who had often made protestations of fidelity to his French ally, suddenly quitted Potsdam on the 22nd of January, 1813, and went to meet the emperor Alexander at Breslau. In the meantime the Prussian general Bulow, who had a considerable force on the Oder, allowed the Russian light troops to pass that river. The king had not yet

* États des conscriptions levées sous l'Empire, 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 526. In 1812 the population of the empire was estimated at 47,700,000, of which France proper contained 28,700,000.

declared himself against France, and he even proposed to Napoleon, in order to put a stop to hostilities between Russia and France, that the Russians should retire behind the Vistula, the French behind the Elbe, and that Napoleon should entrust to the Prussians the fortresses along the Oder, and those of Pillau and Danzig. Napoleon rejected the offer, and on the 28th of February the king of Prussia made an alliance with Alexander, at Kalisch, in Poland; and on the 17th of March, Hardenberg sent a note to Napoleon's minister, Maret, which was a declaration of war. The king of Prussia cannot be blamed for attempting to throw off the French yoke, but his duplicity or his weakness led him to make professions of friendship to Napoleon, while he was meditating hostility. His proclamation called all the Prussians to arms: men of every class, rank, and age, were summoned to deliver their country from the odious yoke of the French emperor. The disasters of 1812 gave the Bourbons new hopes, and Louis XVIII., from his residence at Hartwell, in Buckinghamshire, issued a declaration against "the instrument of the anger of Providence, the usurper of the throne of St. Louis, the devastator of Europe." The insurrection against the French broke out in March. Hamburg rose against them, and they were obliged to quit the city. Prince Eugène being unable to maintain himself in Posen, retired behind the Oder in the month of February, and then behind the Elbe. Berlin was evacuated by the French, and also Dresden. The king of Prussia and the emperor of Russia, by a proclamation, invited the princes of Germany to unite with them for the deliverance of their country; another proclamation announced that the Confederation of the Rhine was dissolved. Austria was arming, though she assumed the position of a mediator.

Napoleon quitted St. Cloud on the 15th of April for Mainz, where he inspected the troops, and had an interview with several princes of the Confederation of the Rhine. On the 25th he was at Erfurt. He had about 140,000 men under his command; and on his left prince Eugène was making an effort to join him. He could reckon on bringing together about 250,000 men, before the enemy could oppose to him an equal number; but 50,000 were Germans, ill-disposed towards him; and a large part were young soldiers. Kutusoff was dead, and Wittgenstein commanded the combined forces. On the 28th, Napoleon left Erfurt with the intention of marching on Leipzig. A rencontre took place between the emperor and the enemy at Weissenfels, near the Elbe, in which marshal Bessières, duke of Istria, one of the emperor's old companions in arms, was killed by a cannon-ball. The emperor passed the night of the 1st of May on the field of Lützen, where Gustavus-Adolphus lost his life in 1632. On the next day was fought the battle of Lützen, in which the emperor had about 85,000 men to oppose to 100,000. Alexander and Frederic were spectators of the combat, in which the combined Russian and Prussian army was defeated. The loss on both sides was immense; but as usual with Napoleon, his own loss was under-rated, and that of the enemy exaggerated. The French did not follow up their victory, for want of cavalry, as it is stated. Napoleon's bulletin concluded with these words: "Europe would at last be tranquil, if sovereigns and the ministers who direct their cabinets could have been present at this field of battle; they would renounce the hope of making the star of France retrograde; they would see that the counsellors who would dismember the French empire, and humble the emperor, are preparing the ruin of their sovereigns."

The battle of Lützen gave the French possession of Leipzig and Dresden. Davoust was ordered to march upon Hamburg, and to threaten the communication with Berlin. The retreat of the Russo-Prussian army was covered by their numerous well-appointed cavalry. On the 8th of May, Eugène entered Dresden, and Napoleon was joined there, on the 12th, by the king of Saxony, who had left his capital before the battle of Lützen. The king brought the emperor about 4000 horse. The fidelity of Austria to the French emperor was no longer doubtful: it was certain that she was seeking for an opportunity to join the coalition against Napoleon, who, fearing for his Italian kingdom, sent Eugène into Italy. On the 16th, Bubna arrived at Dresden from Vienna with a letter to Napoleon from his father-in-law, who offered his mediation between the emperor and his enemies. Bubna's mission to the emperor resulted in his proposing a congress, during which there should be an armistice; and this proposal for an armistice and a congress was announced in the 'Moniteur' of the 24th of May: but another battle was fought before there was an armistice. The Russo-Prussian army, which had received reinforcements, was concentrated at Bautzen, which lies east of Dresden, on the Spree. Ney, who had been sent forward after the battle of Lützen to menace Berlin, was ordered to join the emperor with all speed, with his own corps and that of Lauriston, which together amounted to 60,000 men. The destination of Ney was Hoyerswerda, a position which cuts the direct road from Bautzen to Berlin; and by crossing the Spree, he would be in the rear of the allied army at Bautzen. Before the battle Napoleon sent Caulaincourt with a letter to Alexander, and full power to conclude an armistice as long as the congress should last. The insincerity of Austria made Napoleon adopt the design of endeavouring to detach Alexander from his Prussian ally, by large concessions: "I wish," said Napoleon, while waiting for an answer to his letter, "I wish an armistice, and to come to terms with the Russians, that I may rid myself of the Austrians." But the night came; there was no answer from Alexander; and it was necessary to fight another battle. The allies had about 150,000 men, well placed, at Bautzen and Hochkirchen. On the 20th of May the contest began: the French forced the Spree, and drove the enemy from Bautzen, which Napoleon entered in the evening. Blücher alone maintained his position, between the corps of Ney and the French army. On the 21st the

battle began again. About ten the sound of cannon was heard on the enemy's right, and Napoleon, who had gone asleep, was roused up. He looked at his watch, and said that he had got a victory. It was the corps of Ney, which had passed the Spree, and driven the enemy before him. The issue of the battle was a defeat of the allied armies; and in the evening Napoleon lodged in an isolated inn, which the emperor Alexander had occupied during the day. In his bulletin the emperor admitted the loss on his side, during the 20th and 21st, at 11,000 or 12,000 men killed and wounded. This was called the victory of Bautzen;* but like the battle of Lützen, it decided nothing. The slaughter was dreadful on both sides, and probably nearly equal. The enemy retreated towards Löbau and Löwenberg; and Napoleon followed and drove them from their position at Reichenbach. As the enemy still held out, he ordered Ney to drive them to Görlitz, and he went down into a hollow road, in order to ascend an eminence and see what was going on. He was followed by Mortier, Caulaincourt, Duroc, and general Kirgener. A ball from the enemy's guns struck a tree near the emperor, and when he got to the eminence and turned round to ask for his glass, he saw only Caulaincourt behind him. The ball, which struck the tree, rebounded, killed Kirgener and mortally wounded Duroc, who died twelve hours after. Napoleon found Duroc at the siege of Toulon, and they had never been parted since. Duroc was in the full confidence of the emperor, which he never abused. In the many important affairs with which he was entrusted he had always conducted himself with moderation, judgment, and disinterestedness. If Napoleon had any friend, it was Duroc. He had the title of duke of Friuli, and was grand-maréchal of the palace. The place of grand maréchal was conferred on general Bertrand.†

On the 22nd of May, Metternich wrote to Berthier, that the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia were disposed to an armistice, and would send persons to Napoleon with full powers. Napoleon replied that he would receive them if they came; and in the mean time he entered Silesia. On the 5th of June a convention was signed, by which an armistice till the 22nd of July was agreed on. Napoleon afterwards admitted that this armistice was a mistake on his part. "I was wrong," he said at St. Helena, "to sign this convention; for if I had continued marching onwards, as I could have done, my father-in-law would not have taken part against me." If the emperor of Austria had not been his father-in-law, Napoleon would have seen more clearly what was preparing.

Austria offered her mediation, and Metternich came to Dresden to open the conferences. He explained that Austria, being an ally of France, could not properly be a mediator. This was admitted, and Napoleon authorized his minister, the duke of Bassano, to renounce the Austrian alliance, in order that Austria might become a mediator; and thus Napoleon was tricked by the crafty diplomatist. Napoleon told Metternich that he was willing to give up to Austria the Illyrian provinces, and that all he wanted was the neutrality of Austria. Metternich replied that Austria must be either for him or against him; and he made large demands on Napoleon. The emperor got out of humour, and asked him how much England had given him to induce him to play this part. Metternich swallowed the insult, but he felt it. We cannot attribute the defection of Austria from Napoleon to such a slight matter as this; for it was already determined on: but Metternich was not likely to be put in better humour by being charged with taking a bribe from England. Before he left Dresden, he signed a secret convention with the duke of Bassano, by which the mediation of Austria was accepted; the Russian, Prussian, and French plenipotentiaries were to meet at Prague before the 5th of July; Napoleon undertook to maintain the armistice to the 10th of August; and the emperor Francis was to induce Alexander and Frederick to do the same. But Russia and Prussia had already (June 15th) made a treaty at Reichenbach with England, by which Prussia and Russia agreed to continue the war with vigour, and England was to furnish them with subsidies. Austria was well acquainted with this treaty; and Stadion, one of the Austrian ministers, was at Reichenbach.

The emperor was not idle during the armistice. Davoust, by his orders, retook possession of Hamburg; and to punish this town for its revolt, a contribution of 50 millions of francs was levied upon it. Napoleon daily received communications from Paris, and from all parts of the empire; and he despatched business just as if he had been in Paris. Reviews of his soldiers were both business and amusement; and as if to show how little concerned he was at the state of affairs, he sent for actors and actresses from Paris to play at Berlin. Talma, and Mademoiselles Mars and Georges were among those who came to amuse the emperor. If he was disposed for peace, the allies had not much disposition towards it; and the condition of affairs in Spain was encouraging for them. The French emperor had drawn many of his soldiers from Spain. On the 21st of June, Wellington defeated the French at Vittoria, and they were obliged to retire precipitately towards the Pyrenees, abandoning their artillery and baggage. The royalist party was also beginning to stir again in France, by spreading proclamations through La Vendée, where Louis de la Rochejacquelin was at the head of the movement. It is said that the police also discovered a conspiracy among the gardes d'honneur, who were organizing at Tours, and that some of them were arrested; but the matter was kept as quiet as possible.

* Or, Wurshen, from the name of a village near Bautzen.

† The account of Duroc's death given in the bulletin of the 22nd of May, addressed to the empress-queen and regent, does not agree exactly with that stated in the text; and it contains some remarks exchanged between Duroc and the emperor, who went to see him before he died, which were apparently added to produce effect.

The congress was adjourned, and the negotiations did not commence until the 29th of July. At last Metternich announced the ultimatum of the allies: the dissolution of the duchy of Warsaw, which was to be divided among Russia, Austria, and Prussia; Prussia was also to have Danzig: the independence of the Hanse towns: the dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine; the cession of Illyria to Austria: the independence of Holland: and Ferdinand VII. to be king of Spain. Napoleon answered on the 9th of August, by conceding part, and refusing the rest. The 10th of August expired while his answer was on the road; and the plenipotentiaries declared that their powers had expired. Caulaincourt, however, communicated Napoleon's answer, which was declared to be insufficient. The emperor then empowered him to accept the ultimatum of Austria, with this reserve, that France should keep Holland and the Hanse towns as a kind of deposit until peace should be made with England, in order that Holland and the Hanse towns might be an object of negotiation. Metternich said that these concessions might have done on the 10th, but it was now too late, and that it was necessary to refer to the emperor Alexander. Austria immediately published her declaration of war, and Napoleon was compelled to try the chance of battle.*

The allies had decided on their plan of operations. Their force has been estimated at 500,000, and, with the reserves, at 800,000 men; it was the counterpart of Napoleon's grand army of Russia. Schwarzenberg commanded the Austrians, and Wittgenstein the Russians. Blücher had an army in Silesia of 180,000 men; and Bernadotte was protecting Berlin with above 100,000 Swedes, Prussians, and Russians. Walmoden, at the head of 30,000 men, was to keep Davoust in check, who occupied Hamburg with an equal force. An Austrian army was moving upon the Inn, to act against Bavaria; and another force was preparing to invade Illyria and Italy. A Frenchman was also at the head-quarters of Alexander, whose name and military reputation, it was supposed, would have some influence when the allies reached the Rhine. Moreau appeared again to throw his weight in the scale against Bonaparte. Napoleon's proposed line of defence was the Elbe from Hamburg to Dresden; but all the force that he could muster to oppose the allies did not exceed 375,000 men, and he had only 40,000 cavalry to oppose to 100,000. During Napoleon's stay at Dresden, Fouché arrived there. He was summoned by Napoleon, who probably was well acquainted with Fouché's intrigues, and did not wish him to be at Paris. Fouché foresaw the emperor's downfall, and he was busy with a scheme for a regency in the hands of Maria Louisa, aided by a council, of which he was to be a member himself. On the 16th of August, just when hostilities were going to commence, Murat also appeared. He had left the wreck of the grand army to look after his kingdom of Naples, and he long hesitated which side he should take in the campaign of 1813. His only object was to secure his own crown; and the victories of Lützen and Bautzen determined him to try his fortune with Napoleon. Jomini, the chief of Ney's staff, deserted to the enemy; and he was condemned to death by a council of war. This defection was a serious matter, for Jomini might inform the Russians of Napoleon's plan of campaign.

The events of this campaign, in which the French were driven beyond the Rhine, belong to a military history. Oudinot, who was sent against Berlin, was defeated by Bernadotte at Gross-Beeren on the 23rd of August, while Schwarzenberg was marching upon Dresden with an immense force. Napoleon, who was advancing against Prague, returned to Dresden; and on the 26th and 27th was fought a great battle—that of the 27th in the midst of a drenching rain. His bulletin was in the usual style: "We may reckon that the enemy has 60,000 men less; our loss in wounded, killed, or prisoners, amounts to 4,000." Among the 60,000, he included 30,000 prisoners. In another bulletin he estimated the enemy's sick at 20,000 men; and consequently the whole diminution of their effective force at 80,000. In this battle Moreau had his legs shattered by a cannon-ball, and died of his wound. On the 26th of August, Macdonald was defeated on the Katzbach by Blücher, and lost 25,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. This disaster was followed by the defeat and capture of Vandamme at Culm, (30th of August), whom Napoleon had sent in pursuit of the army which was defeated at Dresden. Bernadotte was threatening to break through Napoleon's line between Wittenberg and Hamburg, and Ney was sent against him. The two marshals met at Dennewitz on the 3rd of September, and Ney was defeated.

Napoleon did not give up the design of defending the line of the Elbe until he heard of the defection of the king of Bavaria, who, on the 8th of October, joined the allies by compulsion. The allies were already surrounding him, and the roads to France were being closed against his retreat. Napoleon had his back to the Elbe, and the allies had their back to the states of the Confederation of the Rhine. In this position, it is said that he conceived the bold design of seizing Berlin; but the defection of his Bavarian ally, and the advice of his generals, which was contrary to his own opinion, determined him to make his way to the Rhine across Germany, which was rising against him. He directed his march to Leipzig, leaving St. Cyr at Dresden. He was at Leipzig on the 15th of October, and the force of the coalition was advancing to the same point to overwhelm him with numbers. On the 16th, Napoleon was attacked at the village of Wachau, near Leipzig, by a superior force. The 17th was not interrupted by a single shot: it was a dull rainy day, and the two armies were face to face. But on the evening of the 17th the allies were reinforced by above 100,000 men under the command of Bernadotte, Ben-

* This affair of the negotiation is told in a partial spirit by Norvins, 'Histoire de Napoléon, iv., c. 2. Compare Thibaudeau, 'Empire,' vi., c. 91.

ingsen, and Colloredo; and the emperor saw that he must now secure his retreat. General Meerfeld, who was taken prisoner by the French on the 16th, was sent by Napoleon to the emperor of Austria to ask for an armistice, on terms which, a little earlier, would perhaps have been gladly accepted. But Meerfeld did not return on the night of the 17th, and Napoleon then prepared to retreat through Leipzig. The French, it is said, were not above 120,000 men. On the morning of the 18th they were attacked by the allies, who amounted to 300,000, and had 1,200 pieces of cannon. A destructive cannonade was kept up all day; but the French lost ground on their left, and the Saxons and the Würtemberg cavalry of Napoleon passed over to Bernadotte's army. Their enemies admit that the French defended themselves with heroic courage, and though the allies lost an immense number of men on the 18th, they had still a very great numerical superiority. The campaign was in fact decided, and Napoleon was compelled to retreat. On the 19th the army was concentrated upon Leipzig, and the French began to defile through the town, but they did not evacuate it without great loss. The emperor ordered the bridge over the Elster to be destroyed after all the army had passed; but owing to mismanagement it was blown up while many thousands of the French were still between the Elster and the enemy. Many of the men were drowned in attempting to cross the Pleisse and the Elster; and among them was Poniatowski. About 15,000 men surrendered at discretion. Blücher and Bubna followed up the retreat of the French, who on the 22nd reached Erfurt. Napoleon stayed there two days, during which he was busily engaged in providing for his retreat, and in matters relating to the internal affairs of France. He worked in the same room in which he and Alexander had many long conversations four years before during the meeting at Erfurt. Here Murat left him, under the pretext that he had letters from Naples which required his presence there. He foresaw the emperor's fall, and had hopes that he might be able to keep his own usurped throne. Napoleon left Erfurt on the 25th for Hanau, on the Kinzig, a branch of the Maine, where he had to fight a battle with an Austro-Bavarian army under Wrede, which was defeated, and the French passed unmolested through Frankfort. On the 22nd of November the emperor crossed the Rhine at Mainz with the wreck of his army, probably about 60,000 men.

The allies, after the battle of Leipzig, lost no time in taking measures for the junction of all the disposable forces of Germany, the administration of the countries abandoned by the French, and the provisioning of their troops. Würtemberg, Baden, and the elector of Hesse, joined the coalition. Denmark concluded, on the 15th of December, an armistice with the allies. Napoleon had not a single ally left.

CHAPTER LXXX.

THE ABDICATION.

On the 9th of November, Bonaparte was at St. Cloud; and on Sunday, the 14th, the Senate presented an address to him at the Tuileries. Their organ was Lacépède, and their address was in the usual style of adulation. It concluded with these words: "The French show by their devotion and by their sacrifices that no nation has ever better known its duties towards their country, honour, and their sovereign." The emperor's answer was short: "A year ago all Europe marched with us; now all Europe is marching against us: it is because the opinion of the world is formed by France or by England: we should have to fear everything, but for the energy and power of the nation: posterity will say, if the circumstances were critical, they were not superior to France and to myself."

The Senate were ready to obey their master's will. A Sénatus-consulte of the 15th of November, 1813, placed at the disposal of the minister of war 300,000 conscripts. The married men were exempt from this levy. On the 9th of October preceding, on the demand of the empress, the Senate had previously granted 280,000 conscripts, from which the married men also were exempt. But it was impossible to get as many unmarried men as were granted, for France did not contain so many, who fell within the terms of the conscription. The whole amount of men granted by the different Sénatus-consultes of 1813 amounted to the enormous number of 1,140,000.

By a decree of the Senate also of the 15th of November, it was declared that the Senate and the Council of State should assist in a body at the imperial sittings of the Legislative body, and that the emperor should name a president for the Legislative body, thus constituted. He named the duke of Massa, though the duke was not a member of the body.

On the 19th of December the emperor went in great pomp to make his address to the Legislative body. He spoke of his great victories in the late campaign, which had been rendered ineffectual by the defection of his allies; and he said that France herself would be in danger, but for the energy and the union of the French: "In these grave circumstances, my first thought has been to call you around me; my heart feels the want of the presence and the affection of my subjects: I have never been seduced by prosperity; adversity would find me above its attacks: I have

often given peace to nations, when they had lost everything: with one part of my conquests I have raised thrones for kings who have abandoned me: I had conceived and executed great designs for the prosperity and the happiness of the world: monarch and father, I feel how much peace adds to the security of thrones and of families: negotiations have been commenced with the allied powers: I adhere to the preliminary terms which they have offered."—"I have given orders that there should be communicated to you all the original papers which are in the portfolio of my department of foreign affairs: you will be made acquainted with them through the medium of a commission.—There is no opposition on my part to the re-establishment of peace." He said that it was with regret that he must ask for fresh sacrifices, fresh soldiers, and more money: "That which my minister of finance will propose to you, is conformable to the system of finance which I have established: we will meet everything without a loan, which devours the future; and without paper-money, which is the greatest enemy of social order." Five members of the Legislative body were named by that body as commissioners, to examine the documents relative to the negotiations for peace: they were, Raynouard, Lainé, Gallois, Flaugergues, and Maine-de-Biran. The members named by the Senate were, Fontanes, Talleyrand, Saint-Marsan, Barbé-Marbois, and Beurnonville. The president of the Legislative body, the duke of Massa, and Lacépède the president of the Senate, were members of the commissions. In the conferences of the two commissions, those of the Senate showed their usual devotion or servility, but the members of the Legislative body displayed a spirit of resistance. Each of the commissions made a report. Fontanes, the orator of the Senate, somewhat moderated his tone of adulation. He made a report to the Senate, who voted an address to the emperor. Lainé made his report to the Legislative body on the 28th of December, which was received on the 29th by a majority of 223 votes to 31, and printed. The same commission was instructed to prepare an address to the emperor in conformity to the report; but on the 30th the emperor stopped the impression, and seized the proofs of this report, which he declared to be seditious, and insulting to him. He refused to receive the address of the Legislative body, which on the 31st was adjourned by an imperial decree. The report of Lainé was indirectly an attack on Napoleon. It showed that the then negotiations for peace had commenced on the 10th of November preceding; and the documents submitted to the commission showed that the belligerent powers had expressed a strong desire for peace; that conditions had been proposed by the allies, and that the French emperor had fully assented to the preliminaries necessary for the opening of a congress: there was then no obstacle to a peace. The report further suggested that, to prevent the allies from charging France and the emperor with a wish to keep a territory too extensive for the tranquillity of Europe, it would be desirable to declare to Europe and France that the war should only be continued to maintain the independence of the French people and the integrity of their territory. This declaration, it was added, would attract the attention of the allied powers, who respect the courage of the French; but it would not be enough to rouse the people, and to put them in a state of defence. It was the opinion then of the committee, "that while the government should propose the most prompt measures for the security of the state, his majesty should be entreated to maintain the complete and uninterrupted execution of the laws which guarantee to the French the rights of liberty, of security, property, and to the nation the free exercise of its political rights." * The pride of the emperor could not submit to receive the good advice of the Legislative body. His allocution of the 1st of January, when they paid him a visit, was a rude and insolent attack: "Messieurs," began the man intoxicated with power, "you might have done much good, and you have only done harm: eleven-twelfths of you are good: the rest are factious."—"M. Lainé is a conspirator, an agent of England.—I shall keep my eye on M. Lainé: he is a bad man." The emperor feared the effect of the report and the address: if they had been published, they might have roused his people against him.

The coalition had two things to do, to clear the strong places of Germany of the French garrisons, which amounted altogether to 140,000 men, and to invade France. St. Cyr capitulated at Dresden; the garrison of Torgau surrendered; and Danzig on the 1st of January, 1814, after a ten months' siege. Owing to Napoleon's system, in 1813, of holding so many places, he now lost the services of a large body of men, at a time when France was going to be invaded. At the beginning of 1814, the forces of the coalition, which had been employed in the sieges, reinforced the invading army. This army amounted to 680,000 men. The right wing, under Bernadotte, invaded Holland and Belgium. The Prussian general, Bulow, took Amsterdam. On the 24th of November, 1813, the independence of the United Provinces was proclaimed, and the house of Orange recalled. The centre of the allied army, under Blücher, was to pass the Rhine at Neuwied, between Coblenz and Mainz; and the grand army under Schwarzenberg, which was accompanied by the emperors of Russia and Austria, and the king of Prussia, was to cross the Rhine at various points, from the junction of the Maine upwards. In their declaration of the 1st of December, 1813,† the allied powers said that they "did not make war on France, but against that preponderance which, to the misfortune of Europe and of France, the emperor Napoleon has too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire." The declaration

* 'Rapport fait au Corps Législatif, au nom de sa commission extraordinaire, par M. Lainé;' 'Adresse du Corps Législatif, &c., par M. Raynouard;' and 'Allocution de l'empereur aux membres du Corps Législatif présens à l'audience du 1er Janv. 1814;' 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 452, &c.

† It appeared in the Journal of Frankfort.

further said, that "the allied powers confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France had never known under its kings." During this time the negotiations were going on, which were the subjects of the reports of the two commissions, already referred to. Mannheim was proposed as the place for a meeting of congress by Caulaincourt, who had taken the place of Maret (duke of Bassano) for foreign affairs. But there was no congress at Mannheim: the negotiations were deferred, partly on the pretext that the emperor was levying 300,000 conscripts: the time was wasted in correspondence, and the allies still advanced. On the 21st of December, 1813, the first corps of Schwarzenberg crossed the Rhine at Bâle, which was an invasion of the Swiss territory; and on the last day of the year, Blücher also crossed the river. The proclamations of Schwarzenberg and Blücher declared that it was against Napoleon and his principles that they were leading their armies, and not against France. The French people would not have made this distinction: they would have only seen an army of invaders, and would have risen to repel them, as they did in the Revolutionary wars; but they were unarmed. Napoleon trusted not in the French people: there was a law which punished every man who possessed military weapons.

Napoleon had a very insufficient force to oppose to the allies, who before the end of January, 1814, had advanced into the basins of the Seine and the Meuse, and were also threatening Lyon. Napoleon must attack or be attacked under the ramparts of Paris. He began to set his house in order by a treaty with Ferdinand, concluded (11th December) at Valençay, by which Napoleon recognized him as king of Spain and the Indies, and engaged to withdraw his troops from Spain, and Ferdinand engaged to make the English evacuate his territories. Napoleon gave up that which he could no longer keep. Wellington was already before Bayonne; and Ferdinand did not enter Spain for three months. The pope was allowed to leave Fontainebleau and return to Italy, but the emperor gave secret orders to detain him at Savona. Prince Eugène, the emperor's lieutenant in Italy, maintained his fidelity to the last, and defended himself with courage. Murat, in the meantime, was considering how he should keep his kingdom. The emperor seems still to have had hopes of being able to resist the coalition, but his means were insufficient. The Revolution had repelled the enemies of France by calling the nation to arms, but Napoleon had great repugnance to this measure; he, the elect of the people, as he pretended to be, would not trust them to defend their own choice. In the month of January, 1814, when the Eastern Departments were invaded, the Moniteur announced that the people were called to arms; but it was too late: there was no national movement. On the 8th of January he organized the National Guard of Paris, 30,000 men or upwards, selected from among the presumed friends of order; but provisionally it was only 10,000 or 12,000 strong, and even this number was selected from among government employés, and people in easy circumstances. The emperor gave the command of the National Guards to marshal Moncey; himself named all the officers, and all of them were persons in dependance on himself. These National Guards were only armed with pikes, and some had guns without bayonets. The excuse made for this miserable distrust was the want of guns; but there were plenty in the arsenal. The men of Paris who might have helped the emperor in his hour of need, the formidable bands of the faubourgs, were left unarmed. There was danger in calling to his aid the men of the Revolution, which Napoleon clearly saw; he would maintain his throne by the army or not at all. The allies had stirred up the people of Germany against Napoleon; and his only chance was in rousing the whole French nation against the invaders: but this chance he would not try.

The negotiations were not broken off, and Caulaincourt was still at the enemy's head-quarters. Châtillon-sur-Seine was named by the allies as the place of congress; and on the 21st of January, Caulaincourt was there. On the 23rd, Napoleon received at the Tuileries the oaths of the officers of the National Guard, and the oath of the empress, whom he appointed regent. His brother Joseph, who had been driven out of Spain, was named his lieutenant; and Carnot was sent to defend Antwerp. On the 25th of January he left Paris to put himself at the head of his army, consisting in all of about 70,000 men. But he had to oppose two columns of the enemy, who were marching on Paris, one by the valley of the Seine, and the other by the valley of the Marne. By placing himself between the two basins, and between the two columns, he could not only prevent their junction, but attack either of them as he saw opportunity. From the 27th of January to the end of March he maintained the contest with unequal forces; and the campaign of 1814 was the most brilliant exhibition of the emperor's activity, daring, and fertility in resources. But it belongs entirely to a military history, and is unintelligible except in detail and with the aid of proper maps.

On the 5th of February the congress was opened at Châtillon, while the campaign was still actively carried on. Talleyrand had an agent at Châtillon, who kept up a close communication with Nesselrode and Metternich; and it was supposed that he was acting on the part of Louis XVIII. However this may be, the Bourbon party in France was organizing itself, Talleyrand saw what turn things were taking, and he was a man who knew how to avail himself of opportunity. The advanced guard of the allies occupied Troyes on the 7th of February, and it was here that the royalists under their protection made the first demonstration in favour of the old dynasty. But there were demonstrations in other parts of France. The duc d'Angoulême, the son of the comte d'Artois, was with the English army before St. Jean-de-Luz in the department of the Lower-Pyrenees, whence he addressed a proclamation to the French, dated the 2nd of February, 1814. He

promised the army, in the name of Louis XVIII., the maintenance of the rank of all the officers, and payment, and rewards. The allies at Châtillon now departed from the terms of the Frankfort proclamation, and (17th February) required the emperor of the French to renounce all the acquisitions made by France since the beginning of 1792, and to accede to other terms, still more humiliating. The emperor still continued to make head against the invaders. On the 21st the comte d'Artois was at Vesoul with the rear of the grand army of the allies; and from this town he dated a proclamation, which was forwarded to Paris, secretly printed, and distributed by the order of Mathieu de Montmorency and Talleyrand. In this proclamation the comte d'Artois assumed the title of monsieur and lieutenant-général of the kingdom. "Frenchmen," he said, "the day of your deliverance approaches: the brother of your king is arrived." The vigorous resistance of Napoleon surprised and disconcerted the allies; and a treaty of alliance was concluded on the 1st of March at Chaumont (Haute-Marne) between England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, by which the several parties engaged themselves to prosecute the war with vigour and in perfect union, if Napoleon should refuse to accept the terms proposed to him on the 17th of February. On the 2nd of March, Soissons capitulated to Bulow; and on the 12th the duc d'Angoulême made his entry into Bordeaux with the advanced guard of the English army, where he was joyfully received by a large body of royalists, who were assembled in this place. Bordeaux was the first city which declared for the Bourbons. Napoleon was not aware of the treaty of Chaumont, when he made his answer on the 19th of March to the terms offered to him on the 17th of February. He proposed, through Caulaincourt, that France should have its old limits, with the addition of Savoy and the island of Elba, and that Eugène should have the kingdom of Italy with the frontier of the Adige; with some other conditions. The allies refused his terms, and the Congress of Châtillon broke up.

Napoleon finally took the resolution of moving to the rear of the enemy, with the view of getting together the garrisons of the strong places on the eastern frontier, and operating on the communications of the enemy. He retired across the Aube, and took the road of Vitry-le-Français to St. Dizier, where he arrived on the 23rd, and learned from Caulaincourt that the allies had rejected his offer. While Napoleon was making this move to the rear of the enemy, the allies resolved to direct all their force upon Paris, where they were informed that there could be no great resistance, for the city was unprotected, people were quiet, and they had no arms. This resolution is said to have been taken mainly at the instance of Alexander. While Napoleon at St. Dizier (March 26th) was fighting with Winzingerode, who was left to watch him, Mortier and Marmont, who had about 25,000 men, were driven back upon Paris by the united armies of Blücher and Schwarzenberg; and the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia, fixed their head-quarters at Bondy. As soon as Napoleon heard of the advance of the allies upon Paris, he left Macdonald in command of his army, and hurried to Fontainebleau (30th of March). He seems to have relied upon Paris making some resistance, and thus giving him time to concentrate his force; but he was deceived. The emperor, it is said, had written to his brother Joseph on the 16th, and told him that if the enemy advanced on Paris in such force as to render resistance impossible, the empress and the king of Rome should leave. Accordingly they left on the 28th of March, the empress and her child, the council of regency, the court, the money, and an immense quantity of baggage. Of all the regency there only remained Joseph, Talleyrand, and Savary. On the same day a mass of men, women, and children, driving before them their cattle, and with their moveables crammed in carts and wagons, crowded into Paris; and the citizens, who had been hitherto kept ignorant of the movements of the allies, now began to suspect the truth, that the enemy was not far behind.* Joseph issued a proclamation: "The Council of Regency has provided for the safety of the empress and the king of Rome: I remain with you." But the presence of Joseph could be no great encouragement.—"Let us arm to defend this city, its monuments, its wealth, our women, our children, all that is dear to us." But where were the people to get arms? and what were they to defend? neither their wealth, nor their women, nor their children were in danger: the allies made not war against them.—"The emperor marches to our relief; let us second him by a short and active resistance, and preserve French honour." It is difficult to say what this absurd proclamation meant. The only hope of resistance would have been in rousing all Paris, and putting arms in every man's hands: a popular explosion could alone have saved the city. Nothing was done to encourage it; and it is said that means were taking to prevent it, by still spreading reports of the approach of the victorious emperor, and declaring that there was no real danger. But while the Parisians were thus put asleep, the enemy advanced; and on the 30th of March they occupied the heights which command Paris, to the number of 180,000 men. On the morning of the 30th, Marmont with his troops attacked the enemy, and the thunder of the cannon told Paris that the Russian was at her door. The people called for arms; they asked to be led against the enemy; but the barriers were closed: men were allowed to come in, not to go out. About mid-day Marmont sent Joseph word that he could not hold out much longer, and he asked for power to capitulate, which Joseph granted. The force of the enemy was continually increasing, and they were getting possession of all the roads to Paris: the Cossacks were showing themselves at the barriers, and the

* There is a lively picture of this day, and of the entry of the allies into Paris, by M. Jouy, in 'L'Hermite de la Chaussée d'Antin.'

Russian balls falling in the streets. Joseph, who had exhorted the Parisians to defend themselves, made his escape; Marmont capitulated, and also Mortier, on the condition of evacuating Paris on the 31st of March at seven in the morning, and carrying all the matériel with them; but all the arsenals and military stores were to remain as they were before the capitulation. The coalition thus got possession of 30,000 new muskets, above 120 pieces of cannon, and an immense stock of ammunition, which was refused to the Parisians, though they were called on to defend their city. On the day of the 30th of March, the allies lost many thousands of men around Paris, for the struggle was partly carried on upon the heights of Chaumont and Romainville, where the ground was intersected by walls, hedges, and narrow paths, which were favourable to the French.

On the morning of the 31st, the Parisians learned on waking that Paris had surrendered to the allies. The troops of the line moved off to Fontainebleau, and the city was left open to the enemy, whose advanced columns, defiled in compact masses through the principal streets, maintaining the most perfect order and discipline. An invasion of Paris by the armies of all Europe was the great work of Napoleon, which nobody but himself could have accomplished. A feeling of security soon succeeded to surprise and alarm, and the shops were opened. By nine in the morning a part of Paris was fully occupied by the allies. A band of royalists paraded the boulevards, shaking white flags, and calling out, "Vivent les Bourbons!" but it was not a popular cry. There were many who hardly knew who the Bourbons were; and others had forgotten them. At mid-day the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and prince Schwarzenberg entered Paris; and Alexander took up his lodgings with Talleyrand. The people of Paris, and the men from the Volga and the borders of Asia, Cossacks, and Tartars, in strange costume, gazed on one another with mutual wonder. Schwarzenberg published a proclamation to the Parisians in such terms that neither their fears, their vanity, nor their pride could take any exception to it. The Parisians were invited to "accelerate the peace of the world;" the question of peace and war, it was said, was left to their decision. This prudent language was not belied by the coalition: the strictest discipline was observed; the irregular troops were quickly removed from the capital, and the soldiers were not allowed to go beyond the boulevards and the quais.

Alexander and the king of Prussia had a conference at Talleyrand's, who warmly espoused the cause of the Bourbons, and he was supported by several other Frenchmen. A declaration was drawn up and signed by Alexander alone, in which the allied sovereigns proclaimed that they would not treat with Napoleon Bonaparte, or with any of his family; that they would acknowledge and guarantee the constitution which the French nation should form; and they invited the Senate to form a provisional government. The Bourbons were not mentioned. A proclamation of the Municipal Council of Paris appeared by the side of this declaration (April 1st). It was a furious attack on Bonaparte: "We abjure all obedience to the usurper, to return to our lawful masters:" they had been so long used to the language of servility, that they could think of nothing but a master. The brothers Bertin and Laborie took possession of the 'Journal de l'Empire,' and gave it the old name of 'Journal des Débats.' It became an organ for the restoration of the Bourbons, —a just retaliation on Bonaparte, who had seized the property of the journal, though none had served him with more devotion.

In the Senate, the opposition party, a small one, had for some time wished to dethrone Bonaparte; and the events of the 31st of March increased the number of the opposition. On the 1st of April, Talleyrand and Montesquiou got together about thirty senators, and Talleyrand was president. The Senate elected a provisional government, the members of which were Talleyrand, Beurnonville, Jaucourt, the duc de Dalberg, and M. de Montesquiou. In the sitting of the 2nd of April, the Senate declared that Napoleon Bonaparte and his family were deprived of the throne, and consequently the Senate released the French people and the army from their oath of fidelity. The emperor of Russia gave the Senate an audience, and he said: "It is neither ambition nor the love of conquest which has brought me here; my armies have only entered France to repel an unjust aggression—I am the friend of the French people; I do not impute to them the faults of their chief: I am here with the *most friendly* intentions; I only wish to protect your deliberations." He further said, "the provisional government has this morning asked for the release of all French prisoners in Russia: I grant it to the Senate: since these prisoners have been in my power, I have done everything that I could to alleviate their condition: they shall return to their families to enjoy the tranquillity, which a new order of things will secure." On the 3rd of April, the Senate met to receive the draft of the reasons which were to preface the declaration of deprivation, which they had adopted the day before. These reasons were drawn up by Lambrechts, and referred to a special committee, consisting of Lambrechts, Barbé-Marbois, Fontanes, Garat, and Lanjuinais. Finally, they were adopted by the Senate, as amended by the committee. Those reasons (considérans) contain a resumé of Napoleon's unconstitutional and tyrannical measures, and conclude with a formal decree for the dethronement of Napoleon, and the abolition of hereditary right in his family.* The provisional government got together seventy-seven members of the Legislative body, who, after hearing the decree of the Senate, adopted it. On the 2nd of April the provisional government began to act by appointing a commandant of the National Guard of Paris, and naming commissioners for the different departments of administration. An address to the soldiers told them that they were no longer the soldiers

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 502, &c.

of Napoleon: "the Senate and all France release you from your oath." The latter part of this assertion was a manifest and useless lie. On the 4th, the provisional government declared that all the emblems, ciphers, and armorial bearings which have indicated the government of Bonaparte, should be suppressed and effaced by persons named by the police or the municipal authorities; and "that no address, proclamation, or writing, public or private, shall contain any insulting or injurious expressions against the government which has been overthrown, the cause of the country being too noble to adopt any of the odious means of which it has availed itself." The baseness of the men who had been the tools of Napoleon, who had delivered to him the treasures and the children of France, and then charged him with all the crimes of which they had been the ready agents and instruments, is unparalleled in the history of the Revolutions of France. Truth, decency, and the honourable feelings of country, respect for the great talents of the man before whom they had crouched like slaves, were all abandoned by this, the most contemptible of constituted authorities that ever existed. Napoleon too had his reward: he had listened to their adulation, he had frightened them into servile submission; and now, like slaves, whose chains were broken, they took the revenge of mean and malignant spirits. The few who had made some opposition to Bonaparte, and among them was Grégoire, had something of an excuse for voting the *considérans*, which prefaced the decree that dethroned the emperor of the French.

The defection quickly spread; and the lawyers gave in their adhesion, a body of men on whom any government can rely, as long as it can maintain itself, and no longer. The college of avocats expressed a wish for a constitutional charter and the return of the descendants of Henry IV. In the meantime Napoleon did not give up all hopes of driving the enemy away. On the 3rd of April his troops assembled at Fontainebleau, amounted to about 65,000 men, including the corps of Mortier and Marmont. But Napoleon's audacity was checked by the defection of Marmont, who accepted the proposals of Schwarzenberg. Napoleon received from Marmont, on the evening of the third, a copy of his correspondence with Schwarzenberg. On the morning of the 4th, just after Napoleon had given orders to move his head-quarters to a point between Ponthierry and Essonne, Berthier, Ney, Oudinot, and Macdonald, with Marat and Caulaincourt, assembled around him. Ney spoke, and advised him to abdicate. "Is it the opinion of the generals?" said Napoleon. "Yes, Sire." "And the wish of the army?" "Yes, Sire." Upon this he published an order of the day, in which he thanked the army for their attachment to him, and "chiefly because it acknowledges that France is in him, and not in the people of the capital." In this order of the day he treated the Senate as they deserved—with contumely. He said, that if he was the only obstacle to peace, he would no longer stay on the throne; and that he had sent the prince of the Moskwa and the dukes of Vicenza and Tarento to Paris to negotiate. At the same time he signed an act of abdication in favour of his son; but the allies would not accept his terms: they had declared that they would not treat with any member of his family. Napoleon was compelled to accept the terms of the allies, but he did not sign his final abdication until the 11th, during which time he had been trying to gain the support of his father-in-law, but in vain. The marriage connection of Napoleon and Francis weighed for nothing at this crisis. On the 11th of April, Napoleon, at Fontainebleau, renounced for himself and his heirs the throne of France and of Italy; and a treaty of the same date, between him and the allied powers, reserved for himself and his wife their titles and rank, and also for his mother, sisters, nephews, and nieces. The island of Elba was assigned to him for a residence as a principality, which he was to possess "in full sovereignty and property," with an income of two millions of francs, as a rente on the Grand Livre. There were twenty-one articles in the treaty, the terms of which were liberal, and even generous towards the emperor and his family, who were enriched at the expense of the people: pensions, amounting in all to 2,500,000 francs, were secured to Madame Mère and the rest of the imperial family. This was no bad provision for those who began the world with nothing, and had also accumulated private property, both moveable and immoveable,* to a large amount, the enjoyment of which was guaranteed to them.

Napoleon talked of committing suicide; and on the night of the 11th he attempted to poison himself with opium; but the dose failed to kill him, though he suffered a good deal. Some persons have doubted the truth of this attempt at suicide; but there seems no reason to dispute the fact, the truth of which is admitted by one of his greatest panegyrists.† On the 20th he left Fontainebleau, after taking an affecting leave of his guards, who were assembled in the courts of the palace, and set out for Elba, accompanied by generals Drouot, Cambronne, and Bertrand. On the same day Louis XVIII. entered London, where he received the congratulations of the Prince-regent.

Maria-Louisa and the king of Rome had retired to Blois, from whence they were taken, on the 9th of April, to the emperor Francis, at Rambouillet. On the 25th she set out for Austria with her child, crossed the Rhine at Bâle on the 2nd of May, and never saw France or her husband again. The empress Josephine, who had always preserved her affection to Napoleon, felt most bitterly for his downfall. The emperor Alexander paid her several visits, and treated her with marked consideration and respect. But her mental anxiety brought on a violent febrile attack, of which she died at Malmaison on the 29th of May. Her last words were the "Island of Elba;" as if her thoughts were fixed on the terrible reverse of the man, whose

* Traité entre les puissances alliées et l'Empereur Napoleon. 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 512.

† Norvins, 'Hist. de Napoléon,' iv., 162.

ambition, too large for Europe, was now cabined and confined in the narrow limits of a petty island.

On his journey, Napoleon was received with demonstrations of respect; and nowhere more than at Lyon. But as he advanced to the south, to Orange and Avignon, the savage people of this country insulted and threatened him; and it was thought prudent that he should disguise himself. He sailed from St. Raphan for Elba, in an English frigate, on the 28th of April; the same day on which, fourteen years before, he had landed at the same place on his return from Egypt. On the 3rd of May he landed in his new empire at Porto Ferrajo. The mayor presented to the emperor the keys of the town, and he made the Mairie his imperial residence.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

THE RESTORATION.

The provisional government (4th of April) appointed five senators to make a draft of a constitution. It was eleven in the morning when the five senators received their instructions, and the draft was ready at eight in the evening. It was presented to the Senate and adopted on the 6th of April. It consisted of twenty-nine articles. The first article decreed that "the French government is monarchical, and hereditary from male to male in the order of primogeniture." The second: "The French people freely call to the throne of France Louis-Stanislas-Xavier of France, brother of the last king, and after him the other members of the house of Bourbon in the ancient and usual order." This was equivalent to making the title of Louis XVIII. proceed from the French people, whose name was used, as it often had been used before, to gild a lie. The return of the Bourbons was regarded as inevitable by all parties, and the republicans and partizans of the empire resigned themselves to the infliction with the best grace that they could. The white cockade appeared some time before the provisional government proclaimed it to be the national cockade. The third article declared that "the old nobility resumed their titles, and the new nobility preserved theirs." The draft contained some good things: it maintained many of the conquests of the Revolution. It guaranteed (October 24) the public debt; and the sales which had been made of the national domains.* Various orders were published by the provisional government—for checking the lisense of the press, regulating the censorship, declaring the white cockade to be the French cockade, for setting at liberty all prisoners of war in France, and other purposes. The senator Fontanes, grand master of the University of France, was invited to continue in his functions. As soon as the decree of the Senate with respect to the constitution was known, many of the men of the empire were eager to give in their adhesion. Fontanes, on behalf of the University, said: "The University eagerly hopes for the time when it shall be enabled to present to the descendant of St. Louis, of Francis I., and Henry IV., the homage of its love and fidelity." Fontanes was the man who in his prosperity had overwhelmed Napoleon with adulation. The address of the University was signed by Fontanes, Villaret, Delambre, de Beausset, Cuvier, and others, all trained in the school of servility. They now showed how well Napoleon had taught them their lesson. These men and others wished to keep their places under the Bourbons: that was the whole of the matter. They liked the Bourbons no better than Napoleon. The royalists were intoxicated with their success. They put a cable round the neck of the statue of Napoleon, which stood on the top of the pillar in the Place Vendôme, and fastening four-and-twenty horses to it, attempted to pull it down; but it resisted their efforts. They even talked of blowing up the column, but a Russian general prevented them. At last, pursuant to the decree of the provisional government for abolishing all the emblems of Bonaparte, the statue was safely taken down by Launay, who had cast it, and deposited in his atelier. Pasquier, préfet de police, looked after the prompt execution of the order for taking down the statue; he, who when appointed to his office in 1810, said, if there was a Bourbon concealed in Paris, he would arrest him, and the emperor should know nothing of it until the law was executed. The baseness of the Roman Senate rejoicing at the downfall of a tyrant emperor, and the destruction of his statues, found a counterpart in France.

The commanders of the armies, who were at a distance from Paris, obeyed the provisional government. Carnot submitted at Antwerp on the 18th of April, Augereau in the south on the 19th, and Davoust at Hamburg on the 29th. In Italy, Eugéne made an armistice on the 16th, and gave up the command of the army to general Grenier. Suchet gave in his adhesion on the 14th; and Soult on the 19th, after fighting the battle of Toulouse, in which both the English, under lord Wellington, and the French sustained great loss (10th of April). The French called it a victory; but the result was the surrender of Tou-

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xxxix., 518; where a list is given of the members who signed this decree, with the name of Talleyrand, president, at the head.

louse; and Soult on the 29th of April paid his respects to the duc d'Angoulême. The battle of Toulouse was the end of the campaign against Bonaparte.

The French soon learned that the royalist party had not given up the doctrine of the hereditary rights of the Bourbons, that the "sovereignty of the people" was rejected, and that the constitution of the Senate would not be accepted. On the 12th of April the members of the provisional government repaired to the barrier of Bondy to receive an illustrious stranger, surrounded by a group of Napoleon's marshals, the self-named lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the comte d'Artois. Talleyrand, the prince of Benevento, the title which Napoleon gave him, delivered a short address in the name of the provisional government: "Monseigneur, the happiness which we experience on this day of regeneration is above all expression, if monsieur receives with the celestial goodness which characterizes his august house the homage of our religious affection and of our respectful devotion." Napoleon was still at Fontainebleau when Talleyrand uttered these words. The Senate was not present at this reception, for on the proposal of Lambrechts and Lanjuinais, they had refused to acknowledge the comte d'Artois as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, or to do anything until Louis XVIII. had accepted the constitution. But the provisional government cared not for this: they knew that the men of the Senate would follow, from habit, where they were led; and Talleyrand on the 14th of April conducted the venal herd to the comte d'Artois, and presented to him a decree of the Senate, by which he was appointed "lieutenant-general of the kingdom until the arrival of his august brother." Louis XVIII. landed at Calais on the 24th of April, where he was received by general Maison and a deputation of general officers. From Calais he went to Compiègne, where he found a court composed of Napoleon's marshals; Moncey, Brune, Lefebvre, Ney, Macdonald, Berthier, and others. Though gouty and fat, the king was lively and made himself agreeable. On the 2nd of May he was at St. Ouen, where he received the Senate, the Legislative body, and the principal authorities. The orators of the Legislative body and the other authorities said nothing of a constitution, but Talleyrand, who spoke for the Senate, said, "A constitutional charter will unite all interests to that of the throne." On this day Louis published a declaration of principles, commonly called the declaration of St. Ouen. He said, the bases of the constitutional plan formed by the Senate on the 6th of April were good, but that many of the articles bore the impress of the precipitation with which they had been drawn up: he was resolved to adopt a liberal constitution, but he could not adopt that of the Senate, which would require amendment. At the same time he declared the general principles which should form the basis of the constitution, which he promised to lay before the Senate and the Legislative body. On the 3rd of May he made his entry into Paris, accompanied by the duchess of Angoulême, the daughter of Louis XVI., and once a prisoner in the Temple, the two princes of Condé and Bourbon, the comte d'Artois and his son, the duc de Berry. Berthier went in front, preceded by some detachments of the National Guard, and Moncey came behind. The people took no interest in the affair; they saw the Imperial Guard in the procession, and cried out, "Live the old guard!" and that was the only cry. The people were amused with the heavy bulk of the king, and the appearance of these forgotten personages who were coming to take possession of the Tuileries.*

On the 30th of May a treaty of peace was concluded between France and the allied powers, by which France was confined to the limits which it had on the 1st of January, 1792, with some few cantons annexed to the departments of Ardennes, Moselle, Bas-Rhin, Aix, and a part of Savoy. The principality of Avignon, the comtat Venaissin, and Montbéliard, were reserved to France. Great Britain got Malta, but restored her conquests to France, except Tobago, Sainte Lucie, and the Isle of France, with its dependencies. The allied princes and their troops began to evacuate Paris and France on the day on which the treaty was signed. The princes of the royal family visited the departments, as if to take possession of their new acquisition. They were warmly received by the higher classes; coldly by the people and the soldiers. The army was generally dissatisfied. A commission, composed of nine members of the Senate, nine members of the Legislative body, and four commissioners named by the king, drew up a Constitution, which was the work of five days. Beugnot, one of the king's commissioners, had the greatest share in preparing the Charter. On the 4th of June, Louis XVIII. went to the chamber of the Legislative body, whither there had been summoned by sealed letters all the members of the Legislative, and a part of the Senators; for the Senate had lost fifty-seven members, of whom about twenty belonged to the countries which were now separated from France; and twelve, who were once members of the Convention, were struck off the list. The king made an address, and the Charte-Constitutionelle was read to the Assembly. It was a grant and concession made 'voluntarily, and by the free exercise of our royal authority' 'to our subjects.' The articles on the "Public Rights of the French" secured equality before the law to all Frenchmen, and declared that they were all alike subject to taxation "in proportion to their fortune." The executive power was entirely in the king. The legislative power was exercised "collectively by the king, the chamber of peers, and the chamber of deputies of the departments." The peers were named by the king: the number was unlimited: he could name them for life, or make them hereditary at his pleasure. The chamber of deputies was composed of the deputies elected by the electoral colleges, the organization of which was to be determined by the laws: the deputies were elected for five

* Thibaudeau, 'Empire,' vii., c. 104, an eye-witness.

years, and in such manner that the chamber should be renewed every year by one-fifth. A deputy must be forty years of age, and pay a direct contribution of 1000 francs. "The electors who concur in the nomination of deputies can have no right to vote unless they pay a direct contribution of 300 francs, and are at least thirty years old." "No tax can be imposed or collected without the consent of the two chambers, and the sanction of the king." The chancellor read the names of 150 persons, whom the king had named for life as the component members of the chamber of peers of France. Among the names were many of the old nobility; but the marshals and titularies of Napoleon were not omitted—the prince of Benevento, the prince of Wagram, Macdonald, Oudinot, Augereau, and others. The two chambers voted addresses in reply to the king's speech. That of the chamber of deputies terminated with an expression of the happiness which the subjects of the king would owe to Louis-le-Désiré.

The president of the chamber of deputies, according to the Charter, was to be named by the king out of a list of five members presented to him. The king named Lainé. A communication was made to the chamber of deputies by the king, which showed the enormous losses which France had sustained in 1812 and 1813 in military matériel, in money laid out on places which did not now belong to France, and in arrears in the payment of expenses in the department of war. The report estimated the total of the anticipations, or funds spent in advance, at about 800 millions, which, with arrears in different departments of administration, made the enormous sum of above 1,305 millions of francs. But this report was not a fair financial report of the condition of France: it was made up in order to discredit the empire. Even the sum of 150 millions for the expenses of the projected invasion of England, were included in this absurd report. The budget of 1815 was fixed for the receipts at 618,000,000, and for the expenses at 545,700,000. A law was passed for restoring to the emigrants such property as had not been sold; and for acknowledging as a debt of the State the debts contracted by the king in foreign countries, to the amount of 30 millions of francs. The civil list was fixed at 25 millions of francs, and 8 millions for the members of the royal family: this was independent of the numerous domains of the crown. A law was passed for regulating the censorship; by which all writings of less than twenty printed sheets, or 320 printed pages, were subjected to the censorship. This was the first discussion on the interpretation of the Charter; the 8th article of which provided for the liberty of the press, subject to such laws as should repress its abuse. The ministerial party construed "repress" by "prevent," and thus established the previous censorship (*censure préalable*). The session of 1814 was prorogued on the 30th of December, to the 1st of May, 1815; but an event happened in the meantime, which prevented it from meeting.

If the government of Louis XVIII. had been as wise and as moderate as possible, it would have been very hard to satisfy the French, to please all the factions and parties by which the country was distracted. But all the acts of the government were not prudent, and some of them were precisely such as were best adapted to excite discontent and hatred of the new dynasty. On the 7th of June appeared an ordonnance of the director-general of the police, Beugnot, which forbad shops to be opened and people to work on Sundays and fête-days. Wine-sellers, the keepers of cafés, billiard-rooms, and the like, were ordered to close their doors on Sundays and fête-days, during the celebration of Divine service, from eight in the morning to noon. All these prohibitions were enforced by fines. The establishment at Ecouen, for the daughters of the members of the Legion of Honour, was annexed to the establishment at St. Denis; and the establishments at Paris for the education of female orphans of the Legion of Honour, were suppressed. On the 30th of July appeared an ordonnance: "Louis, &c.; having ascertained that a single military school would be sufficient for the wants of the service; desiring further to recompense the services of the general officers and superior officers of our armies, and to enable the nobility of our kingdom to enjoy the advantages which have been granted to them by the edict of our ancestor, of the month of January, 1751, relative to the foundation of the Royal Military School, we order, &c.: the three military schools at present existing, under the denominations of the Military School of St. Cyr, the Military School of St. Germain, and the Military Prytanée of La Flèche, are suppressed: the Royal Military School, established by the edict of the month of January, 1751, shall be restored, &c." This return to the month of January, 1751, was not calculated to please a people whose reckoning did not go further back than 1789. A service was celebrated in the church of St. Paul, for generals Pichegru, Georges Cadoudal, Moreau, and the eleven persons who perished with Georges. His majesty announced that he should take on himself the expense of this ceremony: but he did more. "Wishing to recompense the fidelity and devotion to our person, of the late Georges Cadoudal, and to give to his family a durable testimony of our sentiments, We have ennobled and ennoble, decorated and decorate the sieur Joseph Cadoudal, his father, with the title and quality of noble, to enjoy in perpetuity," and so forth. But that which most shocked the feelings of the men of the Revolution, and, indeed, of all men who had any sense of decency, was a commission, the president of which was Soult, duke of Dalmatia, for determining on the erection of a pyramidal monument "on the very spot where the victims of Quiberon were immolated." The programme, which the commission published, was calculated to awaken those passions which it was the policy of the government to allow to slumber: "the fields of Carnac, the shores of Quiberon, saw whole legions of these Christian warriors fall; as they died, their last words were words of

affection for their king, and prayers for their country." Louis had of course a minister of war; and if he had entertained the settled design of disgusting every Frenchman, he could not have made a more suitable choice. He selected out of the hundreds, whom he might have chosen, general Dupont, the man who surrendered at Baylen, under circumstances which, according to French testimony, were highly disgraceful. But it seemed that a man, who had failed to maintain the honour of the French arms under their emperor, was a fit man for promotion under the Bourbons. On the 3rd of December, however, the king removed Dupont, and put Soult in his place.

In January, 1815, the remains of Louis XVI. and of Marie Antoinette were removed from the cemetery of the Madeleine, and deposited in two leaden coffins. The spot where the bodies were interred was identified by two persons; and a few bones were found, by digging to the depth of eight or ten feet; but it may be doubted whether, out of the mass of bones which this cemetery contained, those which were exhumed belonged to the king and his wife. On the 21st of January these bones were transferred to St. Denis, in the midst of a great crowd of spectators. M. Descloseaux, who had purchased the cemetery of the Madeleine, turned it into a garden, and planted trees round the spot which he supposed to be the burial-place of Louis and Marie-Antoinette. He was rewarded for his loyalty with the order of St. Michel, and a pension, the reversion of which was secured to his two daughters. The Convention had made the 21st of January, the day of the death of Louis XVI., a fête day: it was one of the shameful extravagancies of that time. The restoration did the same thing in another way. A royal ordonnance declared, that on the 21st of January of every year, a service for the repose of the soul of Louis XVI. should be celebrated in all the churches of the kingdom; that the court, and all the civil and military authorities, should put on mourning; the courts of justice should not sit, and the theatres should be closed.

Most of these measures, it must be admitted, were highly imprudent, and calculated to increase the innumerable causes of discontent. The royalist press contributed to aggravate men's minds, and it went probably far beyond the wishes of government; but as all the journals were subject to the censorship, it was a fair conclusion that such as received the sanction of the censors, were not looked upon unfavourably by the government. The royalist pamphlets were violent: some of them called the Revolution "a rebellion of twenty-five years to be expiated by absolute obedience:" and yet the Charter had consecrated the great conquests of this rebellion, its victories gained over the monstrous system of abuses which existed in 1789. It would have required a government sincere in its professions, firm, wise, and moderate, to hold in check the extravagant outbreaks of the royalists, and the slumbering passions of those who were men of the Revolution, and men of the Empire. If the nation could have been convinced of the sincerity of the Bourbons; if the Bourbons had possessed honesty and prudence enough to accept the consequences of the Revolution, and had set about replacing the despotism of the empire by liberal institutions, there seems no reason to doubt that the great mass of the nation would have been with them. Exhausted by the struggle of the Revolution, which put them at Bonaparte's mercy, then ground down by Bonaparte, to serve his own ends, taxed, and robbed of their children, the French surely would have been contented even with the Bourbons, if the Bourbons could have learned prudence and moderation. It was generally said that the Comte d'Artois and his sons, with the duchess of Angoulême, were often opposed to the king, who was not deficient either in good sense or penetration; and that these members of the royal family shared in the most extravagant opinions of the royalists. The king was old; and on his death, the crown would come to one, the Comte d'Artois, in whom a large part of the nation could have no hopes. The personal character of Louis, too, formed a contrast with Napoleon's, which was not in favour of the king. He spent the morning in reading the journals and the reports of the police, in listening to anecdotes, breakfasting, and hearing mass. He used to look from a balcony on the soldiers as they defiled past on parade, and receive the acclamations of the spectators; to which he would reply by putting his hand on his heart, and kissing it to them. His infirmities did not allow him to go about much, and his only exercise was to ride, in the afternoon, in an open carriage. He loved his ease, and did not trouble himself much with business. His taste for administration was limited to the secret part of foreign affairs and the police. Less honest than Louis XVI., but gifted with no mean talents, he might have done pretty well as a constitutional king in other times and circumstances.

The army was the most discontented part of the nation; for it was humbled, without being conquered. It had lost the chief, who relied on it alone for the support of his power. The effective force was reduced to a peace establishment of 240,000 men; and even scarcely half this number was kept under arms. The government diminished the number of regiments, and changed their denominations, as if the object was to efface the remembrance of the glorious actions of certain regiments. Many of the officers were put on half-pay. The soldiers used to keep their tricolour cockades hid in their knapsacks,' and were silent when the princes reviewed them. The suppression of the national colours was an impolitic act. Louis XVIII. had, in 1790, accepted them; and it was unwise to reject that symbol which had made the victorious tour of Europe. Except Marmont and Berthier, there were only ancient nobles employed about the court. Louis XVIII. had said, in his good-humour, that he would rest for support on the marshals; but the marshals and their wives were exposed at the Tuileries to the sarcasms and impertinences of the courtiers, who looked upon them

as upstarts. The wife of Ney, among others, was subject to this humiliation: she was, it was said, the daughter of a waiting-woman. The enumeration of all the grievances, real and imaginary, of the army and their officers, makes a long and tedious catalogue in those French writers who are hostile to the Bourbons.

A vast sum of money disappeared at the Restoration, and nobody could ever tell what became of it. The treasury of the domaine extraordinaire contained, on the 1st of April, 1814, money and securities for money to the amount of more than 333 millions. It is said that when the empress-queen went to Blois, she carried off above 20 millions in gold. This sum fell into the hands of the new government (12th April), and was brought back to Paris; but no account was ever given of this money, which ought to have gone into the public treasury. Eight millions of bank-shares, which belonged to the domaine, were negotiated at a low price. Above 140 millions were due from Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Danzig, Westphalia, Hamburg, and other places; and the obligations were delivered up to the debtors. There seems no great reason to complain of this; especially as it would have required an army to enforce payment. It is however asserted, that there was great fraud committed, and great dilapidations, at the Restoration, both in the domain of the crown, and the private and the extraordinary domains; the remnant of which was transferred to the public treasury by a law of the 15th of May, 1818.

Early in 1815 everybody said that the present state of things could not last. There were conspiracies everywhere, or at least they were talked of. Fouché was acquainted with the movements of the Bonapartists; and though he took no part in them, he hated the Bourbons, and wished for their downfall. He and Carnot were the two principal personages of the Revolution who had survived it; but Carnot was not a Bonapartist: he still retained his principles. There was a general wish to get rid of the Bourbons, except among the royalists. Some persons talked of placing the duke of Orleans, the eldest son of Égalité, on the throne; but the great body of the conspirators, who were the army, were Bonapartists. Barras had taken the opportunity of Napoleon's abdication to show himself again at Paris, where he professed his attachment to the Bourbons; and he had an interview with Blacas, the favourite, and in fact prime-minister, to whom he gave some good advice, which was not followed. Tallien also appeared again, and became one of the advisers of Blacas. There was a small Constitutional party, who thought that a representative government might be established under the Bourbons, with the aid of the Charter; and this party was strongest in the Chamber of Deputies. Out of doors it had among its supporters Madame de Staël, Benjamin Constant; and several writers, as Comte and Dunoyer.

A congress of the allied powers was fixed to meet at Vienna on the 30th of July, 1814, but it was deferred by the visit of the allies to London, and the return of Alexander to Petersburg. On the 25th of September the king of Prussia and the emperor of Russia made their public entry into Vienna, and they were followed by other princes, the kings of Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Denmark. Talleyrand was the French plenipotentiary; and he was accompanied by some of his followers, Dalberg, and Alexis de Noailles, the representative of the Comte d'Artois and the ultra-royalists. Vienna was the scene of active negotiation and of pleasure: in the morning the diplomatists exchanged notes; in the evening they amused themselves. The treaty of Toeplitz and the secret conventions of Chaumont and of Paris had fixed the basis of the pacification of Europe; but after the great enemy was overthrown, the powers were not fully agreed. Russia would have a kingdom of Poland; Prussia the whole or a part of Saxony; Austria the supremacy in Italy; and England required the establishment of an independent kingdom in the Low Countries. On the question of Murat they were agreed, though the powers had guaranteed to him his throne of Naples, as the price of his defection from Napoleon in 1814. His chief enemy was Talleyrand, who led the attack upon him partly to please the Bourbons, who looked upon the restoration of the dethroned king as a family affair, and partly perhaps to preserve his principality of Benevento. Murat, seeing that his crown was in danger, put his army in motion, and advanced into the Marches of Ancona Austria also sent an army into Italy. The allies now began to think that Napoleon in Elba was too near to Italy and the continent of Europe; but that they seriously thought of violating their engagement with him, by removing him from Elba, as some French writers hint, does not seem to be established. Yet there is reason for suspecting that the allies had entertained this design; and Fouché wrote to the emperor, to advise him to withdraw to the United States.

Napoleon, in his little kingdom, was actively employed in building, making roads, and improving his dominions. To those who visited him he used to speak as if his career was ended, and he was resigned to his lot. But he was not resigned; and he kept his eyes constantly on France, and was well-informed of the state of parties. Neither the army nor the French in general could believe that the emperor had yet finished the part which he was to play; that the man who had filled the earth with his name would die the petty ruler of a sea-girt rock. The congress of Vienna, which was to regulate the future condition of Europe, thought more of the miserable interests of kings and princes, than of those of the people whom they governed; as if power and government, which are a divine institution, were designed for the benefit of those who govern, and not for the benefit of the governed; and as if humility and self-denial were not the duties imposed on those in whose hands power is.

Discontent was general in continental Europe: men saw that the reaction threatened the destruction of everything valuable that had been gained by so many years

of misery. It seemed as if the world was going back again to 1789. At Rome the pope recalled the Jesuits, restored the inquisition, annulled the sales of national property, restored the monastic orders, prohibited foreign books, oppressed the Jews, and even prevented the lighting of the streets. Light of any kind, even the light that exposes the misdeeds of the thief and of the assassin, was odious to this bigoted government. The king of Piedmont, who had got back to his dominions, rivalled the pope in the persecution of everything liberal. These men, in their hatred of French domination, had not sense enough to keep the improvements which their tyrants had introduced. The old kingdom of Italy fell under the leaden rule of Austria, which removed the Italian regiments into Hungary and Bohemia, and replaced them by German troops. In Spain, Ferdinand was in the hands of the monks: he abolished the constitution of the Cortes, and restored the inquisition. In Hanover and Hesse, the acts of the government, which no longer existed, were annulled. A large part of the population of Europe appeared disposed for insurrection. A leader only was wanted, and he soon appeared.*

* On the government of the Restoration, compare Capefigue, 'Hist. de la Restauration,' i., c. 4; and Thibaudeau, 'Empire,' vii.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

THE HUNDRED DAYS.

On the 5th of March, 1815, intelligence reached Paris that Napoleon had landed in the south of France with an armed force. Some of the advisers of Louis viewed, or affected to view, this as a desperate enterprise, which would certainly fail; but the king rightly estimated the danger, and it was resolved to use all means for conciliating the good-will of the nation. It was the 26th of February when Napoleon sailed from Porto Ferrajo, in the island of Elba, on board a vessel of six-and-twenty guns, accompanied by three other vessels, carrying in all about 1,100 men. Drouot, Cambronne, and Bertrand, commanded 400 grenadiers of his guard. He landed on the 1st of March in the Gulf of Juan; and the white flag, under which he had crossed the sea, was replaced by the tricolor. Napoleon marched to Cannes, where he was well received. On the 5th he was at Gap, where some of the authorities seemed disposed to resist him; but the people everywhere were in his favour. At Gap he printed his first proclamations to the army and to the French people, which were drawn up during the passage from Elba, and dated from the Gulf of Juan. They began: "Napoleon, by the grace of God and the Constitutions of the Empire, Emperor of the French," &c.—"The eagle," said the first proclamation, "with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre-Dame." On the night of the 5th of March, the comte d'Artois set out for Lyon, with marshal Macdonald and the duc d'Orléans, to take the command of the troops there, and to check the advance of Napoleon. The duc d'Angoulême was instructed to direct the military operations in the south. The king published a proclamation for the meeting of the Chambers, and an ordonnance (6th of March) in which Napoleon Bonaparte was declared to be a traitor and a rebel. The royalist journals changed their tone, and instead of attacking the Revolution and its partizans, they attempted to soothe and flatter those whom they had hitherto abused. Addresses to the government flowed in from all quarters, full of protestations of affection and devotion to the Bourbons. Soult, the minister of war, published an order of the day to the army (8th of May), which commenced with these words: "Soldiers, this man, who but the other day abdicated in the eyes of all Europe a usurped power, of which he had made so fatal a use, Bonaparte has landed on the soil of France, which he ought never to have seen again."

Grenoble was the first large town that lay in Napoleon's route, and here there were several hundred men prepared to oppose him, the advanced guard of a force of 6,000. Napoleon met them with a few grenadiers, who had their arms reversed, addressed them, and won them over. It is an admitted fact, that neither the government apprehended the return of Bonaparte, nor had there been any concert between the emperor and his partizans in France as to his descent on the French coast. He was well acquainted with the state of opinion in France, and with the dissatisfaction of the army, which was no secret; and with that tact which he possessed of appreciating circumstances, and turning them to account, and the audacity of his character, he resolved on an enterprise, the chances of which were greatly in his favour. At Grenoble he was joined by colonel Labédoyère, who was in the town, and ready to pass over to the emperor, if he should hazard a descent. The defection of Labédoyère and his regiment was a signal for the revolt of the army. Napoleon left Grenoble at the head of 8,000 men, on his way to Lyon.* In the meanwhile the government affected to treat the invasion with contempt, though they were really in the greatest alarm: the organs of the government lied as to the progress of the emperor, but the truth penetrated to the remotest parts of France: the people were delighted, and the army was ready to declare itself as soon as an opportunity offered. The comte d'Artois, "that model of a French chevalier," as Soult had called him in the order of the

day, finding that the troops at Lyon were for the emperor, and not for the king, left Lyon suddenly on the 10th of March, escorted by a single gendarme, and on the evening of the same day Napoleon entered Lyon, where he was received with transports of joy; for he had been a benefactor to this city. In conversing with the different authorities, he spoke of the faults of the Bourbons, and admitted his own: he declared that he abjured the love of glory, so natural to the French, which had brought both upon himself and on France such terrible consequences. "I was deceived in thinking that the time was come for making France the head of a great empire; I have renounced for ever this lofty enterprise: we have enough of glory: we need repose." He declared his intention to be, not to grant, like Louis XVIII., a revocable Charter, but to give an inviolable Constitution, the work of the people and of himself. Napoleon knew that liberal ideas had gained ground in France since the restoration of the Bourbons, and that he could only hope for the support of the people by reconciling authority and liberty. At Lyon he issued nine decrees, the tenor of which was well adapted to excite the enthusiasm of the nation.

Only sixty-nine members of the Chambers could be got together at Paris; but they made addresses to the king. That of the Chamber of Deputies declared that faults had been committed by the government, but it was not the time to examine them: all must unite against the common enemy, in order to render the crisis profitable to the security of the throne and public liberty. This address, drawn up and presented by the president, Lainé, a man devoted to the Bourbons, and the organ of a royalist Chamber, was a condemnation of the existing government. Two ordonnances were published (9th of March), in which the king declared that he relied on the patriotic feelings of all the French, their inviolable attachment to the throne, and to the Constitutional Charter, which for ever fixes their destiny. By another ordonnance, the National Guards were organized, and volunteers were enrolled; and the punishment of death was denounced against deserters and encouragers of rebellion. The Constitutional party, as it was called, was in favour of the Bourbons; but it required a strict adherence to the Charter, and a new ministry. One minister was sacrificed to them, Soult, whom the king gave up unwillingly; and at the same time he wrote to the marshal, to express to him his satisfaction at his conduct and his esteem. Clarke, duke of Feltre, a man whom Napoleon had loaded with favours, took the place of Soult. The king published, on the 12th, a proclamation to the armies, in which, in the name of honour, he commanded them to be faithful to their colours. It called on them to defend public liberty, which was attacked, and the Constitutional Charter, which there was a design to



LOUIS XVIII. LEAVING PARIS.

destroy. The Charter and Liberty were the constant theme of the government, which humbled itself before the people and the army, while it affected the language of command. The duc de Berry received the command of the troops at Paris and in the neighbourhood, and Macdonald commanded under him.

The Congress of Vienna, on hearing of the landing of Napoleon in France, published a declaration (13th March), which was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers. Talleyrand was one of those who signed on behalf of France. After referring to Napoleon's invasion, the allied powers declared that "Napoleon Bonaparte had placed himself out of the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the repose of the world, he had given himself up to public vengeance." They further declared that they were resolved to maintain intact the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814; and that if there should arise any real danger from the enterprise of Napoleon, "they should be ready to give to the king of France and to the French nation, or to any other government that should be attacked, as soon as the demand should be made, the necessary assistance for re-establishing public tranquillity." * If then the French nation should choose Napoleon instead of Louis, the allied powers had nothing to do but to remain quiet. This manifesto came too late to check the progress of Napoleon, but he saw that it was a declaration of hostility against him personally; and on his arrival at Paris, he ordered a report upon it by Fouché to be published, in which it was proved, from internal evidence, that the pretended declaration of Vienna was apocryphal.

On the 13th of March, the day on which Napoleon reached Macon, marshal Ney and his army declared for him. In an order of the day, the marshal prince of the Moskwa said, "Officers and soldiers, the cause of the Bourbons is for ever lost.—I have often led you to victory: now I will conduct you to this immortal phalanx which the emperor Napoleon is leading to Paris." When Ney took leave of Louis, he kissed the hand of the Bourbon, and promised to bring Bonaparte to him on the Carrousel in an iron cage. The wits of the court asked one another what they should do with the wild beast when he was caught; and the conclusion was, that the proper place for him was the ménagerie of the Jardin-des-Plantes. Louis held a royal sitting on the 16th of March, at which the members of the Chamber of Peers and Chamber of Deputies were present. Louis addressed the assembled body; and his speech, according to the 'Moniteur,' made a deep impression: the hall resounded with cries of "Die for the king." On the 18th the Chamber of Deputies sat for the last time, and adopted a resolution that the "war against Bonaparte should be declared a national war, and that all the French should be summoned to take arms against the common enemy." But it was easier to call men to arms than to make them come. On the day of the royal sitting, the comte d'Artois reviewed the legions of the National Guard; but there was no enthusiasm: it was a lifeless, chilling affair. On the 18th the king again addressed the army, and appealed to their fidelity: the soldiers received largesses in their barracks, but their disaffection was ill-concealed. The journals still said that the audacious usurper would never set his foot in Paris. Yet Napoleon was at Auxerre on the 17th, and on the 19th on the road to Fontainebleau. Fouché, who was at Paris, was an object of suspicion, and the police attempted to arrest him; but Fouché was not a man to be caught, and he evaded the police by his coolness and dexterity, and kept himself concealed until the arrival of Napoleon.* On the 19th, Marmont reviewed the household troops of the king; but instead of leading them towards Fontainebleau, he took, during the night, the road to Beauvais, in order to protect the flight of the king, who left the Tuileries at one in the morning, without leaving any orders behind him for the preservation of tranquillity in the capital. The next day appeared a proclamation in the 'Moniteur,' announcing his departure. On the evening of the 20th, Napoleon arrived at the Tuileries with a small escort, and without any artillery. When he quitted his carriage, he was surrounded by the crowd which was waiting for him, and almost carried into the apartments, which were filled with all who had chosen to enter, and who received him most enthusiastically.

Napoleon had made a triumphal progress from the Gulf of Juan to the Tuileries; but the success of his audacious attempt was more due to the dislike of the people for the Bourbons, than their attachment to him; his military ambition and his despotic character were still dreaded, though he promised to renounce both. The nation had been humbled by the occupation of Paris by the allies and the forced return of the Bourbons, and there seemed a hope that it might recover its independence under a chief of its own choice. Yet if the Bourbons had sincerely adopted the new institutions of France, and allowed the liberty of the press, it is possible that Napoleon's enterprise would have been a failure; for the mass of the people preferred liberty to the emperor. In a solemn audience, on the 26th, all the constituted authorities presented addresses to Napoleon. The ministers spoke first, and Cambacérès was their organ: he said, "Your majesty has marked out to your ministers the path which they must follow; already, by your proclamations, you have announced to the world the principles by which you wish henceforward your empire to be governed: no foreign war, except to repulse unjust aggression; no reaction within France, no arbitrary acts; security for person, security for property, free expression of opinion: such are the principles which you have acknowledged."

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xl., 68. 'Déclaration de Vienne,' an exceedingly ill-written and incoherent document.

* The story is told in a note communicated by Earl Stanhope to Lord Brougham, and printed in 'Brougham's Historical Sketches of Statesmen,' &c,

The emperor replied: "The sentiments which you express to me are my own: All for the nation, and all for France; that is my motto." The address of the Council of State was drawn up by Thibaudeau, and it was shown to Napoleon before it was formally presented to him. He made no remark upon it, though it contained this expression: "the emperor is called upon to guarantee afresh by institutions, and he has engaged himself to do it by his proclamations to the nation and the army, every liberal principle." He was also reminded of his promise to grant a constitution, by the Municipal Council of Paris. In the midst of the servile homage of men who would attach themselves to any superior power, he heard some wholesome truths. Opinions were freely expressed to him, and he seemed to listen to everything without taking any offence; but he had not been many days in the Tuileries before his old habits revived in all their strength: he was the same man still, unchanged and unchangeable. Those who had most penetration, and even he himself, had little confidence in the maintenance of his power; for Napoleon, and the ideas of the French could not permanently be in harmony.

All the imperial family hurried to Paris, to share in the good fortune of the emperor; his brothers, his mother, and even Lucien, who fixed himself in the Palais Royal, in the apartments of the duc d'Orléans. The duke, who held a command in the north, only quitted Lille on the 24th for Belgium, leaving behind him, for marshal Mortier, duke of Treviso, a letter, by which he gave up to him the sole command which, conjointly with the marshal, he held in the north, and recommended him to do "everything which his excellent judgment and pure patriotism would suggest to be best for France, and most conformable to all the duties which he had to fulfil." * The marshal immediately displayed the tricolor flag in all the towns of the north. The duke of Orléans thought and said that the cause of the Bourbons was for ever ruined. His own time was not yet come.

Louis XVIII. fled to Gand, where he had about him a very small number of persons, some of whom were devoted servants, a few proscribed by Napoleon, and the rest were writers, journalists, and political adventurers. There was no emigration, as in 1792. If the allies had not put Napoleon to the ban, the Bourbons would have left France alone, and have been forgotten. The royalist party was unable to maintain itself even in the west. Augereau, who commanded the fourteenth military division, and had shown great ardour in the cause of the Bourbons, now displayed the same zeal on behalf of the emperor. The duke of Bourbon made an ineffectual attempt to rouse La Vendée, and left the country; but shortly after the people rose again in arms at the call of their old leaders, d'Autichamp, Sapineau, and the brothers of Larochejaquelin, and the country was not completely pacified during the hundred days. The duc d'Angoulême had established a provisional government at Toulouse, where he was when he heard of the invasion of Napoleon, but he capitulated shortly after, and sailed from Cette in a Swedish vessel. The duchess, his wife, who was at Bordeaux, made a more vigorous stand than her husband, and she only quitted the place after having exhausted every effort to rouse the troops of the line to defend the city against general Clausel and his troops. The south of France was pacified; and on the 9th of April, Napoleon published an amnesty, from which, however, thirteen persons, and among them Talleyrand and Marmont, were excepted: but these exceptions were loudly disapproved of by the warmest friends of the emperor; and general Bertrand refused to countersign the decree, which was published with the emperor's signature only.*

The emperor's ministry was composed of his former servants. Davoust had the department of war; Caulaincourt, duke of Vicenza, foreign affairs; Cambacérès, justice; and Carnot, the interior. Napoleon also conferred on Carnot the title of comte, as a testimonial of his approbation of the defence of Antwerp; but Carnot, it is said, declined the honour. Fouché was made minister of police, though Napoleon disliked him; and neither of them had any confidence in the other; but Napoleon thought that Fouché in his service would be less dangerous than Fouché out of service; for, whether in or out, he would be "thrusting his feet into other people's shoes." Fouché acted with great moderation towards the royalists, and even showed them favour. The emperor was dissatisfied, but he could not venture on getting rid of a man whom he knew to be his enemy, a man who, when Napoleon was at Elba, wrote to him in these terms: "It would be more glorious and more consoling for you to live like a private person; and at present the surest asylum, and the most suitable for a man like you, is in the United States of America." The emperor submitted to what he could not help. He was not duped by the insincerity of many of those who were around him; but he was compelled to wait his time. The royalist party was not formidable, as the late events had shown. If the emperor could keep on good terms with the allies, he could manage France in his own way; and if war was necessary, he had the hope of overcoming all difficulties by the same means by which he had won and sustained an imperial crown, by victories.

On the 4th of April, Napoleon wrote to the crowned heads of Europe, to inform them of his return to Paris, and that the policy of France henceforward would be the most absolute respect for the independence of

* This letter of the duke of Orléans brought on him the reproaches of the royalists. It is expressed in such terms that no one could divine his real meaning. Nothing can be inferred from the fact of Napoleon allowing the duchess of Orléans, who was permitted to stay at Paris, 400,000 francs a year; for he was generous to all his enemies, even to the Bourbons.

* The story is told by Fleury de Chaboulon, ('Mémoires pour servir,' &c., i., 403), who wrote the decree at the dictation of Napoleon.

other nations: if such are, as I have a happy confidence, the personal sentiments of your majesty, the general quiet is secured for a long time, and justice seated at the confines of the several states will be sufficient to protect their frontiers." The minister for foreign affairs wrote to the same effect to the ministers of foreign powers. But the couriers who carried these letters were stopped at Kehl, Mainz, and Turin, their despatches seized, and forwarded to Vienna. The allied powers were resolved to drive Napoleon out of France; and on the 25th of March a treaty was concluded among them, the eighth article of which declared that "the present treaty had for its sole object to protect France, or any other country attacked by Napoleon, against his enterprises, and those of his adherents." Louis XVIII. was invited to adhere to the treaty, and he accepted the invitation. The English government, in ratifying the treaty of the 25th of March, declared that it bound the contracting parties to a common effort against the power of Napoleon Bonaparte, but it must not be understood as obliging his Britannic majesty to continue the war with the view of imposing any particular government on France. But the overthrow of Napoleon was only the means of restoring the Bourbons. Louis XVIII., at Gand, was still acting as king of France, was acknowledged as such by the allied powers, and by his ministers participated in the acts of the congress of Vienna.

It was not enough for the force of Europe to be leagued against Napoleon: diplomatic cunning was also at work. Metternich entered into a secret correspondence with Fouché; for it was not supposed that a man who had reproached Metternich for not shutting up Napoleon in a prison, could have accepted office under him with any other view than to betray him, and to serve the Bourbons. A letter from Metternich to Fouché, sent by his agent, and received about the end of April, informed Fouché that the first condition of any project of negotiation was the exclusion of Napoleon; and if that was agreed on, Fouché might send an agent to Bâle to communicate with one Werner. The emperor was informed of this correspondence, arrested the agent whom Fouché intended to send, and sent an agent of his own, Fleury de Chaboulon, to play the part of Fouché's agent. The history of this plot and counter-plot is tedious and confused, but it is of some importance, as showing Fouché's treachery, and that Napoleon still had hopes of reconciling himself with Austria, and that his father-in-law would at least not surrender the interests of his own daughter and grandson.* In the mean time the emperor was preparing for war, reviewing his troops, and summoning his old soldiers to rejoin their corps, and organizing the grenadiers and chasseurs of the National Guard. But the decrees which he made in dictatorial fashion, without the form of a law, damaged him in public opinion; and people began to think that he had come back from Elba as great a despot as he was before. It was observed that he said nothing more about the constitution which he had promised, and there was fear that he would forget his engagements. Though the censorship had been abolished by a decree of the 25th of March, the press was not secured, and it was at the mercy of the police. At last there appeared in the 'Moniteur' of the 23rd of April, the "Additional act to the Constitution of the Empire," the preamble of which declared that "the following articles, forming a supplementary act to the Constitutions of the Empire should be submitted to the free and solemn acceptation of the citizens in the whole extent of France." The object of this additional act was declared to be "to combine the highest degree of political liberty and of individual security with the strength and the centralization necessary to make foreign nations respect the independence of the French people and the dignity of our crown."* This "acte additionnel" caused general dissatisfaction: one of the articles created an hereditary chamber of peers. The formality of submitting the acceptation of such a constitution to the people was a manifest illusion; yet the 'Moniteur' of the 24th of April contained a decree for the convocation of the Champ-de-Mai, on the 26th of the following month. The Assembly was to consist of the members of all the electoral colleges of departments and arrondissements in the empire, and of the deputations chosen by all the forces, naval and military. Nothing had been said about the convocation of the Chambers in the "Acte additionnel;" but Fouché was in favour of it, and Régnaud de St. Jean-d'Angely, at Fouché's instigation, proposed it to the emperor, who had the greatest repugnance to it, and only consented upon Régnaud's declaring that he and other counsellors of state would resign. Accordingly, on the 30th of April appeared a decree, which convoked the electoral colleges for the election of deputies to the Chamber of Representatives, and declared that the deputies elected should assist at the assembly of the Champ-de-Mai. The elections caused the Champ-de-Mai to be deferred to the 1st of June, and the emperor employed the interval in preparing for war, and in forwarding the fortifications of Lyon and Paris. On the 12th of May appeared in the 'Moniteur' a proclamation from the inhabitants, the workmen of the faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, to their fellow citizens and comrades. This was in a different style, as we might expect, from the proclamations which usually appeared in the

* The story is told by Fleury de Chaboulon in his 'Mémoires,' &c., vol. ii., 1, &c. If his report of the conversation with Werner is faithful, and if Werner may be trusted, the allies insisted less on restoring the crown of France to Louis than on taking it from Napoleon, whose existence on the throne was incompatible with the repose and security of Europe.

* The "Acte additionnel," &c., is printed in the 'Hist. Parl.,' xl., 129, &c. Benjamin Constant is said to have been one of those who had most share in drawing up this "Acte." He had been the enemy of the first consul and of the emperor; but an interview with Napoleon, after his return from Elba, seduced him, and he became a member of the Conseil d'État.



NAPOLEON PRESENTING EAGLES.

'Moniteur:'—"Last year, if treason had not paralysed all the measures of defence, if it had not refused us arms, the enemy would not have penetrated into our faubourgs: whatever may happen, he shall not penetrate there again." The proclamation consisted of four articles, which declared that all the inhabitants of these two faubourgs, who were able to bear arms, devoted themselves to the defence of the capital: they promised to the emperor unlimited obedience and unshaken fidelity. On Sunday, the 14th of May, from 12,000 to 15,000 of these men, in their working-dress, and without arms, were admitted into the court of the Tuileries, and ranged in military order. The emperor on horseback rode along the line, listened to an address of their orator, and made his reply. He even passed among the ranks of this formidable body, whom he addressed by the title of "soldiers," though it was a kind of soldiery that he disliked. He knew the power of the faubourgs, but it was an arm that he would not use. If he were to let loose the people, he said, the priests and royalist nobles would be devoured in the twinkling of an eye: and if he put the bonnet rouge on his head, the allies would all be ruined. It was necessary, however, to do something for the men who so energetically offered him their help, and the emperor ordered the formation of twenty-four battalions of federate tirailleurs of the National Guard, who were to be equipped at the expense of the city, and officered from the troops of the line. The people about the court did not like this new force, which reminded them of the 10th of August, and of the armed Jacobins.

The 1st of June came, the day of the assembly of the Champ-de-Mai. The throne of the emperor was raised in the Champ-de-Mars, in front of the military school, and in the centre of a vast semicircular inclosure, two-thirds of which formed, on the right and left, spacious amphitheatres, in which 15,000 persons were seated. The other third, in front of the throne, was open. In the middle rose an altar, and beyond that rose another elevated throne, which commanded all the Champ-de-Mars. Twenty thousand men of the line and the National Guard of Paris were drawn up in the centre of the Champ-de-Mars, and the rising ground which surrounded it was covered with the population of Paris. The emperor ascended the throne amidst the shouts of the spectators, and mass was said by the archbishop of Tours. One of the members of the deputation of electors approached the throne, and read to the emperor an address. The prince arch-chancellor proclaimed the result of the voting upon the "Acte additionnel." The number of votes in favour of accepting it, including those of the army and navy, was 1,532,457; and the number against it was 4,802. The voting had been perfectly free; but though the majority who voted for the "Acte" greatly exceeded the minority, it was only a small part of all who might have voted, six millions and upwards. The chief herald announced the acceptation of the "Acte," and the emperor signed it. Seated on his throne, and covered, he addressed the electors and the deputies of the army and the navy. His address was manly, vigorous, and stirring: "Emperor, consul, and soldier, I hold everything from the people: in prosperity, in adversity, on the field of battle, at the council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my thoughts and of my actions." * Napoleon took on the Evangelists an oath to observe, and to cause to be observed, the constitutions of the empire; and he gave eagles to the National Guard of Paris, and to the Imperial Guard, and received their oaths. Surrounded by his eagles, the emperor then took his seat on the elevated throne in the centre of the Champ-de-Mars, and addressed the soldiers of the National Guard of Paris, and the Imperial Guard. The troops, to the number of 50,000 men, defiled before the imperial throne, to the shout of "Vive l'Empereur!" As imposing, in all externals, as the Federation of 1790, the Champ-de-Mai fell short of it in the spirit that animated it. One was a national festival: the other a splendid pageant. The emperor on his lofty throne, with his three prince brothers by his side, towered over the people as their master. His unconquerable love of power, and the show of power, made him prefer the routine of imperial etiquette to what would have better become him in these circumstances—to appear as the first citizen of France, as the victorious general, who, with the aid of a gallant nation, would repel the threatened invasion, and beat back the million of men whom the allies boasted that they could bring against France. The manœuvres of the royalists in Bretagne had suggested the notion of a patriotic federation; and as early as the 24th of April a pact was concluded at Rennes, for the propagation of liberal opinions, the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and the constitutions of the empire. Dijon, Lyon, Angers, Strassburg, and other large towns, followed the example; but Napoleon was alarmed, and in the imperial saloons t was said that this was the Revolution of 1793, it was the re-appearance of Terror. But what else than he Revolution of '93 could have saved France from he invasion of Europe; what else than the rising of a whole nation in arms could defend it against the formidable coalition? The movement was chilled, and not encouraged. All that resulted from it was a few more battalions for the army, and the twenty-four battalions of the faubourgs, already mentioned.

The Chambers were convoked for the 3rd of June. The list of peers, whom the emperor had to name pursuant to the Constitution, was not formed until the evening of the 2nd of June in a private council, and hey were summoned forthwith, on the night of the 2nd, or the morning of the 3rd; so that when they

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xl., 145. The beginning of the emperor's address was well enough, but he proceeded to compare himself to Codrus, alluded to as "the king of Athens." This bastard classicism infected all the revolutionary period. He did not speak of "his" people, but of "the" people. Once he used the phrase "my capital." It must have cost him an effort to get rid of an old habit.

met, their names were unknown to one another, and to the public. The new peers first became acquainted with each other in the palace of the Luxembourg, the place of their sittings. The peers were 118, about half military, and the other half consisting of the emperor's four brothers, cardinal Fesch, prince Eugène, ministers, former senators, some of whom had been peers of Louis XVIII., and four archbishops. Among them were five conventionals who had voted for the death of Louis XVI.; Carnot, Fouché, Sièyes, Quinette, and Thibaudeau.* The Chamber of Deputies chose Lanjuinais for their president, to the great dissatisfaction of Napoleon, who at first talked of refusing his approbation; but he thought it more prudent to dissemble, and to gain Lanjuinais by his seducing manners. The four vice-presidents were Lafayette, Flaugergues, Dupont de l'Eure, and general Grenier, the two first of whom were hostile to the emperor. By choosing these men, the Chamber of Deputies showed their hostility to the government, which was soon manifested in other ways. The session was opened on the 7th of June by Napoleon, with full imperial pomp, accompanied by his brothers Joseph and Lucien, his uncle cardinal Fesch, the grand dignitaries, and great officers of the crown. His mother and queen Hortense were also present. The emperor's address was in a different style from those that he had pronounced in the days of his greatest prosperity. He said, "For three months, circumstances and the confidence of *the* people have invested me with unlimited power; to day is accomplished the most earnest desire of my heart: I now commence the constitutional monarchy." But his speech was not equal to the crisis: he said that a formidable coalition of kings was aiming at the independence of France, that their armies were approaching the French frontiers—"the army and I will do our duty." Against the coalition of kings, the only sufficient force was the union of a whole nation, all France in arms; but the emperor trusted to himself and his army. The addresses of the Chambers, in reply to the imperial speech, were not in the former language of adulation: the Chambers spoke as members of the State: the reign of the Constitutional monarchy had begun. Though the Chamber of Peers owed its existence to Napoleon, it displayed the same temper as the Chamber of Deputies, and followed its example.

France had still large military resources, and the greatest activity was shown in preparing for the contest. But it would have required a few months longer to put all the force on an effective footing. On the 1st of June 180,000 men were under arms: in the month of September the number might have been 700,000 or 800,000. There were two plans of the campaign to choose between, either to allow the enemy to invade France, and to wait for him at Paris or at Lyon; or to anticipate the allies, by marching against them. There was risk both ways; but it was more suitable to the emperor's temper to attack than to be attacked; and he resolved to enter Belgium. The coalition was ready to meet him, but their full force could not be in line before July. Soult, again in the service of Napoleon, notwithstanding his order of the day and the monument of Quiberon, had been appointed major-general; and he left Paris to inspect the strong places and the army. On the 2nd of June he published an order of the day to the army of Napoleon, as he had done a short time before to the army of Louis. His appeal to the soldiers, in defence of their country, was eloquent and heart-stirring; and when he said "that all the efforts of an impious league shall never be able to separate the interests of a great people from the hero whom the most brilliant triumphs have made the admiration of the world," perhaps he meant what he said; but the contrast with the former order of the day covers Soult's name with infamy. All the imperial forces were now advancing to the northern frontier; and it was time for the emperor to depart, leaving behind him two Chambers which he could not manage. On the 11th he appointed a government of fourteen members to act in his absence, but with very little authority: on all matters of any importance they had to refer to the emperor. The members were, his brothers Joseph and Lucien, the eight ministers who had a portfolio, and the four ministers of state, Regnaud, Defermont, Boulay, and Merlin. He dined with his family, and set out for the army that night. He passed through Soissons and Laon, and was at Avesnes on the 13th. His head-quarters were at Beaumont on the 14th of June; and in his proclamation of that date he reminded his soldiers that it was the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland. On the 15th the army was at Charleroi, and the campaign was commenced.

News of a victory soon reached Paris. On the 16th the defeat of Blücher and 80,000 Prussians at Ligny was announced. On the same day, at Quatre-bras, the junction of four great roads, one of which leads direct to Brussels, Ney attacked the allied forces, who maintained possession of the field, after sustaining considerable loss. In this battle the duke of Brunswick fell. On the 20th there was a report at Paris that the emperor had lost a battle: but it was a confused rumour, the origin of which was unknown. In the course of the day the rumour was confirmed: the French army was beaten on the 18th of June at Waterloo, a position about midway between Quatre-bras and Brussels. At four o'clock on the morning of the 21st of June, Napoleon arrived at Paris, now for the third time without an army, and got down at the Élysée. A supplement to the 'Moniteur' of the day contained 'News of the army—the battle of Ligny-sous-Fleurus, and the battle of Mont-Saint-Jean.' Mont-Saint-Jean is a village on the right of the road from Quatre-bras to Brussels, and between Waterloo and Hougoumont. The duke of Wellington made a stand at Waterloo, with about 68,000 men, of whom about 24,000 were British: the rest were Hanoverians, Belgians, Dutch, and Brunswick troops. Napoleon had about 72,000 men. The contest lasted till the

* A list of the peers is printed in 'Hist. Parl.,' xl., 153.

evening of the 18th, when Bulow's Prussian corps arrived to take part in the battle. The vigorous attacks of the French were repulsed by the allies; and the appearance of Blücher with fresh troops on the field turned a repulse into a complete defeat. In the words of the 'Moniteur,' "a panic spread all at once over the whole battle-field—in an instant the army was nothing but a confused mass—the parks of reserve, the baggage which had not crossed the Sambre, and everything that was on the field of battle, remained in the power of the enemy." When the French army crossed the Sambre on the 15th, it consisted of about 115,000 men. It lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 37,000. The loss on the side of the English and their allies is stated at about 12,000 killed and wounded.*

The Chamber of Representatives met at noon on the 21st of June; and Lafayette, who was acting, it is said, in concert with Fouché, submitted to the Chamber several resolutions, which were carried: that the independence of the nation was threatened; that the Chamber declared its sittings permanent; that every attempt to dissolve it was high treason; and that the ministers of war, of the interior, of police, and of foreign affairs, be invited to come immediately to the Chamber. The emperor saw that his authority was gone: he was prepared to abdicate. But he first sent Regnaud to the deputies, and Carnot to the peers, to try their temper. Regnaud stated to the deputies briefly the catastrophe of Waterloo: "The English army had been beaten all the day, and obliged to surrender the field: the battle was gained, when, at night, some ill-disposed persons spread the alarm, and occasioned a disorder, which the presence of his majesty could not remedy during the night: the consequence was disasters which could not be prevented: the army was rallying under the walls of Avesnes and Philippeville; and his majesty had come to Paris to confer with his ministers on the means of re-establishing the matériel of the army." This glozing lie was not adapted to mend matters. The Chamber appointed a commission of five to make the proper dispositions for the National Guard, to whose protection the palace of the representatives was entrusted. This was in effect to dethrone Bonaparte. A new power had risen up under his constitutional monarchy. Napoleon permitted his ministers to obey the order of the Chamber of Deputies, but he sent his brother Lucien with them. They appeared at six in the evening, and asked for a secret committee, which was granted. Lucien proposed that the Chambers should name a commission to concert with the ministers the means of defence, and of negotiating for peace. Henri Lacoste said, "The veil is rent: our misfortunes are known.—It is Napoleon alone against whom Europe has declared war.—I see only one man between peace and us: let him speak, and the country will be saved." Lucien still maintained the cause of Napoleon: he conjured them to rally round the chief whom "the nation had just replaced with such solemnity at its head." Lafayette replied: "You accuse us of failing in our duty to honour and to Napoleon: have you forgotten what we have done for him? have you forgotten that the bones of our children, of our brothers, everywhere attest our fidelity, on the sands of Africa, on the banks of the Guadalquivir and of the Tagus, on the borders of the Vistula, and on the frozen deserts of Muscovy? During the last ten years, three millions of Frenchmen have perished for a man who would still struggle against all Europe: we have done enough for him: now our duty is to save our country."* At eight in the evening the sitting of the Chamber was again made public, and the Chamber determined that a committee of five of its members should meet a committee of five members of the Peers and the ministers, to determine on such measures as the public safety required. The committee of the Deputies was composed of Lanjuinais, the president, and the four vice-presidents. The Peers, who assented to everything that the Deputies did, appointed their commission of five, which consisted of Cambacérès, the president, Boissy d'Anglas, Thibaudeau, and generals Drouot, Andréossy, and Dejean.

When Lucien returned to the Élysée, he did not conceal the fact, that Napoleon must abdicate, or dissolve the Chambers. Napoleon did not dare to dissolve the Chambers, and he did nothing. The committees and the ministers met in the Tuileries at eleven in the evening, in the room of the Conseil d'État, in the deserted palace, the scene of so many vicissitudes. There were two parties: that of the Chambers, and that of Napoleon. Lafayette, after some discussion, proposed that they should go to Napoleon, and represent to him that his abdication was necessary for the interests of the country. But the partizans of the emperor opposed this; and nothing further was done than to adopt their proposed measures of defence, and their suggestion to open negotiations in the name of the nation through plenipotentiaries appointed by Napoleon. But this did not satisfy the Chamber of Representatives; and Napoleon, during the 22nd, was urged by Régnaud and others to abdicate. He resisted for some time: "The Chamber," he said, "is composed of nothing but Jacobins and ambitious men: *I ought to have driven them away*." The complaint of the deputies being lovers of power was a strange one from a man who had drank of it to intoxication. At last he yielded, and told Fouché, who was present, to write "to those messieurs to be quiet, and they should be satisfied." He then dictated his abdication, which his brother Lucien wrote. It was an abdication in favour of his son Napoleon II., emperor of the French; and the Chambers were re-

* The history of this brief campaign, in which the French and English authorities do not always agree, is foreign to our purpose; and all that concerns the details of the great battle of Waterloo. The result is all that concerns us. It destroyed the power of Bonaparte, and restored the Bourbons.

* An account of the secret committee is given by Lallement.

quested without delay to organise the regency by a law. It was dated from the palace of the Élysée, the 22nd of June, 1815. The ministers carried the act of abdication to the Chambers: and a deputation was sent from each of them, to thank Napoleon for the noble sacrifice which he had made to the independence and the happiness of the French nation. The two deputations went to the Élysée, where solitude and silence reigned. A few devoted friends remained around the fallen emperor: the rest left him when his power was gone. The interview between the deputies and the emperor was formal and dry. The orator of the deputation from the peers was Lacépède, a man who, in the days of the emperor's prosperity, had seasoned his addresses with the most fulsome flattery. Napoleon reminded this deputation that he had only abdicated in favour of his son, and that if the Chambers did not proclaim him, his own abdication would be null.* All parties were agreed in depriving Napoleon of his power, but they were not agreed on what they should do next. The royalists alone, and their foreign allies, had a plan ready, and that was for the restoration of the Bourbons. The Chambers were embarrassed at finding that power was now in their hands, which they were not accustomed to possess. Finally it was arranged that, instead of a council of regency, the government should be put in the hands of a commission of five members taken from the two Chambers. This was Fouché's scheme. Not a word was said of Napoleon II., who was thus indirectly put aside. The Bonapartists insisted on the proclamation of the new emperor, but it was the general opinion that if he had been proclaimed, the father would have put himself at the head of the army, to maintain the rights of his son, and all hope of negotiation with the allies would have been terminated.

It is said that a majority in both Chambers was in favour of appointing, as members of the commission of government, men who could not come to terms with the Bourbons; and this appears to be shown by the choice which was made. The commissioners were, Fouché, Carnot, and Quinette, all of whom had voted for the death of Louis XVI.; Caulaincourt, duke of Vicenza, who was implicated in the affair of the duc d'Enghien; and general Grénier, a man of good character and a patriot. It was supposed that these men would suffer anything rather than come to terms with the Bourbons. Fouché had two votes for the presidency of the commission, and by adding his own vote he got it. A proclamation announced the formation of the commission of government, and that Napoleon II. was proclaimed. This was the first and the last time that the commission of government spoke of him. Their acts were entitled, "In the name of the French people." Napoleon, seeing that he had no longer any influence, that he must abandon the interests of his son to chance, and that his presence was not agreeable to the commission, left Paris for Malmaison on the 25th, after burning all the letters and addresses which he had received since the 20th of March.

The Chambers still displayed some energy, and seemed prepared to defend France against the allies, or at least to make such a display of force as would secure honourable terms. They declared the war national, and summoned the French to the defence of their country; they gave the commission of government power to make requisitions of supplies for the provisioning of the army, to arrest or place under surveillance persons who were charged with causing disturbance, or maintaining correspondence with the enemy; and finally, they placed at the disposal of the commission all the resources of the treasury. They gave to the commission a power which they had feared to give to Napoleon; but they gave power to men who did not know how, or could not agree how, to use it. The command of the National Guard of Paris was vacant by the abdication of Napoleon, who had assumed it for himself. Fouché contrived to exclude Lafayette from the commission of government, by saying that he ought to have the command of the National Guard. He then suggested that Lafayette would be more usefully employed in negotiation; and the command was given to Masséna, who had lost his former vigour. In the order of the day (the 24th) published by Masséna, in which he announced his appointment, he said, "The institution of the National Guards has for its object the maintenance of internal order and the security of persons and property." The enemy was approaching Paris, and yet not a word was said about it in the proclamation. Fouché now directed everything; and his scheme was to paralyse all the functions of government, for some end of his own. One cannot impute to him any other motive than his own supposed self-interest. The commission ordered the raising of the remainder of the conscription of 1815, and some other measures; but there were no efficient means adopted for defence.

The commission of government named Lafayette, Sebastiani, and three others, as plenipotentiaries to negotiate with the allies: Benjamin Constant was their secretary. Their instructions contained two essential points, on which they were to insist, the national independence and the integrity of the territory, which the allies had in fact, by their declarations, promised to respect. The direct object of the negotiation was to obtain an armistice. Everything was clearly expressed in the instructions, but it might have been foreseen that a nation, which was unable to resist, could not treat on equal terms. The commission sent general Becker (25th) to command the emperor's guard at Malmaison, the modest retreat in which Napoleon, as first consul, enjoyed a happiness that was unknown to him on the imperial throne, and commanded a respect which was no longer his due, when surrounded by the pomp and tinsel of a crown. Napoleon received Becker well, though the general was really his keeper; for the instructions of the minister of war to Becker, expressed in the usual language of form, had no other meaning.

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xl., 238, &c.

On hearing what his orders were, he said, "I am glad that it is you; if the choice had been allowed me, I should have named you in preference: I have known you for some time." He said, if the government would give him the two frigates, which he had asked for, he would set out immediately for Rochefort. On the 26th orders were given to the minister of marine to make ready two frigates at Rochefort, to convey Napoleon to the United States of North America; but the frigates were not to leave Rochefort until the English government had granted passports and a safe conduct. A courier was sent to inform the plenipotentiaries of the measures adopted with respect to the emperor.

Fouché in the mean time was managing matters his own way, without communicating with the commission of government. The reports of Soult and Grouchy on the condition of the army since the defeat of Waterloo, were unfavourable. Soult refused the command in chief, and Grouchy took it. The enemy was advancing from the northern frontier, and there was nothing to stop him. At last Davoust, acting in concert with Fouché, declared before some members of the Chambers, who had been invited to meet the commission of government, that it was necessary to receive the Bourbons, and that they ought to send to the king to propose terms. A letter from the plenipotentiaries however arrived, and stated that Blücher had said that France should not be put under any constraint as to the choice of her government; and this gave the commission hopes that they need not be in such a hurry to take back the Bourbons. The vacillation of the commission, the want of vigour in the Chambers, and the treachery of Fouché and others, brought matters to such a state, that there was only one solution,—the return of the Bourbons. Napoleon was not yet out of the way. The two frigates were placed at his disposal, and he resolved to quit Malmaison on the morning of the 29th of June; but he delayed his departure for a few hours, to send general Becker to make a last proposition to the provisional government, which was, that they would allow him to put himself at the head of the army, simply as a general; and after repulsing the enemy, he promised to retire to the United States. The commission, who thought Napoleon was already on the road to Rochefort, were alarmed at the appearance of Becker. They promptly rejected his proposal; and Fouché said, "Is it possible that he is ridiculing us? we do not trust him; all hope of negotiation would be lost: let him set out directly." Napoleon had once dismissed Fouché. It was now the minister's turn to dismiss his former master. On the evening of the 29th, Napoleon took leave of queen Hortense and a few faithful friends who had remained with him, got into a carriage, and quitted Malmaison. He had hardly left the place when a body of Prussians broke in, expecting to find the emperor there. They avenged themselves for their disappointment by destroying the objects of art which adorned the place, and left behind them evidence of their brutal fury in their ravages and devastation. The instructions of the ministers to the commanders of the two frigates were, to pay all proper respect to him who was lately their emperor, and to set sail within twenty-four hours after he was on board, if the wind permitted, and the enemy's cruisers were not in the way. But after the delay caused by the commission, and the notice of their intentions given to the English, by asking for a safe conduct, there could be no doubt that the emperor's passage would be obstructed.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

THE SECOND RESTORATION.

On the 29th of June the French army, to the number of 70,000 men, was assembled under the walls of Paris. The Prussian army was also near Paris, to the amount of 60,000 men, and about thirty miles in advance of the English army, whose advanced posts had not got beyond Senlis. Some deputies of the Chamber of Representatives went to Davoust's head-quarters to visit the army, and found it in good condition. Davoust admitted that the spirit of the army had much improved within the last few days, and that they were in a condition to obtain the most honourable terms. But some of the marshals were of a different opinion. Soult said that it was impossible to make a defence; that the enemy would enter Paris, and drive the French troops before them, if resistance was attempted; and that it was necessary to prevent this misfortune by some prompt measure. Soult, it is supposed, was already gained over to the Bourbons when he gave up the command of the army. Grouchy, Mortier, and Ney, were of the same opinion as Soult; but marshal Lefebvre, and generals Gazan, Delaborde, and Dejean, an old man, said that they could and ought to defend themselves. On the 1st of July the Chamber of Representatives published an address to the French people, in which they reminded them that the allies had only armed themselves against Napoleon, and that they had declared their intention to allow the French to choose their own government.—"Napoleon is no longer the head of the State—his son is called to the empire by the constitutions of the State: the allied sovereigns know it: the war then ought to be finished, if the promises of the kings are not vain."—"The

Chambers consider that it belongs to their duty and their dignity to declare that they can never acknowledge as legitimate head of the State, one who, on ascending the throne, should refuse to acknowledge the rights of the nation, and to consecrate them by a solemn act: this constitutional charter is drawn up, and if the force of arms should succeed in imposing on us for a time a master, if the destinies of a great nation should be again delivered up to the caprice and the pleasure of a small number of privileged persons, then, yielding to force, the national representatives will protest in the face of the whole world in behalf of the rights of the oppressed French nation." A draft of a constitution had been already presented by the central commission of the Chamber of Representatives.* At the sitting in which the address to the French people was agreed on, a letter was read from the generals of the army to the representatives of the people: "We are in presence of our enemies: we swear between your hands and in the face of the world, to defend to the last breath the cause of our independence and the national honour: they would impose upon us the Bourbons; and these princes are rejected by an immense majority of the French nation."† This letter was signed even by Davoust, because he did not dare to refuse. He had already proposed to receive the Bourbons. The army and the generals of division seemed to be in earnest, and ready to make a defence; but the marshals were ready to surrender; they only wanted to save themselves. On the 2nd of July the French and the Prussians were fighting on the south side of Paris; and in the evening Davoust, by order of the commission, wrote to the Prussian general who commanded the advance-guard, to ask for an armistice. The answer of Ziethen was, that he dared not communicate to his highness, prince marshal Blücher, such a request, but that if the deputies of the government were ready to surrender Paris, and the army also was willing to surrender, he would accept a suspension of arms. Both Fouché and Davoust were afraid of the brutal Prussian, and they sent general Tromelin to Blücher, and Macirone to the duke of Wellington. Fouché sent a note in these terms: "The army is dissatisfied, because it is unhappy: remove its apprehensions, and it will become faithful and devoted: the Chambers are intractable for the same reason: remove the apprehensions of everybody, and everybody will be for you.— Do not enter Paris for three days; in this interval all will be agreed: the Chambers will be gained; they will think that they are independent, and will sanction everything: it is not force which should be employed against them, but persuasion." On the 3rd of July the negotiations with the enemy again commenced at St. Cloud; and Bignon, general Guilleminot, and the préfet Bondy, were sent there by Davoust with full powers. Paris was perfectly tranquil: everybody knew what was preparing, and that when the time came, the city would be surrendered.

Louis XVIII. was already in France. On the 25th of June he dated a proclamation from Cateau-Cambresis, and another from Cambray on the 28th. "I promise," he said, "I who have never promised in vain, all Europe knows it, to pardon, with respect to the French who have been misled, everything that has happened since the day when I quitted Lille in the midst of tears, up to the day on which I have again entered Cambray in the midst of acclamations: but the blood of my subjects has flowed, in consequence of a treason, of which the annals of the world present no example: this treason has called the stranger into the heart of France: every day reveals to me some new calamity: I must then, in behalf of the dignity of my throne, the interest of my people, and the repose of Europe, except from the pardon the instigators and the authors of this horrible plot: they shall be marked out for the vengeance of the laws by the two Chambers, which I intend to call together immediately." He concluded this proclamation, which was counter-signed by "the minister-secretary of state for foreign affairs, Talleyrand," by telling the French that he was returning, in order to devote the rest of his days to their defence and consolation.

On the 3rd of July the capitulation was signed. It was at first entitled a capitulation, but Fouché succeeded in getting the name of capitulation exchanged for that of convention. The convention provided for a suspension of arms, and that the French army should immediately retire behind the Loire: persons and property were to be respected.* Thus Paris was twice surrendered in two successive years. In 1814, a few thousand men made resistance to a force five times their number. In 1815, Davoust, with 80,000 men, did not venture or did not choose to try his strength against a Prussian and English force, not greatly superior in numbers.†

On the 4th of July the commission communicated the convention to the Chambers. Garat, after observing that this convention was the best thing that could be obtained under the circumstances, proposed a declaration of principles, which was adopted. The first article was stamped with the character of the revolutionary declarations: "All powers emanate from the people: the sovereignty of the people is composed of

* Projet d'Acte Constitutionnel présenté par la commission centrale de la Chambre des Représentans, 'Hist. Parl.,' xl., 319—326.

† Printed in 'Hist. Parl.,' xl., 350. The address is dated Villette, 30th of June.

* The twelfth article of the Convention was: "shall in like manner be respected persons and private property: the inhabitants, and in general all individuals who are in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being liable to be disturbed or subject to any inquiry relative to the functions which they possess or may have possessed, their conduct and their political opinions." 'Hist. Parl.,' xl., 363. The Convention, after being signed by the negotiators, was approved and ratified by Davoust, Wellington, and Blücher.

† Thibaudeau, 'Cent Jours,' chap. 118.

the combination of the rights of all the citizens." * After surrendering to the enemy, it was a farce for the representatives to be laying down abstract principles of government. The Chamber of Representatives also published another declaration as to their position as representatives of the people, their duties, their opinions, and their wishes. They also voted thanks to the army, to the National Guard, to all who had taken up arms; and placed under their protection, and that of all the citizens, the national colours. In the mean time returned the plenipotentiaries, who had been almost forgotten since they sent their letters of the 26th of June. They had accomplished nothing; and when they returned, they found that there remained nothing to do. The convention had settled everything, though the Chambers were still affecting to act with authority: on the 6th they voted the fifty-one first articles of the draft of a constitution.

The allies wished that the Chambers should recall Louis XVIII., but they were not disposed to do this. The duke of Wellington, who had said, during the negotiations, that the recall of Louis was the only thing that remained for the Chambers to do, had an interview with Fouché at Neuilly on the evening of the 5th; and on his return, Fouché told those who were in his confidence that the king would enter Paris in a few days, without any conditions. Louis was on his road to Paris in the train of the foreign armies. He was induced, by the advice of his friends and of the allied powers, to intrust Talleyrand with the formation of a ministry; and Talleyrand saw him at Mons. Fouché was made minister of police, though the king did not like him; but he was recommended as a necessary personage at this difficult crisis. He was presented to Louis at the château of Arnouville, and the king told him that he had appointed him minister of police for his past services and those which he still expected from him. Fouché recommended the king to adopt the national colours, but he refused. In a memoir presented to the king, the minister of police recommended moderation and concessions, and gave good advice.* On his return from Arnouville, Fouché informed the commission that the allies would enter Paris on the 8th with the king, and declared that the king had the best intentions; a proof of which was his own nomination as minister of police. A violent scene ensued between Fouché and Carnot, who proposed that the commission of government should retire to the Loire with the army; but he was almost alone in his opinion. Fouché settled the matter by advising

* 'Hist. Parl.,' xl., 367. 'Déclaration des droits des Français, et des principes fondamentaux de leur Constitution.'

* Fouché, it is said, owed his appointment to the duke of Wellington, who had more influence over the councils of Louis at this time than any other person.



NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA.

the duke of Wellington to take military possession of the Tuileries and the palaces of the two Chambers, which was done. The commission of government had now for its president a man who had accepted office under Louis XVIII., and nothing remained for it but to resign. While the representatives were discussing the question of the hereditary peerage, a message came from the commission of government, to inform them that the allies were resolved to place Louis XVIII. on the throne, that he would enter Paris on that evening or on the following day, and that the foreign troops had just occupied the Tuileries, the seat of government: "In this state of affairs we can only offer up our prayers for our country; and our deliberations being no longer free, we think that we ought to separate." This message was signed by the five members of the commission. It was as much as to say, all is lost: let every man look out for himself. The Chamber of Peers, on receiving the message of the commission, separated without saying a word. In the Chamber of Representatives, Manuel declared that they must do their duty, and continue their discussions; and he concluded in the words of Mirabeau: "We are here by the will of the people, and we will not quit except by the force of bayonets." His address was received with applause long and repeated. The constitution was again discussed; but at six the president, Lanjuinais, adjourned the sitting to the next day, amidst loud opposition. A deputy said, "You adjourn until to-morrow, because you think that to-morrow an armed force will prevent us from entering this place." "I do not think so," said the president. The members went to their Chamber at eight the next morning: the doors were closed, the approaches were occupied by an armed force, and the officers in command informed them that they had orders to prevent their admission. All was now prepared for the king, and Fouché informed him that there was no obstacle to his entering Paris. Louis arrived at the Tuileries on the 8th of July, surrounded with bayonets and cannon. There was no public expression of joy: the general feeling was shame, sorrow, and indignation.

"The two restorations," says Capefigue, "were marked by a different character: the first was accomplished in the presence of the foreigner, without his taking a direct part in it: the second was effected under the influence of the duke of Wellington; but truth requires it to be said, that the influence of the foreigner was at that time far from being anti-liberal: Alexander contributed in a great degree towards the concession of the Charter; and the duke of Wellington determined the first constitutional measures of Louis XVIII. at St. Denis: some days after the royalist party operated on the sovereigns, and their opinions became violent against the Revolution.*

While the Bourbon was advancing to Paris, he who had commanded the victorious legions of France was on his way to Rochefort, accompanied by general Becker, Bertrand, and Savary, without any escort. He arrived at Rochefort on the morning of the 3rd of July, where he found that it was impossible for the frigates to leave the port without falling into the hands of the English, whose ships were off the coast. From the 3rd to the 14th, Napoleon was weighing the various chances of escape, but they were all hazardous, and nothing was resolved on. On the 12th he learned from the papers the dissolution of the provisional government and the Chambers, and the entry of Louis XVIII. into Paris. Up to this time he does not seem to have given up all hope that he might once more lead the armies of France. On his road to Rochefort, and during his stay there, he received unequivocal proofs of the attachment of the forces, both naval and military, and of a large part of the population. At last, upon the report of Las Cases and Lallemant, who had gone to visit captain Maitland in his ship the *Bellerophon*, he resolved to go on board that vessel, to be taken to England. He addressed a letter to the Prince-regent: "Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the chief powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come like Themistocles to seat myself at the hearth of the British people: I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your royal highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies." Las Cases went with general Gourgaud on board the *Bellerophon*, to give captain Maitland a copy of this letter, and to inform him that Napoleon would come the next day. Gourgaud was sent to carry the letter to the Prince-regent. On the 15th, at three in the morning, Napoleon embarked in the French vessel *l'Epervier*, and was conveyed to the *Bellerophon*, which immediately set sail for England, and anchored first at Torbay, and afterwards at Plymouth. Napoleon was not allowed to land, nor Gourgaud to carry his letter to the Prince-regent. On the 30th of July he was officially informed that St. Helena must be his future residence, a solitary island between the tropics, in the middle of the wide Atlantic, which beats against its rock-bound coast. He addressed a letter to lord Keith, who had communicated to him the decision of the British government; in which he protested in the strongest terms "against the violence which was done to him, against the violation of his most sacred rights, in disposing forcibly of his person and his liberty." "I am not," he said, "a prisoner; I am the guest of England: I came here even at the suggestion of the captain, who said that he had orders from the government to receive me, and to conduct me to England with my suite, if it was agreeable to me: I presented myself in good faith, to come and place myself under the protection of the laws of England." But the fact was, that he had freely come on board a British ship without any conditions, and captain Maitland had neither invited him nor promised him anything. On the 7th of August he was removed to the *Northumberland*, the flag-ship of admiral Cockburn, accompanied by generals Bertrand, Montholon,

* Capefigue, 'Hist. de la Restauration,' &c., i., c. 6.

and Gourgaud, and by Las Cases. On the 2nd of August a convention had been signed at Paris between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, by which Napoleon Bonaparte was considered their prisoner: the care of him was entrusted to the British government, and the choice of the place and of the measures for best securing the objects of the convention, were left to his Britannic majesty. He kept his birthday, the 15th of August, on board a British vessel. On the 14th of October he came in sight of the rock which was to be his prison and his grave; and on the 17th he landed at St. Helena. His first residence was at a place called the Briars, and afterwards at Longwood, situated on a lofty plateau in the centre of the island. The governor of St. Helena, after admiral Cockburn left it (1816) was sir Hudson Lowe, whom Napoleon detested. Like Prometheus chained to the rock, the recollection of the past, and the sufferings of the present, made Napoleon's life a continued torture, aggravated by his disputes with the governor, and his never-ceasing complaints. His fate was hard, but it was a just retribution. His captivity was an irrevocable sentence, to which he might have submitted with more dignity and resignation. How far he had just cause to complain of his treatment during his residence at St. Helena, must not be determined merely by the statements of Las Cases: it is necessary to examine the accounts of others also, and particularly sir Hudson Lowe. Napoleon's favourite resort, in his walks, was a valley near Longwood, which contained a limpid stream overhung by willows; and "here," he said to general Bertrand, "I would be buried, beneath these willows, on the border of this stream." *

* The history of Napoleon after his abdication until his removal to St. Helena, and his residence there, are a subject that a Frenchman can hardly treat impartially. The narrative of Norvins, 'Histoire de Napoléon,' vol. iv., liv. 17 & 18, is an example of this. It is written in a style of absurd exaggeration, and contains statements both doubtful and false.

The disposal of Napoleon was a difficult question for the British government. There are some letters of lord Eldon in Twiss's Life of 'Lord Chancellor Eldon' (ii., 270), which "explain the principles on which, after much anxiety and doubt, lord Eldon gave his sanction to the deportation and permanent detention of the captive." In a fragmentary letter the case is clearly stated by lord Eldon:—Bonaparte was not a French subject; he was an independent prince, and belligerent: Great Britain and the allies professed to make war against him, not against France; they did not profess to be the allies of the Bourbons in this war. What we have been doing, *ex professo*, be it right or wrong, has been (and Parliament has sanctioned it over and over again)—has been to compel France, whatever government it might think proper to choose, not to have Bonaparte's government.—This was the plain fact. The allies resolved to drive Bonaparte from the throne of France; and they accomplished this by defeating him at Waterloo. After his abdication of the imperial throne, he surrendered to one of them. There was a controversy about the terms of the surrender; but, according to the official report of the British officer, the surrender was unconditional. He was therefore "a prisoner of war, with whom we can make no peace, because we can have no safety but in his imprisonment." It was then simply the case of taking prisoner an independent belligerent, whom his captor was afraid to let loose, and therefore resolved to keep him confined. Whether the conduct of the British government was marked by bad faith, depends solely on the facts of Napoleon's surrender. Whether their conduct, if free from the imputation of bad faith, was consistent with the so-called Law of Nations, is a question which involves not merely the surrender of Bonaparte, but the fact of the allies resolving not to let the French have him for emperor, even if they wished it. The rules founded on the usages of Christian states, in their conduct and relations towards one another as states, forming part of this so-called Law of Nations, would offer but an imperfect solution of a new question. The case was difficult, and the British government settled it in the only way that it could be settled, unless they had taken Bonaparte's life. Those who disapprove of what was done, could not easily suggest anything better. In the next session of Parliament an Act was passed (56 Geo. III., c. 22, 23) for the detention of Bonaparte. An Act of Parliament of course did not alter the nature of the question, though it might protect the ministers. If Bonaparte's imprisonment was a just retribution for his past life, it does not follow that justice was on the side of those who punished. In the moral government of the world, both the just and the unjust are the instruments of punishment.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

TALLEYRAND MINISTER.

The situation of France after the second restoration was most unfavourable to the re-establishment of order. The royalists, elated with their victory, knew not how to use it with moderation; and the head of them was the comte d'Artois, who, by his correspondence with the provinces, and his influence over the royalist committees, exercised a real power. These men would have pushed the reaction to excess, and crushed all the patriots and Bonapartists. But there was danger of resistance. The army, though retired behind the Loire, had not given up the tricolor flag; and it formed a centre about which the nation might rally. All the strong places of France had not yet surrendered. Above 700,000 foreign troops covered the territory of France, which was oppressed with requisitions. The whole administration was disorganized; and the treasury was empty. This state of affairs furnished a pretext to the allies to act contrary

to the capitulation, by virtue of which the civil government of the capital was to remain in the hands of the préfets of the Seine and of the police. By an order of the day of the duke of Wellington and Blücher, the commandants of the allied troops were empowered to take possession of the military positions, and the National Guard and the gendarmerie were to obey the orders of general Müffling, who was appointed to the government of Paris. In consequence of this order, the public places were converted into encampments. In the departments, the occupation of the Prussians, who bore in mind their past humiliations, was often accompanied with violence.

In these circumstances Talleyrand took the direction of the administration, and the ministry of foreign affairs. Gouvion St. Cyr had the department of military affairs; Fouché, the police; and Pasquier, the public administration. But Fouché's presence in the ministry was a difficulty which the king had foreseen: he and Talleyrand could not act together: Fouché had always a plan or intrigue on foot, a kind of secret administration distinct from his public functions. Besides, he was a regicide, and it was impossible that he could ultimately maintain himself against the opinion of the royalists. One of the first measures was the dissolution of the Chamber of 1814, and the convocation of a new one. The ordonnance of the king made some modifications in the Charter, as to the elections. Electors were allowed to vote at the age of one-and-twenty; and deputies of the age of five-and-twenty were eligible. The number of deputies was increased from 262 to 395. The selection of préfets of departments caused great difficulties in the council, particularly as to the departments of the south. The duc d'Angoulême had gone there with large powers from the king for the organization of these departments; and he had named the préfets and functionaries of every class, whom he had selected from among the most exalted royalists. But it was impossible that the ministry could allow such nominations to stand, which deranged all their schemes of conducting the government in a spirit of moderation. The ministers accordingly named the préfets, without any regard to the appointments of the duke; and they executed this difficult task with considerable impartiality. The duke, who had in fact received full powers to act, was much dissatisfied at the choice made by the ministers; but he yielded to the unanswerable argument that, under a constitutional government, the ministers being responsible for their acts, must have perfect freedom of action. The agents of the government, however, met with resistance in the south; and in spite of the orders of the minister of the interior, the extraordinary commissioners of the duc d'Angoulême still exercised authority. There remained nothing for the ministry except to annul the powers of these commissioners by an ordonnance, which stated, that as his majesty had resumed the government, as a ministry was organized and in correspondence with the persons employed in administration, and named by the king, it was necessary that the functions of all extraordinary commissioners should cease. The royalists made a great outcry at the choice of the persons who were appointed by the ministry in place of the extraordinary commissioners: functionaries, as they said, uncertain and unstable, préfets of the empire, revolutionists without either religious or monarchical faith. This opposition was so strong, that Talleyrand even spoke of the necessity of asking the king to banish the comte d'Artois from France, as government was impossible so long as he was in the kingdom. But, besides the difficulty of accomplishing this, it would have been of no use so long as the duchess of Angoulême remained, for the royalists would have rallied round her.

The ministers, notwithstanding the royalist opposition, endeavoured to maintain their moderate policy. An ordonnance repealed the law of the 21st of October, 1814, as to the *censure préalable*, so far as to give freedom to the press, except as to newspapers. Fouché was instructed to draw up a list of persons who had compromised themselves by their conduct during the Hundred Days. The court believed that the return of Bonaparte was the result of a conspiracy, and they thirsted for vengeance. Fouché furnished several preliminary lists; and lists were also made by the ministers of the allied powers. A list made by a regicide was a curious thing; but Fouché had to satisfy the royalists and the foreign cabinets: he had to save himself if he could. Fouché finally produced a list of one hundred names, which, Talleyrand said, contained many "innocents;" by which he meant persons too insignificant to be proscribed. Fouché reduced his list to seventy-seven, and it was discussed in the council, where no names were added, and several were erased. The list, as finally settled (24th of July), contained fifty-seven names. Nineteen of the proscribed, among whom were Ney, Labédoyère, Grouchy, Bertrand, Clausel, and Lavalette, were to be brought before competent military courts. Thirty-eight, among whom were Soult, Thibaudeau, Carnot, and Merlin of Douay, were to leave Paris in three days, and to repair to such places as the minister of police should name. The list of proscriptions was declared to be closed. This proscription was an arbitrary and indiscriminating measure; for, with the exception of a few notable names, it would have been equally just to exchange many of them for any others. Fouché, the regicide, was a minister, and a proscriber: Carnot, a regicide, was proscribed, and an exile. Davoust, in a letter from the banks of the Loire, addressed to Gouvion St. Cyr, protested against this measure. As to the names of Grouchy, Clausel, and two others, he said, if they were placed on the list for their conduct on certain occasions, which he mentioned, they acted by his orders as minister of war, and his name ought to be put instead of theirs.

Talleyrand had a little proscription of his own, but it was very harmless compared with Fouché's, for it was confined to excluding certain persons from the Chamber of Peers who had sat in it during the Hun-

dred Days. This ordonnance of the 17th of August increased the Chamber of Peers by ninety-two members; which gave the king, the princes, and all the ministers, the opportunity of placing some of their friends there. The three young sons of marshals Lannes, Berthier, and Bessières, were admitted. On the 20th appeared an ordonnance which made the peerage hereditary. By the Charter of 1814 the king could either name the peers for life, or make the dignity hereditary, according to his pleasure. This matter was discussed for four days in the council, where the king presided. Louis considered the hereditary peerage as the greatest concession which he made to liberty, and the most powerful check on the crown.

The army of the Loire still existed; and though it was now under the white flag, it formed a powerful force, which the allies dreaded. The Vendéans had proposed to join the national army, and the allies knew it. Alexander, through the medium of Nesselrode, required the government to disband this army of the Loire and all the French regiments, as a necessary preliminary to all negotiations; and the French government was compelled to obey. Not content with dissolving the army, Alexander even interfered in its re-organization, and had several interviews with Louis on this matter. The return of the Bourbons was favourable to the restoration of security; and all that was now wanting was to be rid of the allies and their troops, whose requisitions and arbitrary contributions were the only obstacles to the complete revival of credit. The baron Louis, who had the department of finance, made strong representations to the ministers of the four great powers, to induce them to put an end to arbitrary contributions, and to allow the establishment of a regular system of finance; and it was agreed that, instead of this violent mode of proceeding, the treasury should pay 100 millions of francs in two months.

The organization of the departments was a great difficulty; for, notwithstanding the nomination of the préfets, and all the efforts of the ministers, the commissioners of the duc d'Angoulême were still acting in opposition to the king's government. As a sample of the outrageous violence of these men, an order of the day of a commandant at Foix has been cited: "Any person in whose possession should be found either arms or munitions of war, should be arrested and brought before the military commissions, who would judge him by the intentions which they might choose to impute to him." It required a vigorous royal proclamation to put a stop to these scandalous acts of violence. The Protestants of the Cevennes and of Languedoc were menaced by the fanatics of the south; and the king of Prussia and the duke of Wellington supported the ministers in their pacific measures, by proposing, in case of need, to send troops to protect the Protestants of the south.

The minister of justice was busily employed in re-organizing the royal courts and the Conseil d'État. The royalists called for a complete clearing of the courts; for almost all of them had made addresses to the emperor during the Hundred Days. The court of cassation had shown itself particularly zealous in favour of the imperial dynasty, and the still more odious doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. The courts were purified, but, as happens in such cases, many competent men were excluded; as if a man who had been a judge in the Hundred Days, was not fit to be one after the Restoration. The Conseil d'État was on the whole well organized, and contained many able men.

Fouché saw that his influence was daily diminishing, and he made a desperate effort to maintain it. He was in habits of intimacy with Manuel and some other patriots, whom the list of the 24th of July had spared. In concert with them, Fouché drew up two reports to the king, which produced a great impression. Manuel wrote them, and Fouché corrected them with extreme care. The first report was intended to produce an effect on the allies; and the second was on the internal state of France; and both were written with great vigour. This second report was confidentially communicated to the king without the knowledge of the council, which was quite in Fouché's way of proceeding. The king considered that the report was of some value, but he was much offended at its being published. Indeed, the publication of a report made confidentially to the king was a thing so monstrous, that it was impossible to keep Fouché in the ministry any longer; and at the end of August it was resolved in the council to get rid of him. Fouché's defence was his usual one: he knew nothing of the affair of the publication, which was the consequence, he said, of a breach of faith; but nobody believed him.

But the great difficulty of Talleyrand's ministry was the negotiation with the allies. The emperors of Russia and Austria had arrived in Paris, and also Metternich, Nesselrode, Capo d'Istria, Hardenberg, and Castlereagh. If the allies had abided by the declaration of Vienna, there would have been no difficulty: they had overthrown Bonaparte, against whom war was made, and in support of the treaty of Paris. If they kept their word, they had nothing more to do than to retire. The terms of the capitulations did not check the license of the armies of the allies; and the Prussians particularly signalized themselves by their arrogance. Blücher even made an attempt to blow up the bridge of Jena, the memorial of the defeat of a Prussian army; but both Alexander and the duke of Wellington interfered to check Blücher's insolent brutality. The restoration of the works of art to the countries from which they had been taken, was a measure altogether inconsistent with the declarations of the allies. Talleyrand argued that the overthrow of Napoleon had terminated the war, and re-established a state of peace, and that the war of 1815 could not be a sufficient ground for altering the state of things established by the peace of 1814. The argument was unanswerable, except by force; for the allies professed

to have no enemy except Bonaparte. Lord Castlereagh had asserted that objects of art could not be acquired by the law or rules of war, by conquest; an absurd assertion, made either in bad faith, or from extreme ignorance. Talleyrand's able note in defence of the foreign treasures of the Musée, was answered by the allies forcibly taking possession of the galleries which contained the proudest monuments of the conquest of Italy. There was little order observed in reclaiming this property, and some masterpieces suffered irreparable injury.

Talleyrand hoped to manage the coalition by dividing them, and by dealing with each separately to secure better conditions from all. To please England, he consented to the abolition of the slave-trade. He expected to play off England and Austria, who were on good terms, against the close union of Russia and Prussia. But he was deceived: the coalition was firmly united against France; and after some negotiations, the plenipotentiaries of the four allied powers communicated their ultimatum, which was in such terms as could only be imposed on a defeated people and a conquered country. Certain parts of France, on the north frontier and the east, were to be taken away; a war contribution of 600 millions was to be levied, and France was to pay part of the cost of constructing a certain number of strong places to be erected as checks on those of France: 200 millions were to be paid, to cover part of the cost required by the re-establishment of the defensive system of the powers; 150,000 men were to occupy the military positions along the frontiers; and this army of occupation was to be maintained by the French: the occupation was to last seven years; but it might terminate at the end of three years, "if the allied sovereigns agree in acknowledging that the motives which led to this measure have ceased to exist." Thus this unfortunate country, after sustaining all the sufferings of the Revolution, the heavy taxation and conscription of the Empire, was doomed to be again pillaged by those who professed to take up arms in its defence; by the very powers who, in the declaration of Vienna, professed to be ready to aid France against Bonaparte. This ultimatum gave great pain to the king, who felt that he was treated like a conquered enemy. Talleyrand answered this unreasonable demand by an argument that disposed of the whole question: the allies had not made any conquests, and they could not demand any cession of territory; and that kings ought to keep their promises: the powers had declared that they took up arms only against Bonaparte; and by treaty they had engaged themselves to maintain in their entirety the stipulations of the treaty of the 30th of May, 1814.

Talleyrand could no longer maintain his ground: he was unable to come to terms with the allies; he was opposed by the faction of the comte d'Artois, who hated him for his attempt to administer the government constitutionally; finally, the result of the election of 1815 gave the royalists a majority. The plenipotentiaries of the allies persisted in their ultimatum, and Talleyrand would not sign a treaty founded on such terms. Louis told Talleyrand and the rest of his ministers, that the only hope of obtaining better terms was by the intervention of Alexander; and he asked them if they were in a position to follow this new direction in his diplomatic relations. Talleyrand told him that he and his colleagues were not the most agreeable persons to Alexander, and that they would find it rather difficult to enter upon negotiations in such manner as the king proposed. Talleyrand resigned, and was followed by the rest of the ministry. They all retired, however, with marks of the royal favour, except Fouché. The duc de Richelieu, who succeeded Talleyrand as president of the council, prevailed upon the king, who did not like Talleyrand, to give him the title of grand-chamberlain, a high place in the palace, with a salary of 100,000 francs. The duke said that it was impossible to dismiss Talleyrand like another minister, and that his services to the house of Bourbon in 1814 required some great reward. Fouché, finding that it would not be safe to stay in France, obtained the embassy to Berlin, and he set out directly. This was the end of his political life.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

THE ALLIES.

The new ministry, of which the duc de Richelieu was the head, had a difficult task. The duke, who had spent a large part of his life in the service of Russia, where he had been governor of Odessa, was imperfectly acquainted with France. A man of no great capacity, he was, however, disinterested and honourable. His chief business was the question of the allies, and the deliverance of France from them. Other matters he mainly left to his colleagues. This new ministry was formed almost exclusively in the views of the royalists; but, as it is justly observed, men who come into power do not view things exactly as they do when they are out, and they find it impossible to satisfy the demands of the party that has carried them into their new place.

The press in France in the year 1815, and under the ministry of Fouché, was a feeble exponent of opinion. But the foreign journals, and particularly the English,

freely discussed the affairs of France; and some of them, partly under the influence of national antipathy, and probably to some extent of the royalist party in France, urged severe measures against the men of the Revolution and of the Hundred Days. Large cessions of territory by France were spoken of as necessary; and this dismemberment of France was strongly maintained by the Prussian journals of Aix-la-Chapelle. France, it was said, owed to her neighbours part of the expenses of the war, and she might pay in territory. The opinions expressed in the foreign newspapers could not fail to have some effect on the administration in France, and on the negotiations with the allies. Society in Paris at this time presented singular contrasts. In the polite salons of the faubourg St. Germain, the conversation turned on the best means of securing the monarchy and religion; the former, because the interests of the nobility were supposed to be bound up with it; and the latter, either from bigotry or deference to the clergy, as one of the strong supports of kingly power. The leaders of the liberals and of the Bonaparte faction were dispersed; but the lower classes had not forgotten either the Revolution or the Empire. Many of the officers of the army of the Loire, reduced to half-pay, also repaired to Paris; and though the government contrived to send away all that it could, there remained sufficient to excite among the people the spirit of resistance to the government, and hatred of the foreigners who encumbered the soil of France. The provinces were drained by requisitions, taxes, and loans; but the tradesmen of Paris grew rich. The immense number of foreigners who flocked to Paris, particularly the English, and the expenditure of princes, dukes, nobles of all descriptions, and officers, made a rich harvest for the Parisians, and many of the large fortunes of the tradesmen of Paris dated from this time. The allies exacted heavy contributions from France, but they spent more than they received. Luxury and licentiousness drained the foreigner of his gold to enrich the Parisians. But while the capital was the scene of gaiety and pleasure, the unfortunate people of France were suffering from the occupation of the allied armies, who covered all its territory. The head-quarters of the Prussians were at Caen, and their army was in the occupation of sixteen departments. The head-quarters of the English were at Paris. The Russians, under Barclay de Tolly, occupied the Ardennes, the Marne, the Moselle, and other departments in that part of France. The Bavarians were in Loiret, les Vosges, and the neighbouring parts; and the Würtembergers in Puy de Dôme. The Austrian, Schwarzenberg, had his head-quarters at Fontainebleau; and with one of his armies he occupied Cantal, Lozère, Gard, Bouches-du-Rhône, Vaucluse, Var, and other departments; with the other he occupied Côte d'Or, Haute-Saone, Jura, Mont-Blanc, Hautes Alpes, and other adjoining departments. The Saxons and the troops of Baden were on the Rhine. France was more unfortunate than if a host of locusts had taken possession of it: no department escaped; they **all sustained the weight of this grievous infliction. The people in other countries of Europe had suffered in the wars of the Revolution and the Empire from French oppression and spoliation: it was now the turn of France to feel the evil of her soil being covered with foreigners. Such is the consequence of war: the guilty leaders escape punishment: it is always the people, the industrious mass who suffer from this curse, which, more than plague, pestilence, and famine, has thinned the numbers, and increased the sorrows and sufferings of the human race.**

All France was not yet pacified. The war was prolonged in several departments; and even in the month of August, Maubeuge and Condé had not submitted. The peasants of the Vosges were in arms; and the fortress of Hüningen was bombarding Bâle, and still displaying the tricolour flag. The useless efforts of some generals to maintain certain military positions, gave the allies a pretext and some show of reason for imposing harder terms on France, and demolishing the fortifications of Hüningen. In the south, the country of fierce and brutal passions, there was violent reaction. Early in June an insurrection was organized in the towns of the south; and the news of the defeat of Waterloo, and of the abdication of Napoleon, was the signal for outbreak. General Verdier, who commanded at Marseille, had a sufficient force to keep order there. On the 25th, a Sunday, the population thronged the streets of Marseille, which were filled with the free companies, as they were called, which flocked in from the country. On the evening of this day, Verdier left Marseille with his men, after meeting with some resistance; and the white flag was raised, and the massacres began. There was a royalist committee organized at Marseille; and though there is no proof that the committee organized the massacres, they looked on with indifference, and made no attempt to stop them. The insurgents pursued the officers and soldiers like wild beasts. The massacres lasted all the night of the 25th and the 26th of June. Marshal Brune, who commanded in the south, submitted to the Bourbons about the end of July. Being furnished with a passport from the marquis de Rivière, he safely traversed the department of Var; but on his arrival at Avignon, that city of blood, he was arrested by some persons who were acting independent of and against the regular authorities, and examined. He was not allowed to leave the town; and as soon as the news spread of his being at Avignon, he was attacked in his hotel by assassins, brutally murdered, his body dragged through the streets, and at last thrown into the Rhone. The men of the Revolution and the men of the Empire, the patriots, and the old soldiers, were massacred by the armed bands which scoured the town and neighbourhood. At Nîmes and Toulouse there was pillage, murder, and conflagration; and the spirit of faction was embittered by the antipathies of the two hostile creeds. The situation of France, for some months after the battle of Waterloo, with a government hardly established, and a royalist party triumphant over its

cruel and vindictive, was wretched in th extreme: the government had more trouble in restraining the excesses of its own partizans than in maintaining the submission of the vanquished party.

The elections had produced a large royalist majority consisting of men of various shades of opinion; som of them the devoted adherents of the comte d'Artois and others who honestly thought that all the work of the Revolution could be demolished, and a syste constructed in direct opposition to its principles. Th minority was small. There were only two patriots, a they were called, in the Chamber, Flaugergues an Voyer d'Argenson. The leaders who defended th royal prerogative against the attacks of the furiou royalist majority, were Royer-Collard, de Serres Becquey, and Pasquier. This minority of abou sixty-five gradually acquired strength by the prudenc and moderation of its leaders. The Chamber of Peer had been almost renewed by the purification which i underwent on the 24th of July, and the addition o ninety-two peers. The members of the royal family and the princes of the blood were also admitted. Th comte d'Artois had great influence in the Peers; bu the moderate party was more numerous than in th Chamber of Deputies, and made some opposition to the system of the majority. The king's speech at th opening of the Chambers was written by himself, after consulting with his ministers as to the principal points of his discourse. He wrote it out in his usual way on a small piece of paper, in a very neat hand. He attached great importance to style and expression; and his speech was for him a kind of literary exercise as well as a matter of business. He spoke feelingly of the wretched condition of the country, the consequence of a short-lived usurpation, and of the necessity under which he had been, "in order to put an end to a state of things more intolerable than war itself, to conclude with the powers which were in occupation of a large part of the territory, a convention for regulating the present and future relations of France with them." He said that he was daily more attached to the Constitutional Charter which he had sworn to maintain, and "which all of you, beginning with my family, will now swear to obey." Two of the peers, Jules de Polignac and Labourdonnaye, declared that their conscience did not allow them to take an unrestricted oath of obedience to the Charter, and that there was an article in it on the freedom of worship, which did not explain clearly enough the pre-eminence of Catholicism. The Chamber of Deputies chose for their president Lainé, by a very large majority. The violent character of the Chamber was declared in their address in reply to the king's speech, which breathed the spirit of clemency and concord:—"Your clemency," said the Deputies, "has been almost boundless; we do not come to ask you to retract it—but we supplicate you, in the name even of the people who are the victims of the misfortunes by which they are overwhelmed, so to act that justice may advance where clemency has stopped; that those who even now, encouraged by impunity, are not afraid to make a display of their rebellion, be delivered up to the just severity of the courts: the Chamber will zealously concur in the preparation of the laws necessary for the accomplishment of this wish."

The negotiations with the allies were interrupted by the breaking up of Talleyrand's administration, and were resumed by the duc de Richelieu, to whom the emperor Alexander promised his assistance in reducing the exorbitant demands of the allies. His intervention was all-powerful, for he had 300,000 men at his command. He had been employing himself in drawing up and writing out with his own hand a treaty of Holy Alliance, in which he was assisted by Madame Krudener. The emperor and this mystical lady interchanged their ideas on the subject of perfectibility. The emperor had a plan for a kind of universal constitution, or European system, founded on Christian doctrines and the union of all churches in a common faith, which was to be the foundation of the reign of peace and general happiness. When the scheme was drawn up it was shown to Metternich, who at first was afraid that it contained some hidden design; but when he fully understood it, and saw that it was harmless, he submitted it for signature to his master, the emperor of Austria. The duke of Wellington said, when it was shown to him, that the British Parliament would not be able to comprehend it, and that the prince regent could be no party to a treaty on such a basis, the precise object of which was not clearly defined. The king of Prussia signed it to please Alexander; and the treaty or declaration of the Holy Alliance appeared on the 26th of September. The two emperors and the king of Prussia by this treaty engaged themselves, "in conformity to the principles of the Gospel, which command all men to love one another as brethren, to continue bound together by the ndissoluble bond of fraternal friendship, mutually to assist one another, to govern their subjects like fathers, o sincerely maintain religion, peace, and justice." They considered themselves as members of one and the ame nation, and each commissioned by Providence to govern a branch of the same family: they invited all he powers to acknowledge these principles, and to nter the Alliance. The minor continental states of Europe successively gave in their adhesion to the Holy Alliance, and the king of France also signed it t the request of Alexander. The conception of this Alliance, and the terms in which its object were expressed, do not deserve the ridicule with which they ave been treated. If those who possessed power ould sincerely act upon these principles, the world ould have some chance of being happier than it is.

Yet the allies did not treat with France according o these principles. The basis of their dealings with rance was the treaty of Chaumont, which had been enewed on the 25th of March, and was remodelled for he third time after the treaty of Paris. In a conference n the 2nd of October, the basis of this treaty with rance was settled, after mutual explanations among

the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, and the duc de Richelieu. The limits of France, as they existed in 1790, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, were the basis of the territorial arrangement, in consequence of which the districts and territory of the former country of Belgium, of Germany, and of Savoy, which were added to the old territory of France by the treaty of Paris of 1814, were taken away from it. Landau, Sarrelouis, Phillipeville, and Marienbourg, with some adjoining territory, were ceded to the allies. The fortifications of Hüningen were to be demolished. Avignon, the comtat Venaissin, Montbéliard, and the territories which were surrounded by the territories of France, were secured to the French kingdom. France was to pay to the allied powers, as an indemnity for the expense of their last military armaments, the sum of 700 millions of francs. military line, based on a series of fortified places from Cambray and Valenciennes to Thionville, Longwy Bitche, and the tête du pont of Fort Louis, was to be occupied by 150,000 men, to be furnished by the allies; and this occupation was to last for five years, unless the allies, in concert with the French king, should think proper to determine the occupation at the end of three years.

But besides the 700 millions, the allied powers, in the name of their subjects, claimed indemnities for their losses during the occupation of their territories by the French at different times since the year 1789 Austria alone demanded 189 millions, and Prussia 106 millions. There was not a state, however small which did not claim something. The whole amounted to 735 millions. The allies had already received war indemnity of 100 millions, which was distributed among them in proportion to the contingents which they furnished. In this long list of distributions we see even the town of Frankfort and its contingent of 750 men; Hohenzollern-Hechingen, with its 194 men; and Lichtenstein, with its 100 men. The day of retribution was come; and the French people had now to feed those whom they had once plundered. The 100 millions, thus distributed, gave about 455 francs for each man. The total of the burden laid on France was the enormous sum of 1,535 millions of francs.*

On the 1st of November the mode of paying the 700 millions was settled. On the 20th of November, the treaty, being finally settled, was signed and immediately ratified, in accordance with the protocol of the 2nd of October. The terms were hard; but France could not resist the demands of men who had 800,000 soldiers at their command. The influence of the duc de Richelieu had somewhat improved the conditions in favour of France; but he signed the treaty with great reluctance. He said, in a letter of the 21st of November, "All is ended: yesterday, more dead than alive, I put my name to this fatal treaty: I had sworn not to do it, and I had said so [illegible] tunate prince entreated [illegible] to abandon him, and from [illegible] hesitated. I am confident [illegible] matter nobody could have done better [illegible] and France, expiring beneath the [illegible] whelms her, called imperiously for a prompt deliverance: this deliverance will commence to-morrow, — at least so I am assured, and will be effected successively and speedily." Such were the results to France of the system of Napoleon, of his wars, his tyranny, and his oppression of the Germanic people. The object of the allies in taking possession of the strong places on the frontier, and prolonging the occupation was, to be able to crush any attempt at revolution in France. Upon the demand of the French government, or upon any sign of the peace of Europe being in danger, they could be at Paris in three days with an imposing force. In renewing the alliance of Chaumant, the allies considered it as a kind of complement to the treaty of Paris. France had nothing to do with it; the ministers of the powers merely communicated to the duc de Richelieu "the new treaty of alliance which they had just signed in the name and by the order of their august sovereigns." The note in which this communication was made, contained some remarkable expressions, which showed that the allies thought, or at least professed to think, that order could only be established in France by a liberal system of government: they said, that they felt assured that his Most Christian Majesty would oppose to all the enemies of the public weal and of the tranquillity of his kingdom, under whatever form they might show themselves, his attachment to the constitutional laws promulgated under his auspices, the distinct declaration of his intention to be the father of all his subjects, without difference of class or of religion, to efface even the recollection of the evils which they had suffered, and to preserve of the times which had passed only the good which Providence had caused to spring even from the midst of public calamities."

The allies distributed among themselves the territory and the pecuniary indemnities which they had got from France. The congress of Vienna had kept the Ionian Islands in reserve, with the view of indemnifying Murat, in exchange for the kingdom of Naples; but England now claimed the protectorate of these islands, in return for her services in the campaign of 1815, and her claims were admitted. The kingdom of the Netherlands received the districts which had formed part of the Belgic provinces, with the bishoprick of Liège, the duchy of Bouillon, and Phillipeville and Marienbourg, with their territory, and 60 millions of francs for the fortification of the frontiers. Some districts in the department of the Moselle were given to Prussia, together with the fortress of Sarrelouis. The part of Savoy which remained to France by the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, was restored to the king of Sardinia, with the exception of the commune of Saint Julien, which was attached to the

* Capefigue, 'Hist. de la Restaurat.,' i., chap. 8. The name of Great Britain does not appear in the list of those who received a part of the 100 millions.

Swiss canton of Geneva. The king of Sardinia also received ten millions of francs for the fortification of his frontiers. The German states arranged matters among themselves. The strong places, Mainz, Landau, and Luxembourg, were declared to belong to the Germanic Confederation. Sixty millions of French money, part of the indemnity exacted from France, were appropriated to strengthen the defences of Germany. The final result of the aggressions of France was that she was compelled to pay for German fortifications. The king of Prussia received 20 millions for the fortifications of the Lower Rhine. Five millions were employed in completing the fortifications of Mainz. The war indemnity was applied to establish a system of defence against France, which had nothing to do with all these arrangements, and was kept under a kind of surveillance. It was not till the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle that France was admitted into the society of the four great powers, on condition of entering fully into their system.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

PUNISHMENTS.

The new cabinet were not unanimous. Three of the ministers, Vaublanc, Dubouchage, and Clarke, were ardent royalists: Corvetto, the minister of finance, and Barbé-Marbois were for moderation; Decazes was wavering. The duc de Richelieu, as president, could determine a majority. Barbé-Marbois, the minister of justice, was disliked by the royalists and the majority of the chamber of 1815, though he was disposed to their opinions; but he had for secretary-general Guizot, a Protestant, and this was an unpardonable offence in the eyes of a Catholic majority. The first measure of the chamber was a severe law against those who might be charged with any criminal act against the person and the authority of the king, against the persons of the royal family, and against the safety of the state. A law was also passed against the authors of seditious cries, the punishment for which was deportation; and the same penalty was inflicted on those who displayed in any public place any other colours than the white flag. The Chamber was not satisfied with the ordinary courts and making two laws against suspected persons: they created (5th of December) a separate jurisdiction of cours prévotâles. It was said in a pamphlet of the day, written by Lanjuinais, that the suspected of 1793 had better means of defence allowed them than those of the year 1815 would have. The law for the establishment of these exceptional courts met with little opposition in the chamber of peers.

The execution of two illustrious soldiers of the empire forms a painful episode in the history of the Restoration. This matter is connected with the terms of the capitulation of Paris, the 12th article of which might be interpreted to be an act of amnesty for all those who had taken part against the Bourbons in the Hundred Days.* If we look to the terms of this capitulation and the parties between whom it was made, it is clear that it was not in the nature of an amnesty. Blücher and the duke of Wellington had no power to grant an amnesty, and they did not affect or intend to grant one. The only party who had the power to negotiate with Louis XVIII., or those to whom he gave full powers, was the chambers; but the chambers did not acknowledge Louis, even after the fall of Napoleon, and they would have rejected him if they could. Besides this, the French army did not submit: it retired behind the Loire, ready to resist the Bourbons, if there had been a man bold enough to place himself at their head. There was no amnesty contained in the terms of the 12th article of the capitulation, and the notion of appealing to it as such was not thought of until Ney's trial was far advanced. If it were admitted that this 12th article was an amnesty, it must also be admitted that it was granted by those who had no power to grant it. Louis XVIII. neither promised a general amnesty, nor intended to grant one, as his proclamations from Cateau-Cambresis and Cambrai showed. He said that he would punish the guilty, and his threat was known before the date of the capitulation of Paris. The capitulation facilitated the entrance of the king into Paris, and he availed himself of it; but he granted no amnesty.

The ministry of Talleyrand and Fouché wished for no executions; and one of them, at least, for his own personal interests, if for no other reason, would have been glad for all the past to be forgotten. When the list of the 24th of July appeared, passports were furnished for all the proscribed, or nearly all, and money was given to them by the minister of police to enable them to leave France. Labédoyère was advised by Fouché to leave France early in July, and he had his passports. He left Paris, but went no further than Clermont, whence he returned to Paris, as he said, to see his wife and children previous to coming to England. In Paris he was arrested; and the ministers were unanimously of opinion that they must execute the ordonnance of the 24th of July, in the case of an officer who had set the example of defection to Napoleon. Labédoyère was tried by a court-martial, and

* The terms of the 12th article have been already stated, p. 528.

condemned to death. The king firmly refused to pardon him, and the ministers did not insist upon it. Lavalette received a timely and indirect warning from Decazes and Fouché to get out of the way; but he neglected the friendly intimation, and was arrested and tried before the cour d'assises on the 20th of November, 1815. He was charged with having usurped the authority of director-general of the post-office, on the 20th of March, of having sent a letter to Napoleon to Fontainebleau, and of having stopped the departure of all the journals and all the ministerial despatches. The activity of Lavalette had greatly contributed to tranquillise the departments when Napoleon was approaching Paris. He had longed for the return of the emperor, though it was not shown that he had acted any way in the matter before the 20th of March. He was much liked, and his case excited general interest. Lavalette was condemned to die, and the king refused to pardon him. But the affection of his wife saved from the scaffold the aide-de-camp of general Bonaparte in his Italian campaigns. She obtained permission to visit him in prison the day before that which was fixed for his execution, in company with her daughter and an old female servant. Lavalette put on his wife's clothes, and quitted the prison with his daughter and the servant without being discovered by the jailor, who shortly after entered Lavalette's apartment, and instead of the prisoner found only his wife. Several days passed before anything was heard of Lavalette, when it was ascertained that he had safely arrived in Belgium, and that he owed his escape to the generous aid of three Englishmen, Sir Robert Wilson, and Mr. Bruce, and Hutchinson. The three Englishmen were arrested in Paris, tried, and condemned to three months' imprisonment. Bruce's defence was, that he knew nothing of Lavalette; that after his escape Lavalette had implored his aid and protection; he could not denounce him to the police: what else could he do than save a man who had put his life in his hands?* The royalists were furious at the escape of Lavalette, and Decazes and Barbé-Marbois were accused of being privy to it; but it is certain that the ministers knew nothing about the matter.

After the capitulation of Paris, Talleyrand and Fouché furnished Ney with passports, and Fouché advised him to go to Switzerland. He was just upon the frontiers, when some slight circumstances induced him to return, and he was arrested in an inn in the department of Cantal. His examination at Paris by Decazes, then préfet de police, showed the nobleness of his character, and also his weakness. He admitted that he promised Louis to bring Bonaparte to him in an iron cage; but he said that when he quitted the presence of the king, he had no intention to betray him; on the contrary, he was ready to sacrifice his life for the king: what he had done was a great misfortune; he had lost his head; but he had never formed a conspiracy. He said, that what determined him to go over to Bonaparte, was the fear of civil war, and and the assurance which he had from the agents of Bonaparte, that the allied powers were agreed with him, that the king of Rome and his mother should remain as hostages at Vienna until he had given France a liberal constitution. The ministers decided that Ney should be tried by a court-martial, for his name had been erased from the list of the Chamber of Peers. Marshal Moncey was, by seniority, the president of the court, but he refused to sit; and by a royal ordonnance, founded on an article of a law of the 13th Brumaire, of the year V, he was deprived of his rank, and imprisoned for three months in the fortress of Ham. The president of the court was marshal Jourdan; and marshals Masséna, Augereau, and Mortier, were members of it. Ney's advocates laboured hard to prove that the court had no jurisdiction, because Ney was a peer of France at the time when he was guilty of high treason; and the court was glad to rid itself of all responsibility, by admitting the validity of the plea. But Ney's advocates showed their want of tact in urging a matter of form, and removing the trial of their client from a court where his judges would hardly have agreed to condemn to death their old comrade in arms, the bravest soldier of the empire. The form of trial by the Chamber of Peers was settled, and the trial began on the 21st of November, 1815. Bourmont was one of the witnesses against Ney, and probably he lied in some particulars; for Ney contradicted his testimony, and there is no reason to doubt that he told the truth about himself. It appeared that Ney remained faithful to the king until the 14th of March, the day on which Bonaparte's proclamation was read to the troops, and that he then went over to the emperor. In the midst of the trial, Ney was advised to rely for his defence on the capitulation of Paris; and his wife had an interview with the duke of Wellington, who told her that the 12th article of the capitulation had no reference to the king of France, and could have no other application than the sole purpose of protecting the inhabitants of Paris against the vengeance of a victorious army. This interpretation of the 12th article is the only one that an unprejudiced person can admit. Ney's wife in vain made application to the ambassador of Austria; and his advocates had nothing left but to rest his defence upon it before the Chamber of Peers. The Chamber finally determined, by a large majority, that Ney's advocates could not avail themselves of the capitulation of Paris in any form. Dupin,* one of Ney's advocates, urged that, since the treaty of Paris, Ney was no longer a Frenchman, for he was a native of Sarrelouis, which was now ceded to Prussia. The marshal indignantly rose to protest against this course of defence: "I am a Frenchman," he said, "and I will die such." The first question proposed to the Chamber of Peers was, "Whether the accused was convicted of having, on the night of the 13th to the

* The escape of Lavallette has been often told. Lacretelle, 'Hist. de la Restauration,' ii., c. 6. 'Diverses Condemnations' has a chapter on Ney, Lavallette, and others.

14th of March, received emissaries of the emperor." One hundred and seven members voted in the affirmative, and forty-seven in the negative, though Ney's own admission clearly proved the fact. The next question proposed was: "Is the accused convicted of having read, on the aforesaid day, the 14th of March, 1814, in the public place of Lons-le-Saulnier, in the department of the Jura, at the head of his army, a proclamation tending to excite to rebellion and to desertion to the enemy, of having immediately given orders to his troops to join the usurper, and of having himself at their head effected this union." The Chamber was unanimously in the affirmative: one peer did not vote. On the question whether Ney was guilty of high treason, there were 157 votes for the affirmative, and one in the negative. On the question of his punishment, a large majority voted for death; a small number voted for deportation; and four refused to vote. It was half-past eleven at night when the sentence of death was pronounced. Ney was not present: he had supped well, smoked a cigar, and gone to sleep. He was roused to hear the sentence of death communicated by M. Cauchy, the archiviste, who said to him, "I have a painful mission to fulfil." "You do your duty," said Ney quietly; "every one has his duty in this world." The execution was hurried; for the royalist party was afraid of some movement, and they were thirsting for vengeance. The king was solicited to change the sentence of death into banishment to America, but he refused; and it might have been hazardous to show any favour to the marshal in the then state of opinion in the Chamber of Deputies. Ney was taken to execution at nine on the following morning, after he had drunk a bottle of Bordeaux wine. When he came to the place, he stepped down lightly from the carriage which conveyed him, and said to the officer, "Is it here?" "Yes," replied the officer. Ney took off his hat with his left hand, and placing his right on his heart, said, "Comrades, fire." The signal was given, and he fell dead. He was forty-six years of age.

Another illustrious companion in arms of the emperor came to a violent end. Joachim Murat, king of Naples, after the failure of his campaign against the Austrians in Italy, fled to France during the Hundred Days, and he was still in the south when he heard of the route of the emperor at Waterloo. After having several times narrowly escaped arrest, he embarked for Corsica, where he conceived the bold design of attempting to recover the throne of Naples. He left Corsica with about two hundred and fifty men, and after some adventures landed in Calabria, with only about forty companions (8th of October, 1815). He was overpowered by some peasants, brought before a Neapolitan court-martial, and shot.

The return of Napoleon from Elba had alarmed the princes of Europe, who had no hope of overthrowing this powerful enemy, except with the zealous support of all their subjects. They began to speak to them of liberal institutions; and the king of Prussia, by his appeal to the Prussians, rallied round him all the generous spirits of his kingdom. Battalions of volunteers were organized, and the youths left the universities and their books to put down the tyrant who had trampled upon them. On the 22nd of May, 1815, after Napoleon's return, and before the battle of Waterloo had decided the fate of Europe, Frederick William promised his people a representative constitution,—a promise which, to the day of his death in 1840, he never fulfilled. The allied armies who entered France were reminded by what they there saw, that some change was required in the political constitution of their own countries. They saw a nation which since 1789 had been harassed by internal convulsions, and had been the scourge of Europe, restored to the government of its antient line of kings, but not the government which existed before the meeting of the States-General, in 1789. The great conquests of the Revolution were secured, a charter was granted, and the experiment of kingly rule combined with popular institutions was going to be tried in France. After five-and-twenty years of agitation, Europe had made an immense progress: it was no longer the same country: old things had passed away, and new ones had taken their place. The ideas of liberty and constitutional forms were become familiar to all Europe; and constitutions more or less liberal were now granted in Würtemberg, Saxony, Hanover, Baden, and some other states. The constitutional system was established on the widest basis in the new kingdom of the Netherlands.

The territorial settlement of Europe was made by the Congress of Vienna, and the definitive arrangement was concluded on the 9th of June, 1815, only eight days before the battle of Waterloo. The grand-duchy of Warsaw was restored to Russia. Austria received a large addition to Gallicia. Prussia got the grand-duchy of Posen, and more than one-third of the kingdom of Saxony. Frederick-William at first was so greedy as to want the whole of Saxony; and the allies might probably have quarrelled on this point, if the return of Napoleon had not rendered it necessary to unite against their common enemy. Prussia also got Westphalia, and a large territory on the Rhine, extending from below Düsseldorf to Trèves, on the Moselle. The kingdom of Hanover received an accession, and its population was raised to 1,300,000 souls. The dukes of Oldenburg, Saxe-Weimar, and Mecklenburg, were made grand-dukes. The king of Bavaria received the countries of Würzburg and Aschaffenburg. The prince-primate, a devoted friend of Napoleon, was stripped of his possessions, and pensioned. Frankfort, with the territory which it had in 1803, was declared a free city, and, as well as Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, was made a member of the Germanic Confederation. The seat of the Diet was at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and the first sitting commenced on the 1st of September, 1815.

The line between France and the kingdom of the Netherlands ran from the sea along the northern frontier

of France, as fixed by the 3rd article of the treaty of Paris of the 20th of November, 1815. The limits of Sardinia were fixed by the same treaty. Austria was guaranteed in possession of the duchies of Milan and Mantua, of Istria, Dalmatia, and Ragusa; in fine, of all the Venetian states on both sides of the Adriatic and on the Terra Firma. The ex-empress, Maria Louisa, had the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, with the duchy of Lucca, the reversion of which was secured to the grand-duke of Tuscany, the archduke Ferdinand of Austria, who resumed his rights over the grand-duchy of Tuscany. The Marches were restored to the States of the Church, with the duchy of Benevento, the principality of Ponte Corvo, the legations of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara, and some other parts. Ferdinand the IVth was recognized as king of the Two Sicilies. The independence of Switzerland was respected, for Switzerland had made no opposition to the invasion of the allied powers over her territory. The Valais, Geneva, and Neufchâtel, were made three new cantons, the whole number of which was thus increased to twenty-two. The boldest measure in the new settlement of Europe was the union of the Belgic provinces with Holland in one kingdom, under the prince of Orange, with the title of king of the Netherlands or the Low Countries. This union of a Catholic and a Protestant people, who differed in so many respects, seemed likely to cause many difficulties.* A clause in the treaty of Vienna contained a protocol of the allied powers on the abolition of the slave-trade, the insertion of which was owing to the efforts of the British plenipotentiaries.

Alexander made a kingdom of Poland, which was proclaimed at Warsaw; and the basis of the constitution was declared to be the same as that of 1791. Cracow was declared a free city: "This country," said Alexander, "placed under the protection of three liberating and united powers, will enjoy happiness and tranquillity, by devoting itself solely to the arts, to the sciences, to commerce, and to industry: it will be, as it were, a monument of magnanimous policy, which has placed this liberty in the very spot (Cracow) where the remains of the best of your kings repose."

* It is unnecessary to enumerate all the particulars of the settlement of the Congress of Vienna. The principal points are stated by Lacretelle, 'Hist. de France depuis la Restauration,' i., c. 2; Capefigue, 'Hist. de la Restauration,' i., c. 9; and others.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

THE AMNESTY.

The opposition between the ministry and the violent majority of the Deputies, showed itself on the occasion of the law for an Amnesty, which was necessary to tranquillize France; for the menace of the proclamation of Cambray was still suspended over all those who had taken any part in the Hundred Days. The ordonnance of the 24th of July limited the number of those who were liable to punishment; but it was an irregular proceeding, and the ministry were preparing a draft of a law for the confirmation of this ordonnance, which would also be a bill of indemnity to those who signed it. The majority in the Chamber got notice of this scheme, which did not satisfy them; and on the 17th of November, M. de Labourdonnaye laid before the Chambers a proposition for an amnesty, the terms of which had been arranged with the influential Deputies. He proposed an amnesty for all who had taken part directly or indirectly in the conspiracy of the 20th of March; but he made three classes, or categories, as they were called, of exceptions, comprehensive enough to include a large number of individuals: and the Chamber took this proposition into consideration. On the day after the execution of Ney, the duc de Richelieu presented to the Chamber of Deputies the ministerial proposition for an amnesty, which was extended to all who had directly or indirectly taken part in the usurpation of Napoleon Bonaparte; but the ordonnance of the 24th of July was to be executed, and all the members or connections of the family of Bonaparte and their descendants, even to the degree of uncle and nephew, were to be for ever excluded from France, and could not enjoy any civil rights in it, or possess any title or property of any kind. The Chamber was not satisfied with this measure, and constitutionally the Chamber was right; for, to ratify the list of the 24th of July, was equivalent to pronouncing sentence on a number of persons, and judging them unheard. But the real objection of the Chamber was, that the list did not contain names enough; and it said nothing of the regicides, who had voted for the Acte Additionnel, and accepted office under Napoleon; and these were the men whom the Chamber particularly wished to proscribe. The Deputies were more inclined to punish than the king; for though the Chamber did not propose to proscribe individuals by name, it proposed to proscribe whole classes, which would have comprehended a very large number of individuals. The debates in the Chambers were long and animated: many of the speeches breathed nothing but vengeance and proscription, ill-disguised under more honourable names. It seemed that the government plan of an amnesty would be rejected, and that the Chamber would adopt that of the committee, to whom both the duc de Richelieu's plan, and that of Labourdonnaye and of other members of the Chamber, had been referred. The duke tried to gain over the influential

members of the Chamber: he urged the wish of the king to limit the severity of punishment to the names which were already on the list: the king, he said, would never consent to those general classes of excepted persons which the Chambers proposed. Nor could the king consent to punish the regicides: he remembered the last testament of Louis XVIII., and he could not conceive that a crime which he had once pardoned could be aggravated by a subsequent and independent act. The noble resistance of Louis and the duc de Richelieu to the vengeful spirit of the Chamber ought not to be forgotten. At last the vote was taken, on the proposal of the commission to establish certain classes of excepted persons, and the proposal was rejected by a majority of eight votes only, after all the efforts that had been made to induce the Deputies to respect the personal wishes of the king. Another proposition of the commission was to confiscate the property of those who were excepted from the amnesty, under the form of an indemnity to the treasury, to be applied towards the discharge of the extraordinary war contributions. M. de Serre said, "The Charter allows no confiscations, and you are going to establish them under another name." This proposal was rejected by a small majority only. There remained the question of the banishment of the regicides; and here the Chamber was unanimous. A kind of compromise had been made, that if the ministers would concede this point, the majority would vote against the classes of proscription, and against the confiscations. The king could not resist the unanimous wish of the Chamber on the question of the regicides, and with that tact which he possessed, he yielded, as a constitutional king in such a case ought to do. But the duc de Richelieu took care to inform the Chamber of Peers that the proscription of the regicides was not the wish of the king. The amnesty experienced no opposition in the Peers; and when it became a law, it only remained to be executed. An ordonnance enjoined the proscribed to leave France before the 1st of March, 1816; and places were assigned for their residence, by virtue of an arrangement with foreign powers. The law was executed generally without rigour, and the proscribed preserved their property. Cambacérès, once arch-chancellor of the empire, was one of them, and he was immensely rich. Some of the regicides wandered about in Switzerland, Italy, and Germany; but most of them settled in Belgium, in which country the exiles soon organized a violent opposition to the government of Louis XVIII. Fouché lost his title of ambassador at the court of Saxony: he removed to Prague in Bohemia, thence to Linz on the Danube, and finally to Trieste, where he died. Cambacérès was subsequently allowed to return to France, where he conducted himself with great prudence. His title to distinction was that of a jurist, and he rendered useful services in the formation of the Code Civil. Sièyes,* and Merlin of Douai, also a jurist; Carnot, once a member of the Committee of Public Safety; Thibaudeau; the painter, David; and Barrère; well remembered in the Reign of Terror; were among the proscribed. Tallien and Barras, who had overthrown Robespierre, were allowed to remain at Paris, where Tallien lived in great poverty. Drouet, the postmaster, who arrested Louis XVI. at Varennes, got weary of his exile, and ventured to return to France, where he lived in obscurity, under a feigned name, to the time of his death, in 1825.

The execution of Ney had not satisfied the royalists, and a petition against Masséna was presented from some inhabitants of Bouches-du-Rhône. The petition denounced "to the hatred of France, to the contempt of Europe, and the reprobation of posterity, the governor of the eighth military division:" this soldier was Masséna, whose notorious rapine had disgraced all his exploits. The Chamber ordered the petition to be read, and it was referred to the minister of war. The Chamber wished to deprive him of his military rank. Masséna did not long survive this attack. There is no doubt that he was not sincerely attached to the Bourbons; and there were passages in his life which were not creditable to him.* The amnesty gave confidence to all who were not comprised in it: they felt themselves secure against the arbitrary power of the police, which, if the measure of the Chambers had been carried, would have extended its hand to whole classes of people. But the spirit of faction was not extinguished; and there were as many shades of opinion as there had been dominant parties in France. The bankers were generally in favour of liberal opinions, and tolerably well-disposed to the government and the constitutional system. At the head of them was Laffitte, who afterwards played an important part. He owed his fortune to his industry and activity, and partly to the confidence of Napoleon, who, on leaving Paris, had deposited several millions in his hands. His opinions were rather Bonapartist than liberal, and the fragments of that party used to assemble in his saloons. The bourgeoisie and the middle class were not hostile to the Bourbons or to Louis XVIII., whom they looked upon as the guarantee of order. It was this body which composed the National Guard. The working class had not forgotten Napoleon and his eagles; and the faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau still remembered the days of the Revolution. The eighty thousand workmen of Paris were an imposing force, whose opinions it was impossible to suppress, and who required the active superintendence of Decazes, the minister of police. The old Jacobins, disguised under the name of patriots, found sympathy with this formidable body of workmen, among whom this party was well organized. It was a faction that was checked by no fears or scruples, and was ready to accomplish its ends, the subversion of the government, by any means.

* Sièyes returned to Paris after the Revolution of 1830, and lived to a very advanced age.

* Masséna published a 'Mémoire Justificatif.' He died on the 4th of April, 1817.

The various factions had their opinions represented by political writers, some of whom disguised, under the show of devotion to the constitutional monarchy, their attachment to Napoleon or to the Revolution: their hostility was levelled against the nobility and the priests, the two great props, as they considered them of the Bourbon dynasty. They played their part for about fifteen years, when they were enabled to raise the mask, and avow what their true opinions had been The most violent assaults against the government came from abroad, and particularly from Brussels, whence the refugees directed their attacks against the Restoration. The government was alarmed by the progress of Bonapartist and liberal opinions; and in 1816, it is said, there were conspiracies in every corner of the kingdom. The royalists were masters of the Chambers, and they had no occasion to resort to extra-parliamentary measures so long as they could carry the ministers with them; but when the ministry were resolved to oppose the violent reaction, they began to organize themselves without the Chambers and in the provinces. The first organization of this party was in the religious congregations, as they were called, the object of which was the propagation of religious and monarchical opinions. The centre of these unions was at Paris, where every Roman Catholic was admitted who could get himself presented by two members. Every Sunday the abbé Fraysinnous preached to a numerous audience; and in the conferences which he held, he attacked Gibbon and Voltaire, showed the beneficial influence of the clergy and of religion, and the necessity of strengthening the altar and the throne. Men of the royalist party attended these conferences, such as Villèle, Corbière, and others. The National Guard was also one of the means by which the royalists operated on the departments; and it was entirely organized and directed by the comte d'Artois, who was its colonel-general. If the comte d'Artois and his friends had been as active in supporting the administration, as they were in organizing their secret power, France might have been well governed, and restored to tranquillity and prosperity.

The question of the electoral law was of vital importance to the government and the royalist majority, who saw that they could only maintain themselves by an electoral system, which should harmonize with the power which they had created and organized in the departments. According to the Charter (Art. 37), "the deputies were to be elected for five years, so that the Chamber should be renewed every year by one-fifth." Vaublanc, minister for the interior, proposed to the Chamber of Deputies a law on the elections, but nobody liked it; and a committee was appointed, of which M. de Villèle was the reporter, to prepare a new scheme. The first object of the majority of the Chamber was to avoid the renewal by one-fifth, which the Charter prescribed. Villèle proposed that the whole Chamber should be renewed at the end of five years; a scheme which would have allowed the royalist majority four years more for establishing their system. As to the future elections, his scheme had a show of concession to democratical principles, but it was all a show, and not a reality. This plan, slightly modified, was carried by a majority of 184 to 182. But it was rejected by the Chamber of Peers on the 3rd of April, 1816, by a majority of 89 to 57; and thus the two Chambers were in opposition on a fundamental question. Shortly after Villèle moved that "the electoral colleges should not be summoned to any other elections than those which should be required by a dissolution of the Chamber;" and this was carried in the Chamber of Deputies.* On the question of the budget, the Chambers opposed the ministry. The Chamber refused to consent to the sale of the forests belonging to the clergy, though the forests were not restored to them. Yet the produce of the sale of these forests was intended by Corvetto, the minister of finance, to supply him with the means of meeting the financial difficulties; and there was a law of 1814 which appropriated part of the produce of this sale to the payment of the arrears left by the imperial government. The Chamber also refused the minister an augmentation in the direct taxation; and it rejected some of the indirect taxes which the minister proposed, and increased others. The salaries of public functionaries were reduced to the amount of thirteen millions; and the king gave up ten millions from the civil list. The Chamber, notwithstanding its violent temper against the late usurpation, adopted the new debt left by Bonaparte after the Hundred Days. This required a new loan; and as the receipts of 1816 were not equal to the expenditure, this deficit also was to be covered by a loan. In this session M. de Bonald, in the Chamber of Deputies, made his proposal for the law which repealed the faculty of divorce. "Bonald was the author of an eloquent work on this subject; but he had the misfortune to treat it at the tribune with too much theological display: the other speakers imitated him: if this system had been followed much longer, the first condition for being eligible as a deputy would have been to be a doctor of the Sorbonne." (Lacretelle.) The power of divorce had been limited by the Code Civil, but the two Chambers agreed in calling for a law to abolish the power; and in the next session a law was presented by the ministry, and passed. On the 25th of April the session was closed by the king. It was a memorable period in the history of France, in which an attempt was made, under a Constitutional Charter, to make a new revolution, in a sense diametrically opposite to that of 1789, and against the will of the king and his ministers. The minority, which stood in the gap, saved France from a fresh convulsion.

A marriage was arranged in April between the duc de Berri, the younger son of the comte d'Artois and a Neapolitan princess. The duke had a pension of one million francs annually allowed him on the occasion by the Chamber of Deputies; but in consideration

* Lacretelle, 'Hist. de France depuis la Restauration,' ii., c. 7.

of the financial difficulties, the king reduced it 500,000 francs for five years. In his reply to the address of the Chamber of Peers, the duc de Berri said, "If I have children, I will bring them up in the respect which is due to the king and to the constitutional charter, the immortal work of his wisdom,—to this charter, which secures for ever the liberty of the people and the power of the monarch." The young princess arrived at Marseille in May, and was conducted to Paris with great pomp. She was not handsome; but the want of beauty was compensated by expressive features and lively manners. The duke, though a man of pleasure, was fond of his wife, and they won the goodwill of the Parisians by their simple manners. They were often seen walking out together on the boulevards or in the Champs-Élysées.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

THE FIFTH OF SEPTEMBER.

The experience of the session had shown that the ministry must either get a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, or dissolve it; for these two powers were in opposition on most points, and particularly on constitutional questions. But it was not easy to induce the king to dissolve a Chamber whose royalist opinions had been so strongly pronounced, sometimes even in opposition to his own, and which those who surrounded him never ceased to exalt. The cabinet, also, was not in harmony with itself, and it was necessary to have some agreement on the law for the elections. Vaublanc had proposed one in the previous session, which was rejected; but he still adhered to it, which rendered it necessary to get rid of him, for there was no hope that the Chamber would accept his scheme. He was also totally unfit for his place: a man who, during a discussion in the Chamber, was so great a fool or knave as to say that as an individual he had different opinions from those which he expressed as a member of the cabinet. Vaublanc was dismissed, and Lainé was invited by the duc de Richelieu to take the vacant place. Though he was not at present in favour with the majority of the Chamber, his loyalty was well known and tried, and he had the support of a third party in the Chamber on the question of the electoral law. This party was in favour of a single body of electors who payed taxes to the amount of 300 francs, which was in accordance with the terms of the charter (Art. 40); and he made the adoption of this electoral system a condition of his taking office. The ministry also got rid of Barbé-Marbois, who was only an incumbrance; and his place for the present was left vacant.

In the early part of 1816 the Bonapartists and patriots were planning a revolution, and the conspirators were organizing their force. The capital was only occupied by English troops; and by the treaty of November, 1815, the 150,000 men were placed on the northern and eastern frontier. There were no foreign troops in the centre of France, or in the Lyonnais or Dauphiné; and the French army was scarcely organized. In this state of affairs news reached Paris by a telegraphic despatch that Grenoble had been attacked by some insurgents. In a few days, another despatch came from general Donnadieu, which began, "Live the king! Monseigneur, the dead bodies of your enemies cover all the roads about Grenoble." Other reports represented the insurrection as still more formidable; and the ministry, in alarm, responded by declaring the department of the Isère in a state of siege. General Donnadieu and the préfet of the Isère acted with great severity: and twenty-one individuals were condemned to death by a court-martial, and executed. The ministers refused to pardon any of them. Didier, the leader of this outbreak, was taken, tried, and executed. In his defence he maintained that he was not the leader of a band of robbers, but the chief of rebels; and in fact, there was a rebellion, the object of which was to overthrow the Bourbon dynasty. It is said, however, that many of the rebels were poor misguided people, who hardly knew what they were meeting about. The despatches which the government received from the department of Isère exaggerated the movement; and it was under the impression of the rising being more formidable than it really was, and the recollection that it was in the country where Napoleon met with so favourable a reception on his return from Elba, that the government resorted to measures of great severity. There could not be a movement in the departments without some corresponding action at Paris; and a plot existed there under the name of the Association of the Patriots of 1816. The police got a clue to it, and soon discovered the principal actors, who were workmen, retired soldiers, and students. The obscurity of these men did not render the plot less dangerous; for if they had succeeded in overthrowing the government, leaders of higher rank would soon have appeared. The idea of destroying a government was familiar to the people: they had been accustomed to it for twenty-five years; and it was for this reason that any plot, however mean the actors might be, was a real danger. The punishment of some of these conspirators made the revolutionary party more circumspect.

These attacks on the government showed the necessity of doing something to tranquillize the country; and the first measure towards this was the dissolution of the Chamber. Decazes suggested this measure to Pasquier, one of the moderate party in the Chamber; and there was afterwards a conference between him and some of the members of this party, to whom he explained his reasons. The duc de Richelieu was, after some trouble, brought over to the opinion of Decazes. The cabinet had now gained some popularity by re-establishing the École Polytechnique, encouraging primary education, agriculture, and the arts. The administration of the departments was improved; and the correspondence of the préfets seemed to show that there was a change in opinion, and that the government might securely act in the spirit of moderation. This was a favourable time for operating on the king, and several Mémoires were presented to him, to show the necessity of dissolving the Chamber. The main argument, and that which weighed most with Louis XVIII., was, that the measure was necessary, in order to maintain the royal prerogative. This Chamber, it was urged to the king, impedes the king's government, weakens his authority, usurps his power. The king read these various Mémoires, which were drawn up by the ministers and several of their political friends. Though three of the ministers, Clarke, Dubouchage, and Dambray, were opposed to the dissolution, they faithfully kept the secret, and the royalist party knew nothing about the measure till it was made public. The duc de Richelieu, without the knowledge of the king, wrote to the emperor Alexander, to know his opinion of the dissolution; and Pozzo di Borgo also hinted to the emperor, that if he thought a dissolution of the Chamber advantageous with reference to the general peace, a letter from him to the king would facilitate the matter. Alexander wrote to Louis, and his letter contributed to settle the king's resolution. An ordonnance appeared on the 5th of September, which, after stating the king's conviction that "the wants and the wishes of his subjects combined to preserve intact the Constitutional Charter," declared that none of the articles of the Charter should be revised, and that the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved; the number of Deputies was fixed according to the terms of the Charter; and the electoral colleges of the arrondissemens and of the departments were to remain as they were settled by the ordonnance of the 21st of July, 1815. The other provisions of the ordonnance created an electoral system founded on the Charter; and there was the less objection to this act of royal power, as there was no electoral law; two schemes had been proposed, and both had been rejected.

The court—which means the comte d'Artois and the duchess d'Angoulême—knew nothing of the dissolution until they saw it in the 'Moniteur' on the 6th of September. The comte d'Artois was very violent against the measure. The duc de Berri said that the king had done right. Châteaubriand attacked the ordonnance in his pamphlet, entitled 'Monarchie selon la Charte,' for which he was deprived of his title of minister of state, but his pension was not touched. The publication of this ordonnance made a complete rupture between Decazes and the royalist party, who became his enemies. It is maintained by a French writer, who had good opportunities of knowing, that the system of government which followed the ordonnance of the 5th of September was the free expression of the will of the king, who did not like the ultra-royalists, and only fell ultimately into the hands of the friends of his brother when his health became more feeble.*

The ministers exerted themselves to secure the return of a favourable majority to the Chamber of Deputies, and the result was in their favour. One hundred and fifteen members of the previous Chamber had not been re-elected; and the ardent royalists were now in a minority. The king opened the session on the 4th of November, 1816, with a speech, the substance of which was agreed on in the council; but the composition is said to be his own. It is a royal speech, infinitely superior in expression to what generally appears under that name, and a favourable specimen of the king's literary talent. The sentiments too were generous and elevated. At the close of it he said: "Let hatreds cease; let the children of one country, I would venture to add, of one father, be in truth a people of brothers; and of our past misfortunes, let there only remain the recollection, painful though it be, yet instructive." The important question of this year was the law of elections; which was settled in the Chamber of Deputies after long discussion, and adopted by the Chamber of Peers, partly through the personal influence of the king, but only by a small majority. The royalist party considered it as one of the chief causes of the ruin of monarchical opinions; as if the establishment of a body of about one hundred thousand electors, who were proprietors, could overthrow a dynasty. The qualification fixed for an elector was to be thirty years of age, and to pay direct taxes to the amount of 300 francs: the election was made direct, in conformity to the old usage in France, and the English practice. There was to be only one electoral college in each department, and it was fixed in the chief town. The financial operations of this session were important, for they were connected with the question of releasing France from the occupation of the allies, who had professed to make war on Napoleon. France had to appeal to public credit to raise money to pay its ransom. The treaty of the 20th of November, 1815, had fixed what was to be paid, except the claims on behalf of the subjects of foreign states, which remained unsettled. A commission had been appointed to ascertain the amount of the several demands. The taxes could not be augmented, and the only resource to meet the emergencies was a loan, which was effected in England and Holland, on such terms that the interest paid on the loan was, it is said, as much as 20 per cent. The

* Capefigue, 'Hist. de la Restauration,' ii., c. 11.

minister asked, for the year 1817, above 1000 millions, to meet all the obligations of France: the receipts were estimated at 774 millions: the deficit was to be supplied by the loan.

The laws passed in October, 1815, which affected the liberty of the press and individual freedom, expired at the end of this session. Decazes had obtained these laws from a royalist majority in 1815; but things were altered, and the royalists, now a minority, and hostile to Decazes, began to declaim in favour of liberty. The new measures of Decazes, as to the journals and the power of arresting persons charged with plots against the person of the king or the security of the State, were in more moderate terms than the laws of 1815, and were carried after some opposition.

During the early part of 1817, before the close of a long and rigorous winter, there was scarcity in France, accompanied with violence on the part of the people, who, true to their old habits, raised prices higher than they would have been, by alarming those who had corn to sell. These popular disturbances were not put down without some bloodshed. The scarcity furnished a pretext for a rising in the neighbourhood of Lyon, where a rumour was spread that Napoleon had escaped from St. Helena, and was going to appear again. On Sunday, the 8th of June, the tocsin rung at six in the morning in several villages near Lyon, and peasants assembled here and there in small bodies; but they were soon dispersed. Many of the insurgents were thrown into prison, poor obscure persons, totally unable to originate or direct a revolutionary movement, and the victims of some designing men, who were not discovered. The cour prévôtale of Lyon, before which these men were tried, was severe and indiscriminating in its judgments. The duke of Ragusa was at last sent to restore order in the departments of the Rhone, and he executed his mission with prudence and moderation, for which he did not escape the reproaches of those who called moderation by the name of treason.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

The release of the king from the dominion of the ultra-royalist faction, by the ordonnance of the 5th of September, was the first step towards the restoration of tranquillity and the improvement of credit, both of which were indispensable, in order that France should be relieved from her troublesome allies. Soon after the ordonnance of the 5th of September, upon the request of the duc de Richelieu, Alexander had induced the allies to withdraw one-fifth of the army of occupation, on the ground that the tranquillity of France was more secure. The article of the treaty of Paris which secured indemnity for the losses which the subjects of foreign states had sustained from France, had not fixed a maximum, and the claims had swelled up to the frightful amount of 1,200 or 1,300 millions of francs. The influence of Alexander was again invoked in this difficulty; and in consequence of a letter of his, dated from Moscow, the 30th of October, 1817, the duke of Wellington, the generalissimo of the army of occupation, was made the mediator between France and her creditors. The discussions on this matter began at Paris in January, 1818. On the 11th of February a pistol was fired at the duke's carriage, as he was returning to his hotel, but without injury to any one. This affair did not disturb the negotiations, which were concluded by the convention of the 25th of April, 1818, by which the debt of France towards the subjects of the allied powers was settled by the inscription in the Grand Livre of a rente or dividend of 12,040,000 francs, which represented a capital of 240,800,000 francs. Out of this sum Prussia got, as her share, 2,600,000, a large amount, which is sufficiently explained by the fact of the long occupation of that country by the French, and their pitiless pillage. By a separate convention with Great Britain, there was to be inscribed on the Grand Livre a rente of three millions of francs, representing a capital of 60 millions, for the purpose of re-imbursing and totally extinguishing both capital and interest of the claims of British subjects.* A separate convention, as to indemnity, was also made with Spain. The result of these conventions was, to impose on France additional annual payments, to the amount of 16,040,000 francs; and the minister, the duc de Richelieu, proposed the inscription of this amount on the Grand Livre. The proposed measure was recommended by the circumstance that claims, which amounted altogether to 1,390,000,000 francs, were by this convention reduced to a capital sum of 300,200,000; in respect of which, the annual payment of 16,040,000 would have to be paid. At the same time that this convention was submitted to the Chamber of Deputies, another proposal was made. The treaty of the 20th of November declared that the military occupation of France might terminate, in certain events, at the end of three years; and the allied powers were going to meet in congress on this question. There was still due a part of the 700 millions, which was fixed to be paid by the fourth article of the treaty; and without the payment of this money, it was not probable that the territory would be evacuated. The minister accordingly further demanded the opening of

* 'Annuaire Historique Universel, pour 1818,' pp. 166 and 190.

an eventual credit of 24 millions of rentes, for the purpose of paying what remained of the 700 million. "I call this credit eventual," said the duke, "because the employment of it will depend entirely on the event which alone can render it necessary; I mean the evacuation of our territory." Both these propositions were accepted by the Chamber of Deputies almost unanimously, and not a voice was raised against them.

The time was now come when the allies could no longer, with any show of decency, continue their occupation of the French territory. The duke of Wellington, who had done great service to France, in settling the question of the demands of the subjects of foreign states, was also favourable to the evacuation of the territory. He was the generalissimo of the army of occupation; a position which gave his opinion great weight at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. A circular was sent by the allied powers to their ministers, in which it was announced that the allied sovereigns who had signed the treaty of the 20th of November, 1815, would meet in the autumn to take into consideration, with the king of France, the internal condition of that country; and, as connected with it, the question of its further occupation by the troops of the allies. The circular further declared that the congress at Aix-la-Chapelle would not concern itself about the negotiations entered into at other places, which would be terminated where they had been begun. The only object of this congress at Aix-la-Chapelle was to be the question of the evacuation. The congress was fixed definitively for the month of October, in a Prussian town, the antient city of Charlemagne; the origin of which dated from the time of the empire of the Romans, who were attracted to the spot by the beauty of the situation and the warm springs from which it takes its name. Besides the crowned heads and diplomatists, many strangers, particularly English, flocked to the spot. Actors, singers, and poets, assembled from the great capitals of Europe; and the brilliant concerts of madame Catalani enlivened the intervals of negotiation.* The question of the evacuation of the French territory was settled on the 1st of October. When the duc de Richelieu took leave of Louis XVIII., before setting out for the Congress, the king said: "Make any sacrifice to obtain the evacuation of the territory: it is the first condition of our independence.—Express to my allies how difficult my government will be, so long as it can be reproached with the calamities of the country and the occupation of the territory: you know that it is not I, but Bonaparte, who has brought the allies against us." The terms of the protocol of the 1st of October were brief: "The troops which compose the army of occupation shall be withdrawn from the French territory on the 31st of November next, or sooner, if possible: the places and forts which the said troops occupy shall be given up to the commissioners named for this purpose by his Most Christian Majesty, in the state in which they were at the time of the occupation, in conformity to the 50th article of the convention concluded in execution of the 15th article of the treaty of the 20th of November, 1815." There remained to settle the times of payment for the complete discharge of the debt; and it was necessary to modify somewhat the terms which had been fixed at Paris. Everything being now arranged, both as to the evacuation of the French territory, and the debt, the duc de Richelieu proposed to the allied powers that France should be admitted to their conferences, which was granted, and the duc de Richelieu was invited to take part both in the present and future deliberations of the powers for the maintenance of peace and of the treaties upon which the peace was founded. All the measures of the allies had hitherto been concerted without the co-operation of France: she was now admitted into the Holy Alliance. The convention was signed on the 9th of October. There was also a secret protocol signed by the ministers of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia (15th November), after the exchange of the ratifications, which was nothing more than a repetition of the principles contained in the treaty of Holy Alliance. It was signed by Metternich, Richelieu, Castlereagh, Wellington, Hardenberg, Bernstorff, Nesselrode, and Capo d'Istria. This was followed by a declaration of the same date, which is a curious historical document, and is said to be the composition of Alexander:* "The convention of the 9th of October, which has definitively regulated the execution of the engagements contained in the treaty of peace of the 20th of November, 1815, is considered by the sovereigns who have concurred in it, as the accomplishment of the work of peace, and the complement of the political system designed to secure its permanence. The intimate union established among the monarchs associated in this system by their principles no less than by the interest of their peoples, offers to Europe the most sacred pledge of her future tranquillity. This union has no other object than the maintenance of peace, and to guarantee the transactions which have founded and consolidated it." It concluded thus: "It is with these sentiments that the sovereigns have completed the work to which they were called; they will not cease to labour to confirm and perfect it; they formally acknowledge that their duties towards God and towards the peoples whom they govern, prescribe to them to set to the world, as far as they can, the example of justice, of concord, of moderation; happy to be able henceforth to consecrate all their efforts to the protection of the arts of peace, the improvement of the internal prosperity of their states, and to the revival of those sentiments of religion and of morality, whose dominion the misfortunes of the times have only too much weakened." This declaration was signed by the

* A lively picture of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle is drawn by Capefigue, 'Hist. de la Restauration,' ii., c. 13. As to the conferences of Aix-la-Chapelle, see 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1818,' p. 309.

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1818,' p. 425.

seven men just mentioned,—Wellington and Castlereagh signing on behalf of the king of Great Britain, George III., whose eldest son, afterwards George IV., was regent, in consequenee of his father's mental derangement. The hand from which the declaration came may have been guided by sincerity; but the same cannot be said of all the rest on whose behalf it was signed.

Yet the four powers did not feel quite easy about France; and their ministers met without the duc de Richelieu, and agreed on some secret protocols, by which all the engagements contained in the treaty of the quadruple alliance of the 20th of November, 1815, were maintained in their full force and strength for the casus fœderis et belli, such as is provided for and defined by the said treaty; and also for the casus fœderis, as it is fixed in the second paragraph of the third article of the treaty of the 20th November, 1815, the object of which was to prevent "the deadly effects of any new revolutionary commotion with which France might be threatened;" and it was declared "that the progress of the evils which had so long desolated Europe, had only been checked by the intimate relations and the purity of the sentiments which united the four sovereigns for the happiness of the world." The two emperors and the king of Prussia, as absolute princes, might use such language as this: in the mouth of the king of Great Britain and Ireland, or of the regent, it was an idle mockery and an insult to the nation.

After the conferences were closed at Aix-la-Chapelle, Alexander made a journey to Paris simply to see Louis XVIII. He was well received by the people, and he deserved their gratitude, for he had exerted himself in favour of France both in 1814 and 1815; and in 1818 his opinion was given in favour of the liberation of the French territory, readily and with good will. Alexander only stayed a day in Paris, when he had a long conversation with the king on his favourite scheme of uniting kings and people on Christian principles. The king of Prussia shortly after paid a visit to Paris. The evacuation being agreed on, the allied powers gave their troops orders to leave the territory of France. The foreign troops had, it is admitted by French writers, conducted themselves well during the occupation; but it was a humiliation to a once victorious nation to have her strong places held by the foreigner, and great was the joy of every Frenchman to see the national colours again waving over all the frontier towns. The duke of Wellington, in an order of the day of the 15th of November, 1818, took leave of the troops which he had commanded, and thanked them for the good conduct which they had observed during the time that they had been under his orders—a period of nearly three years. The occupation of France was the consequence of the Hundred Days. It was now released, and in possession of a constitution, which secured most of the great conquests of the Revolution. After a struggle of near thirty years, the reign of a constitutional monarchy appeared to be established in France, and to require only time for its development.*

* For the period from the second abdication of Bonaparte to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, I have followed Capefigue in his 'Histoire de la Restauration,' a work which is characterized by moderation and good sense. But it is sometimes deficient in precision in the statement of facts. For the events of the year 1818, and subsequent years, the 'Annuaire Historique Universel' is a useful work.

CHAPTER XC.

DESSOLLE MINISTER.

The political history of a constitutional government is the history of ministries; a history less striking than that of violent revolutions, but often no less pregnant with events which determine the condition of a people. In France the first struggle was between the ultra-royalists and the moderate party; then between the moderate men of the ministerial party and the doctrinaires; and finally, between the doctrinaires and the extreme left, that is to say, between the constitutionals of the philosophical school and those whom the royalists and Europe, whether rightly or not, called Jacobins.* It is not easy to comprehend the various shades of opinion which determine the formation of political parties in free states, and it is foreign from the present purpose to attempt the constitutional history of France under the Bourbons. It is enough if some of the great questions can be intelligibly stated, on which future events depended.

In 1815 there were elections for another fifth of the members of the Chamber of Deputies; and the ministry did all that they could to influence the returns. None of the royalists of the extreme right were elected. Among the new members were Lafayette and Manuel, who had made himself conspicuous during the Hundred Days. The duc de Richelieu, who was still at Aix-la-Chapelle, was uneasy at the result of the elections: "I see with pain," he said, "that the law of 1817 removes all the royalists successively from the Cham-

* Capefigue, 'Hist. de la Restaurat.,' ii., c. 14. In another passage (ii., c. 12) he speaks of the doctrinaires as "a philosophical school which lives in a sphere of ideas and of absolute perfectibilities."

ber—I fear that we shall go too much on one side: on the whole I prefer the exaltation of the royalists to Jacobinism—I see with alarm the arrival of the men of the Hundred Days; they have so much damaged our position in Europe: let us avoid revolutions." The duc de Richelieu lost the assistance of Corvetto, whose health was impaired. Corvetto resigned, and was succeeded in the department of finance by M. Roy who had been a member of the Chamber of Deputies during the Hundred Days. The duc de Richelieu returned from Aix-la-Chapelle with the opinion that the government should make some attempt to conciliate the right side of the Chamber, in order to save the constitutional monarchy. The king said, in a meeting of the council: "Let us plant our standard on the ordonnance of the 5th of September: let us continue to follow the line which has hitherto succeeded; let us constantly hold out the hand to the right as well as to the left." But the ministry was divided in opinion, and it was impossible that it could hold together. Molé and Lainé declared to the duke that they could not remain in office if Decazes did, and they brought their resignations to him. The duke was of the same mind, and resolved to resign too. Pasquier also resigned. On hearing of his colleagues' resignation, Decazes sent in his resignation to the king, who was thus left without a ministry. Decazes insisted on retiring; and the duc de Richelieu then undertook to form a new ministry, but he could not succeed; and he finally resigned. At the end of December, 1818, a new cabinet was formed, with general Dessolle for the president, who had played an important part in the first Restoration. He had been the companion in arms of Moreau, and was one of those who had never bowed the knee to Napoleon. De Serre, Decazes, Portal, and the baron Louis, were members of the new cabinet; Decazes for the interior, and Louis for finance. The ministry of the duc de Richelieu had lasted three years, in the midst of great difficulties. It accomplished the deliverance of France from the allies, and its mission was then at an end. It had no decided section of the Chamber to support it. The new ministry belonged to what was called the centre gauche doctrinaire, with a tendency towards the extremity of the gauche, or left; but this brought it into hostility with the Chamber of Peers, and yet did not secure it the support of the extreme left. The new ministry were agreed in maintaining the new electoral law, which was the result of the ordonnance of the 5th of September, and in giving to the country such institutions as it still required. It was with the view of securing all the reasonable members of the *gauche*, that it was resolved to propose a law on the subject of ministerial responsibility, and another on the liberty of the press; and M. Guizot, who was employed in the department of the ministry of the interior, was instructed to make the draft of a law on the communal and departmental administration. Even before the ministerial change of the 24th of December, Decazes had obtained from the king a great concession to the extreme party, by the full remission of the penalties contained in the 7th article of the law of the 12th of January, 1816, against certain ex-conventionals, and the indefinite suspension of them in the case of others. In the first class were Cambacérès and others: in the second were Panis, Tallien, Laloi, and others of less notoriety. The king made no objection to the list, though he would gladly have excepted the regicide Panis; but it was a general measure of grace; and this blood-stained villain, one of the men of September, thief, murderer, and hypocrite, who had voted for the death of Louis XVI., experienced the clemency of Louis XVIII.

There was a considerable interval between the opening of the session and the proposal of any measure by the ministry. In the Chamber of Peers, Lally-Tolendal, and in the Deputies, Benjamin Delessert, proposed to vote a national recompense to the duc de Richelieu for his services in delivering France from the occupation of the allies. Though the measure had been concerted with the new cabinet, and was not intended to have anything of a party character, it was attacked by the two extremities of the left and right. The duke, hearing of the proposition, wrote to M. Ravez, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, to decline any recompense at the expense of the nation. Upon this the king proposed to establish a majorat of 50,000 francs a year, secured on the crown property. The duke had no lawful children, and if he did receive anything from the crown, it was with the view of transmitting it to his nephew, together with the peerage. But the Chamber refused to make the grant extend to others than the duke and his direct descendants; and thus it was in effect reduced to a simple pension for life to the duke; and even on this question there were 95 black balls to 124 white.* The duke was not pleased with the terms of a grant, which he did not want for himself, and had not solicited. He gave the 50,000 francs to the hospitals of Bordeaux.

It was now the 30th of January, 1819, and the new ministry had proposed nothing to the Chambers. There had been a change in the men who composed the ministry, but nothing to show what their plans were. The first measure that was discussed was a draft of a law on the responsibility of ministers, a matter which involved questions of great difficulty. A strong opposition was formed in the Chamber of Peers, where Dessolle had no personal influence; and Decazes, though a favourite of the king, could not command a majority. The great question was the electoral law; and the marquis Barthélemy, once a Director, and then a senator of the Empire, was selected by the moderate party in the Chamber of Peers to propose modification of this law. The cabinet had been formed on the terms of maintaining the law as it existed; and Decazes declared that he considered Barthélemy's proposal as the most dangerous that could proceed from the Chamber of Peers. A ma-

* 'Annuaire pour 1819,' p. 18.

jority of the peers, however, were in favour of considering the proposition of Barthélemy; and notwithstanding all the efforts of the ministry, it was adopted.* The hostility between the ministry and the majority of the Chamber of Peers rendered it necessary for the ministry to retire, or to crush the majority by a creation of new peers; one of the means which, under a constitutional monarchy, may be employed with temporary success, but with certain ultimate failure. The king's unwillingness to make a new creation was overcome by the Chamber of Peers refusing to adopt a proposal of the baron Louis for an alteration in the financial year, after it had been accepted by the Chamber of Deputies. It was now possible that the budget might be refused, and a creation of peers was determined. Sixty-three new peers were made in one batch, and among them were the six marshals who were not already in possession of the dignity. The list was published on the 6th of March; and it roused all the indignation of the royalists. The creation of so many new peers was a distinct declaration of the ministry, which had its weight with the Deputies; and Barthélemy's proposition for a change in the electoral law, which had been carried by a majority of the peers before the new creation, was rejected by a majority in the Deputies. But the ministry discovered what position they were in, when the electoral law and their policy were defended by the entire *côté gauche*, and they were receiving the praises of Lafayette.

The ministry was feeble in the Chambers, and uncertain of a majority; but it gained some credit by administrative improvements. The royal exhibition of the products of French industry was renewed; and it was arranged that there should be one at least in every four years.† The National Guard was brought back to its original municipal destination, and placed under the inspection of a committee. A commission for the preparation of a municipal law was organized under M. Guizot. The school of law was encouraged by the establishment of chairs of public law, administrative law, and the philosophical history of Roman law. There was also established a *conseil général des prisons*, whose duties were to look after the condition of prisoners. A report made to the king showed what had been done since 1816, in improving the treatment of prisoners, in providing for their moral instruction, and in attempting the reformation of those who, after their term of imprisonment, must again enter into society. These improvements in the internal administration were due to the activity of Decazes. De Serre, in his department, endeavoured to secure individual liberty, so far as it was compatible with justice; and his circular to the procureurs généraux is a proof of his generous and enlightened views in matters of criminal procedure.‡ At the same time, those who had been banished were returning to France: the government only required of them a formal act of submission, and Louis XVIII. rarely refused to grant a pardon. Daunou, formerly a member of the Convention, even obtained a professor's chair in the Collége de France. The law of 1819, on the press, though a great concession made to the liberal party, was violently attacked; and yet it contained the two great principles of liberty, the publication of any writing without the previous censure, and the jury for determining on the fact of any violation of law. This law, which was a code on the liberty of the press, and the offences which might be the consequences of this liberty, was the work of De Serre, Royer-Collard, and Guizot. There was some discussion on the part of the law which related to offences committed by the press against "public morality;" and to satisfy the scruples of some members, the words "and religion" were added. But this did not satisfy all; the *côté droit* would have had the expression "religion of the State."

Though the king had allowed so many of the exiles to return, petitions were presented to the Chamber of Deputies, and supported by the *côté gauche* for a general permission to all the exiles to return. De Serre said in the Chamber of Deputies: "The petitions which have been presented, refer not only to the individuals who have been temporarily exiled by virtue of article 2 of the law of the 12th of January, 1816, but to all the individuals who have been banished by this law; so that the petitions apply not only to the regicides, but to the family of Bonaparte also. We must make a distinction between the individuals who were reached by the law of 1816: in an irrevocable category must be placed the family of Bonaparte and the voters; those who come under article 2 are only affected temporarily." The firmness of the minister settled the question, but De Serre lost much of his reputation for liberality; from this time he saw that he could not act with the *gauche*, and that he must look for support elsewhere against the dangers that threatened the monarchy. During this session was abolished the droit d'aubaine, an old prerogative of the crown, by which the kings of France claimed the property of a foreigner, not naturalized, who died in France, and also in some other cases. It was abolished by the National Assembly, but restored in 1804, and now finally abolished (July 14, 1819) on the proposition of the duc de Lévis. The budget of 1819 was considerably less than that of 1818, and was fixed at 889,000,000 francs. The crops of 1818 and 1819 were abundant; France was improving in every branch of agriculture, and the condition of the labouring class was ameliorated. The Revolution had created an immense number of small proprietors, who were industrious and economical citizens. The freedom of intercourse which the Restoration had established between France and England, was favourable to both countries. Frenchmen could see the immense progress which manufacturing industry had made in England by the improvement and application of machinery; and Eng-

* The debate is given in the 'Annuaire pour 1819,' c. 2.

† 'Annuaire pour 1819,' p. 727; 'Exposition des produits de l'industrie Française de Louvre, 25 Août, 1819.'

‡ Capefigue, 'Hist. de la Restauration,' ii., c. 14.

lishmen could learn to profit by French taste and elegance. Great numbers of English visited Paris, and also settled in various parts of France, where they found living much cheaper, a better climate, and more of the conveniences and luxuries of civilization at a cheap cost. The stranger at Paris admired the magnificent works completed or commenced under Bonaparte; and the Restoration, if it could not finish all that was begun, did not neglect the embellishment of the capital. The Bourse was completed; and the statue of Henri IV. was restored to its place on the Pont Neuf.

The time was approaching for the election of a new fifth part of the Chamber; and the interval between the session of 1818 and 1819 was employed by Decazes in attempting to make the king popular, and by other measures calculated to influence the elections. The result was not favourable to the ministers, though their defeat was not so complete as their enemies proclaimed it to be. There was one return, however, which produced a great sensation at the court and on opinion in general. The abbé Grégoire, once constitutional bishop of Blois, was elected at Grenoble. Though an honest man, and a religious man, the part that he had played during the Revolution was not forgotten. His political importance might be greatly overrated; but the election of such a man was an indication of opinion, a sinister omen of the future, and a living memorial of the Convention. Among the new names was that of general Foy, a brilliant orator, the champion of liberal opinions, and an upright and honourable man.

CHAPTER XCI.

DECAZES.

Europe was not tranquil, though 800,000 men had marched against France to overthrow Bonaparte. Society was agitated by the opinions of which the French Revolution was the terrible expression. Germany was disturbed by secret societies, whose watchwords were liberty and equality, whose object was the overthrow of existing governments. There were also political associations in Italy; and in England there was great discontent and agitation. The ideas of the Revolution were not extinct in France, and the election of the abbé Grégoire was a proof of this. The king was well-disposed to the views of Decazes and Dessolle, and his liberal policy had alienated his brothers and the duchess d'Angoulême. The comte d'Artois and the king seldom exchanged words. It is said that the election of Grégoire restored some cordiality between them; for the king now thought that some modification must be made in the electoral law; and he told Decazes so, in such terms as showed that his resolution was fixed. Decazes gained over Portal and De Serre, so that three of the ministers were in favour of an alteration in the electoral law; the rest were opposed to it. These opposite opinions were declared before the king in council, and the king settled the question by stating his own opinion to be in favour of a modification of the law of the 5th of February. The dissident ministers immediately resigned, and Decazes was commissioned to form a new ministry, in which he was to be president of the council and minister of the interior. Portal still had the department of marine, and De Serre that of justice. Pasquier took the department of foreign affairs, and M. Roy that of finance. Latour-Maubourg, an old general of Napoleon, succeeded Gouvion St. Cyr in the department of war. The position of Decazes could not be long maintained; a man who had thrown above sixty peers into the upper Chambers, in order to ensure the rejection of Barthélemy's proposal, and who was now coming to propose a change in that law which he had pertinaciously maintained.

The formation of the new cabinet had adjourned the commencement of the session to the 29th of November. In the mean time all the exiles, except some of the regicides, were allowed to return; and the Peers who had been excluded by the ordonnance of August, 1815, were recalled to the Chamber. The king's speech at the opening of the session said: "The time is come for strengthening the Chamber of Deputies, and rescuing it from the annual action of parties, by securing to it a duration more conformable to the interests of public order, and to the consideration in which the State is held abroad: it is to the devotion, to the energy of the two Chambers, to their intimate union with my government, that I must appeal for the means of saving the public liberties from licence, securing the monarchy, and giving to all interests guaranteed by the Charter the profound security for which we are indebted to it." The first question was the election of Grégoire. The friends of the ex-bishop had urged him to resign, for the sake of his country; but he refused. His refusal is viewed by a French historian as a proof of his littleness of mind. It may be just as well viewed as a proof of the consciousness of his integrity, of which he had given ample proof. One cannot expect a man, who is elected by a popular vote, to proclaim his own unworthiness by resigning. All the rest of the new deputies had taken the oath except the abbé, to whom the king had not sent the usual letter of summons; and thus the question was in fact already judged. M. Becquey, who had to report on

the election of Grégoire, maintained that it was null by virtue of the 42nd article of the Charter, which required that at least one half of the Deputies should be taken from those who were domiciled in the department for which they were elected; and Grégoire and two others of the Deputies, who were elected for the Isère, were not domiciled in that department. The reporter considered it a fortunate circumstance that this defect in form rendered it unnecessary to discuss the question of the abbé's worthiness or unworthiness to sit in the Chamber. But a simple vote did not satisfy some of the more ardent members; and Lainé made a furious attack on Grégoire: "This man," he said, "must retire before the reigning dynasty, or the race of our kings must retire before him." Benjamin Constant reminded the Chamber, that a regicide (Fouché) had sat in the council; and not by any accident, but by the king's own choice. The matter was ended by M. Ravez proposing that those who were against admitting Grégoire should rise; and the whole *côté droit*, the two centres, and even a part of the *côté gauche*, rose. When the negative was proposed, a single member rose: it was Lambrechts, a name known in the Republican history of France.

The address of the Chamber of Deputies to the king's speech was feeble and unmeaning: the address of the Peers was more distinct: "Opinions which have overthrown empires are again awaking, and threaten the institutions which are a rampart to the throne and to liberty: the most sacred things, the most august personages, are not secure against these rash attacks: it is time to check the excess of a few factions." The minister's chance of a majority was not great. The press was opposed to any change in the electoral law; and this same law, which the liberals had a short time before declared to be so imperfect, was now represented as the safeguard of the Constitution. The cabinet, however, was united in opinion on the electoral law, and were resolved to attempt to modify it, in spite of the numerous petitions in favour of leaving it as it was. Petitions came loaded with the signatures of women, children, students, of all descriptions of people, many of whom had not the slightest notion what it was that they were signing, or what the law was. Some of these petitions were in a menacing tone. In some of the journals the sovereignty of the people was proclaimed, and principles directly subversive of the established order of things. Everything seemed to threaten a dissolution of the government. Napoleon was still living; his administration was lauded in the public prints, and the name of the great captain, the emperor of the French, seemed to threaten once more the dynasty of the Bourbons. Spain was in a state of revolution, and the restoration of the Constitution of the Cortez was proclaimed. The names of Quiroga and Riego excited the inflammable sympathies of the French revolutionists. Sand, the assassin of Kotzebue in Germany, was exalted as a martyr; and a fanatic appeared in France who selected a more illustrious victim.

On Sunday, the 15th of February, 1820, the duc de Berri was at the opera with his wife. As she wished to go away before the piece was finished, the duke conducted her to her carriage, with the intention of returning into the theatre. As he was quitting his wife, a man sprung on him and plunged a dagger into his breast. He was carried back into a saloon in the opera-house, and immediately attended by the most eminent surgeons. But the wound was mortal, and he died early in the morning. The king closed his nephew's eyes with his own hand. The duke had many good qualities, and was much beloved. His wife was then pregnant with the child who is now the last male of the elder branch of the Bourbons. The assassin of the duke was named Louvel, a native of Versailles, a stupid, ignorant man, of a taciturn and sombre temper, a fanatic who, it is said, conceived the design of killing all the Bourbons. The trial did not reveal any accomplices, though several persons were arrested on suspicion of being privy to his design; but Louvel affirmed that the act was altogether his own. He died on the scaffold with the same firmness or stupidity that he showed at his trial. The duc de Berri, when he was dying, asked the king to save the life of the assassin, but the king would not promise.*

The death of the duke was the signal for an attack on Decazes. A deputy, Clausel de Coussergues, charged him in the Chamber with being an accomplice of Louvel, and asked for permission to make his accusation in explicit terms. There was not the slightest foundation for the charge; and as Clausel was said to be an honest man, and declared that the accusation was the result of his conviction, there is no other conclusion than that he was a fool. As he persisted in asking permission to put his charge in formal terms, he was told by Saint-Aulaire that he was a calumniator; and so the matter ended. The effect of the duke of Berri's assassination was to cause general alarm. Addresses from all parts of France called for extraordinary measures to check revolutionary doctrines, to secure the persons of the royal family, and the safety of the country. The ministers determined to propose a law for the public press, and another exceptional law for the arrest and detention of persons charged with plots against the person of the king, or the safety of the State and the royal family. It was also agreed that the draft of the proposed electoral law should be submitted to the Chambers at the same time. But the minister saw that his three measures would be rejected: he could not even command the support of the two centres and of the doctrinaires. The death of the duc de Berri had brought about a reconciliation between the comte d'Artois and the king; and when the first transports of grief had subsided, Monsieur urged the king to change his policy, and to dismiss his favourite minister. Decazes retired, but with

* 'Annuaire pour 1820,' p. 27; and Lacretelle, 'Hist. de France depuis la Restauration,' ii., 353; contain the particulars of the duke's assassination.



ASSASSINATION OF THE DUC DE BERRI.

signal marks of the king's favour, who gave him a patent for a dukedom written out with his own hand, and appointed him ambassador to England, with an allowance of 300,000 francs, besides conferring on him certain private presents. He also wrote him two affectionate notes, in which he expressed his indignation at the abominable charges made against the minister by the royalist journals on the occasion of the duc de Berri's assassination. The duc de Richelieu was called from his retirement, much against his will, to form a new administration, in which Pasquier remained minister for foreign affairs. Portal had the marine, Roy finance, and Latour-Maubourg the department of war. The duc de Richelieu was president of the cabinet, without any department. The only new minister was Siméon, who had the interior; but the departmental administration and the police were separated from the ministry of the interior, and given to Mounier, a peer, and the son of Mounier who was a member of the National Assembly in 1789.

CHAPTER XCII.

RICHELIEU'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

The second administration of the duc de Richelieu was a transition to the complete and absolute royalist system.* The direct object in the formation of this ministry was to modify the electoral law, and to check the revolutionary tendency; but the minister was carried by circumstances beyond his object; for as he could look for a majority only in the right, he was compelled to adapt his measures to the opinions of the royalist party. The Chamber of Deputies was now divided into two distinct parties, the right and the left. The duc de Richelieu had undertaken to defend the exceptional laws which his predecessor had proposed for the safety of the king and the royal family. The first measure discussed was the law that affected individual liberty, and it gave rise to most violent debates. It was finally carried in both Chambers with very

* Capefigue, 'Hist. de la Restauration,' iii., c. 16.

little modification. The law for the re-establishment of the censorship of the journals was also carried, after considerable opposition from Royer-Collard, Camille-Jordan, general Foy, Bignon, Lafayette, and Benjamin Constant.* These debates attracted attention all over Europe, already agitated by the assassination of the duc de Berri, and a military revolution in Spain, which had compelled Ferdinand to swear to the Constitution of the Cortes. The French cabinet sent instructions to the ambassadors at the foreign courts, to assure them that the government of France was strong enough to crush any faction which should threaten the throne of the Bourbons or the tranquillity of Europe.

The ministry made little use of the exceptional law which enabled them to arrest suspected persons. They considered the law for the re-establishment of the censorship as much more important. A royal ordonnance regulated the manner in which the censorship should be exercised, and named the censors, among whom were Auger and Raoul-Rochette. There was also established a superior commission of censorship, composed of magistrates belonging to the court of Cassation and to the Cour Royale: but though the men in whose hands the censorship was placed were men of good character, the censorship is in its nature an arbitrary and tyrannical power; and the more so, because the exercise of it is of necessity entrusted in a great degree to subordinate persons; and, if appeal is made to the higher authorities, it causes delay, and delay is the death of a journal. An association was formed among the liberal party, to protect "prisoners of state," whom the law of arrest was going "to plunge into dungeons;" and in a prospectus it was declared "that arbitrary power clothed with the forms of law could not prescribe against the eternal laws which God has engraven on every heart; that humanity and justice were manifestly outraged by a measure which delivered the liberty and the honour of citizens to the mercy of policy, hatred, corruption, meanness, and all the passions of certain individuals." The style of this address shows clearly from what school it came. A committee was formed for the purpose of defending state prisoners against the law and the arbitrary measures of the ministers. The committee consisted, among others, of Laffitte, Casimir Perrier, Lafayette, Kératry, and Odillon-Barrot. This organization was a matter of importance, not only with respect to the special object for which it was formed, but also as containing the elements of the direct conspiracy against the house of Bourbon, which afterwards broke out. It is said that a conspiracy was even then formed, which had partisans both among civilians and the military, and that the government had proof against the leaders. But nothing was done by the government; and the ministry must be condemned as guilty of great weakness, if, with evidence before them, they were afraid to punish. The ministers, however, did not spare the press; many publications were seized, the writers were convicted, and severely punished. The press was tamed by the vigour of the ministerial prosecutions, and the places of public instruction also felt the weight of their power. The example of the German universities showed them the danger of allowing public teachers the free expression of opinion; and the commission of public instruction suspended the courses of Guizot, who lectured on history, and of Cousin, who taught philosophy.

The great question of the session was the electoral law. The plan of the new ministry gave greater influence to large property than that of Decazes. In both schemes the number of the Chamber of Deputies was to be increased to 430 members; and in both schemes the unity of the electoral college was broken by substituting for it colleges of the arrondissemens, and departmental colleges. But the new ministerial law proposed to give the colleges of the arrondissemens only the power to name as many candidates as the department sent deputies; and out of these candidates the departmental college, which was to consist of one-fifth of the electors taken from among those who paid the largest amount of taxes, was to choose the deputies who were to be sent to the Chamber. This was in effect to transfer all the power to the departmental colleges, and to a minority of the electors.* The debates on the electoral law roused all the passions of the opposing parties. The extreme left adhered to the principles of the law of the 5th of February, because they were thus assured of a majority. The doctrinaires, and a few who belonged to the centre *gauche*, defended the principle of direct election, to secure which they were willing to consent to some changes. Lafayette said, that if the government had wished to revise the Charter, there would have been less opposition from the friends of liberty; "for I do not think," he said, "that the nation has not the right to remodel its social pact in concert with the government: it is not because the Charter secures to one man the title of count or baron, to another a bishopric; it is because it proclaims equality, liberty of conscience, individual liberty, that it is become the idol of French patriotism, and that we have taken the oath to the Constitution; and now they release us from it: recollect the contempt and shame that men have taken pleasure in pouring upon the national standard, to which the most glorious recollections are attached; this standard which was, I do not fear to repeat it, the standard of liberty." Lafayette was still the same man that he was in 1789 and '90; no wiser than when he proposed the Declaration of Rights. He and the comte d'Artois, it was said, were the only two Frenchmen who never changed. De Serre made an eloquent attack on Lafayette's insurrectionary, rambling talk; and he reminded him, that when popular masses are once roused, it is no longer possible to check their movements at our pleasure.

The doctrinaires aimed at fixing the new electoral

* 'Annuaire Historique par 1820,' p. 40, &c.

* 'Annuaire Historique pour 1820,' p. 84, &c.

law on a basis of their own, as a means of arriving at power; and Camille-Jordan proposed an amendment to the ministerial plan, in which the doctrinaires obtained the support of the extreme left. His amendment (30th of May) was, that each department should be divided into as many arrondissemens as it sent deputies to the Chamber, and each arrondissement should have an electoral college, and elect its own deputy direct: the electors in each arrondissement to be those who had their domicile in it, were thirty years of age, and paid 300 francs in direct taxes.* This amendment obtained the priority over another, made by Delaunay, by a single vote; which showed that there was a majority against the ministers. The cabinet had put forth all its strength: five ministers, members of the Chamber, had voted, and yet the result showed that the ministry would be defeated on their own question. Great efforts were made to gain over some of the opposition members; and after a three days' debate, the amendment of Camille-Jordan was rejected by a majority of 133 voices to 123. There were various rumours as to the way in which this small majority was secured; and it has been said that it was an affair of money; in other words, that some deputies were bribed. But there is no evidence of the fact, though it is certain that, in a numerous assembly, there are always some who will sell anything for money.

The agitation within the Chamber was shared by the people. The *côté gauche* appeared to be looking outside for support, after the fashion of the revolutionary times. Lafayette's speech had no meaning, if it was not an appeal to the masses, and to the recollections of the Revolution. There was a great crowd around the Chamber of Deputies and the Place Bourbon; there was a conflict between some of the gendarmerie and the gardes du corps, who cried out "Vive le Roi," and the crowd, whose cry was "Vive la Charte." Some of the liberal deputies were insulted. A young student of law, named Lallemant, was killed by one of the garde in a struggle, the circumstances of which were not well ascertained. The government was blamed for taking measures of precaution, though thousands of people were running about the streets with seditious cries. All the troops of Paris were placed under the order of marshal Macdonald, and every measure was taken to secure the public peace. On the 21st of June the cavalry had to charge the assembled people, who were dispersed without any bloodshed. If the government had not made a demonstration of force, it is probable that the throne of the Bourbons would have been overthrown in 1820; for there is no doubt that there were persons who directed these movements, and were ready to take advantage of them. Some of the deputies of the *gauche* declaimed against the ministerial measures of precaution, but said not a word against the agitators, who had rendered such measures necessary.

The electoral law was in suspense, and the debates were interrupted by the tumults of the month of June. A conciliatory amendment was proposed by Courvoisier, Boin, and Beugnot, to the minister De Serre. According to this amendment, there were to be two classes of electoral colleges, one class for the arrondissemens, and one for the departments: the departmental colleges, composed of those who paid the largest amount of taxes, were to choose a certain number of deputies; and the colleges of the arrondissemens were to retain the direct election of a number of deputies equal to the number in the actual Chamber. As the law was finally passed (20th June), the departmental colleges were to elect 172 deputies; and the colleges of the arrondissemens were to elect the 258 actual deputies.* Such was the result of this long discussion, which kept Paris and all France in agitation for six months. Many of the deputies, wearied and exhausted by the struggle, obtained leave of absence; and there were scarcely left a sufficient number to vote the budget.

As soon as the session was over, the ministry had plenty to do to maintain the public peace. There were popular movements in several of the large towns, and manifest symptoms of hostility to the dynasty of the Bourbons. The imagination of many of the young men was inflamed by the discourses which had been pronounced in the Chamber of Deputies; and the vague ideas of liberty and of government, which had distracted France during the Revolution, were still fermenting. The iron hand of Bonaparte had for a time compressed all political agitation, but the spirit of the first Revolution only slept: it was not dead, and it awoke again, and showed its terrors under the more feeble sway of the Restoration. The ministry was dissatisfied with the ambiguous position which the doctrinaires had maintained during the session. Most of them were still members of the Conseil d'État, and it was resolved to get rid of them. The names of Royer-Collard, Guizot, Barante, and Camille-Jordan, no longer appeared on the list.

During the month of June the troops had remained faithful, and resisted the attempts to seduce them. This was encouraging to the king; for in Spain it was the army that had made the Revolution. The people of the faubourgs also remained quiet, though attempts were made to excite them to tumult. Money, it is said, was freely distributed in all the movements against the dynasty of the Bourbons, though it is not said who supplied it. The real history of all this disturbance may never be fully known; but there is no reason to doubt of the existence of a party, which finally succeeded, whose object was to overthrow the Bourbons. Even at this time there was a military conspiracy; systematic attempts were made to cor-

* 'Annuaire Historique pour 1820,' p. 123; Capefigue, 'Hist. de la Restauration,' iii., c. 16; Lacretelle, 'Hist. de France depuis la Restauration,' iii., p. 423.

* 'Annuaire Historique pour 1820, Loi des Elections,' p. 550, where the text of the law is given.

rupt the troops, and with success in some instances, especially the legions of the Meurthe and of Nord. A regular plan of opérations was concerted; a provisional government was to be established. The 19th of August was the day fixed for the outbreak, according to evidence obtained by the police. The officers, who were compromised, were arrested on the morning of the 19th, and brought for trial before the Chamber of Peers, which was occupied with this matter for more than two months.*

On the 29th of September the duchess of Berri gave birth to a male child, who received the title of duc de Bordeaux, in honour of the city which was the first to proclaim the Bourbons. This event caused such rejoicing in France, that one would have supposed that every Frenchman was a royalist. Calumny afterwards attempted to call in question the duke's parentage, and maintained that he was a supposititious child but the evidence of his birth is as strong as the most incredulous can require. The corps diplomatique, on addressing the king on the birth of the child, said, "This child of sorrows, of recollections, and of regrets, is also the child of Europe; he is the presage and the guarantee of the peace and the repose which are destined to follow so much agitation."

The revolution in Spain had not disturbed that country in such a way as to give Alexander and his allies a reasonable pretext for direct interference; and indeed the geographical position of the peninsula, with respect to the rest of Europe, in some measure isolates it from all states except France. But the revolution at Naples, which, like that of Spain, originated with the army, was different in its character; and the position of Naples, with respect to the States of the Church, to the Austrian possessions in Italy, and to the several powers established in this peninsula by the Congress of Vienna, made a revolution in this kingdom a matter of concern to the allied powers. The news of the Neapolitan revolution caused great uneasiness at the Tuileries, owing to the close relationship of the royal family to the king of Naples. The Austrian cabinet promptly placed the army in Lombardy and the Tyrol on a war footing, and preparations were made for an intervention in the affairs of Italy. But this was a grave matter, which required the deliberation of all the allied powers; and Metternich succeeded in forming a congress at Troppau. His great object was to induce Alexander to adopt the principle of intervention, with the view of maintaining the states of Europe in their complete integrity, both as to territory and form of government, as fixed by the treaties of 1815. Alexander at first showed reluctance, but he at last assented, and Austria, Prussia, and Russia signed a protocol to this effect, which was accompanied by a declaration of the object of this new alliance, and an invitation to France and England to adopt this principle. The English and French plenipotentiaries knew nothing of the protocol and of the declaration before they were finally settled. A note was written to the king of Naples, to invite him to a fresh congress of crowned heads, to settle the affairs of Naples; which was afterwards done at Laybach.

The duc de Richelieu's ministry was now proceeding openly in a royalist direction. The events of June, and the military conspiracy of August, showed there was open war between those who would support the constitutional throne, and the men who sought to overthrow it. The University was re-organized; and a number of places were made in the royal household, which were distributed with the view of attaching to the crown persons of various ranks and opinions. General Rapp, an old friend of Napoleon, a rough soldier, was named grand-master of the wardrobe. The conspiracy of August showed that it was necessary to re-organize the army; in doing which, all the officers were removed who could not be relied on. The change was great, and the object was to annihilate the spirit of revolution which animated a great many of the officers.

In order to influence the elections, it was resolved that the king should issue a proclamation to the electors of the kingdom. Pasquier drew up the proclamation, which was modified in the council, corrected by the king, written out with his own hand, and lithographed. A hundred thousand of these facsimiles were circulated through the kingdom, and they produced a great effect. "Keep away from the functions of deputy," said the king, "those who ferment disturbances, those who are the artificers of discord, who propagate unjust distrust of my government: it depends on you to secure the repose, the glory, and the happiness of our common country; you have the will to do it; show it by your choice." The result surpassed the expectations of the royalists. The returns from the arrondissemens produced a majority for the centre and the right; and the returns from the departments were royalist, with the exception of a few departments. Thus the right obtained a complete victory; but the king expressed his fears to the duc de Richelieu, that such a majority was more than could be wished; it was more than the minister would be able to govern.

If the dynasty was secured by the new elections, it was not certain that the ministry was. The *côté gauche* had gained little; and, with the exception of a few men, who had some talent for specialties, no new name of note was added to the liberal party. The royalists received some fresh men, who were afterwards better known: M. de Peyronnet, procureur-général at Bourges; Dudon; Puymaurin; and general Donnadieu, who hated Decazes, and was also a violent opponent of the Richelieu cabinet. Among the deputies of Paris were M. Quatremère de Quincy, a man distinguished for his learning, and M. Olivier, one of the regents of the bank of France. The duc de Richelieu saw the necessity of making advances to the royalists, and Châteaubriand accepted the embassy to Berlin.

* The subsequent history of this affair is briefly given by Lacretelle, 'Hist. de la Restauration,' iii., p. 6, &c.

There were also negotiations with M. de Villèle, and the king's speech at the opening of the session was previously submitted to him. In his speech, the king spoke of the few years that probably remained to him, and expressed his ardent wish that the union between the crown and the Chambers might be strengthened, in order to allow the establishment of a system of government suited to so large a country as France.* He foresaw that the moderate party had lost the power, which would fall into the hands of his brother and the ultra-royalists. M. Corbière was made president of the royal council of public instruction; and Lainè and Villèle were made members of the Conseil du Roi; but they got less than they expected, and were not satisfied. They were rather dangerous allies than sincere friends to the administration.

One of the first measures of the session, which opened on the 19th of December, 1820, was a complement to the electoral law, for the purpose of fixing the limits of the arrondissemens (23rd of February, 1821). The limits of the arrondissemens were fixed according to the wishes of the royalists, and in such manner as to give the majority a chance of re-election. The ministry intended to propose a law for the indemnity of the emigrants, but on a very different basis from that which was afterwards passed; but this measure was to be preceded by a law of indemnity for the "donataires Français," for those who had been deprived of the property which they held in foreign countries, either by the loss of the French conquests or by the treaties. The ministerial measure was modified after much discussion; and it was enacted (26th of July), in the first article, that the "French 'donataires' who had been entirely deprived of their dotations in foreign countries, and who possessed nothing in France, as well as the widows and children of those who were deceased, might be entered (*pourront être inscrits*) on the books of pensions, by way of indemnity for the loss of the said dotations." The subsequent articles determined all the special circumstances. This was an ill-timed measure, by which the ministry came to the relief of the men of the Revolution and of the Empire, without even mentioning the emigrants. Though there were many honourable names on the list of the donataires, soldiers covered with honourable wounds, there were other names that recalled painful recollections—Jean-Bon-Saint-André, Jean de Bry, Quinette, Drouet, general Clauzel, and others. One of the deputies said, that an indemnity to such men was a reward for conspiracy; but such an indemnity only prepared the way for another still more extensive and burdensome for France.† A draft of a municipal law was prepared, but, as it was ascertained that it would not please the majority, it was withdrawn. To please the religious party in the Chamber, the ministers provided, by a law, for the endowment of twelve episcopal or metropolitan sees, and for eighteen others at a future time, and for the increase of the salaries of the poorer vicaires; for the payment of the salaries of new curés and new vicaires; for the increase of the funds for the repair of cathedrals, episcopal residences, seminaries, and other buildings of the diocesan clergy. The budget of this session promised a diminution of taxation, for the first time since 1815. The receipts were estimated at 888,021,745 francs, and the expenses at 882,327,374; which left a surplus of above five and a half millions. Besides this, it was estimated that there would be a surplus on the year 1820 of more than 24 millions. This was a remarkable result to have been produced in a country which had been so heavily taxed, and had suffered so much from intestine disorder. But there was opposition to that part of the budget which diminished the land-tax, because it would diminish the number of electors. The land-tax was very unequal in different departments, and this inequality was the result of the union of different provinces at different times and under different circumstances. When the Constituent Assembly made the new departmental division, they had not the necessary information for making an equal distribution of the land-tax. It is stated that at this time (1821) some departments were taxed much more heavily than others: in Aveyron, for instance, the land paid one-sixth of the net revenue; and in Basses-Pyrenées only one-seventeenth. The ministerial plan was to make a reduction of 20 millions, to be distributed over the fifty-two departments which were most heavily taxed.* The question of prolonging the censorship gave rise to great personalities in the Chamber of Deputies; and Pasquier, by his reply to a coarse attack of Castelbajac, alienated the royalists from the ministry, though he said no more than any honourable man might have said. The censorship was prolonged, but only for two months after the opening of the next session. The present session closed on the 31st of July, 1821.

The basis of the congress of Laybach had been laid at Troppau. The emperors of Russia and Austria and the king of Naples met at Laybach early in January, 1821. The king of Prussia was represented by Hardenberg, Bernstorff, and Krusemark. France had three representatives there, and Great Britain was represented by lord Stewart. The matters discussed at Laybach may be reduced to five heads: the general question of intervention: the application of this principle to the revolution of Naples: the attempt to form an Italian confederation: the revolution of Piedmont: and the Greek insurrection, which broke out during the sitting of the Congress.† All the little princes of Italy had their representatives at Laybach; and Gentz was employed, as he had been before, in drawing up the minutes of the proceedings, and other diplomatic documents. It is said, and there can be little doubt. that lord Castlereagh, then the English minister for

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1821;' 'Discours prononcé par le Roi, &c., le 19 Décembre, 1820,' p. 585.

† 'Annuaire Historique pour 1821,' c. 7. "Loi des Donataires," p. 588.

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1821,' p. 591.

† Capefigue, 'Histoire de la Restauration,' iii., c. 18.

foreign affairs, entered into all the views expressed in the protocol of Troppau; but he could not avow such opinions before the British Parliament. Accordingly, on the question of intervention, his instructions to the foreign ministers of Great Britain were, that the British government did not consider itself bound by its alliance and the existing treaties to arrogate such extraordinary powers as the system of intervention implied: as to the affair of Naples, though the British government had expressed its disapprobation of the manner in which the revolution was accomplished, it did not consider itself bound to interfere; other powers, however, as Austria and the Italian states, might consider themselves in a different position, and the British government had no intention to prejudge the question as far as those states were concerned. The question was soon settled, and a circular of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, announced that the army destined to act against the revolution had received orders to advance upon the Neapolitan frontiers. The emperors of Russia and Austria, and the king of Prussia, had severally written to the king of Naples, to invite him to Laybach; and Louis XVIII. could not avoid doing the same, if he would take any part at all in the Congress. His letter to the king of Naples, however, indicated a different system from that of Austria, Russia, and Prussia: it spoke "of the union so necessary of power and liberty" as the means of securing prosperity. The harmonious action of individual liberty and sovereign power is, in fact, the problem of government. Thus France, by her king, proclaimed a principle more enlightened than that of the other allies; and Great Britain took no part in the intervention. The armed intervention of Austria speedily settled the Neapolitan question, and the king of Naples resumed his former power. No sooner was the affair of Naples settled than a new revolution was announced at Laybach,—a revolution in Piedmont,—which was also checked by Metternich's promptitude in sending thither an Austrian force.

While the Congress at Laybach was sitting, the duc de Bordeaux was christened (1st of May), and Napoleon Bonaparte died. The christening of the young duke was a pompous ceremony, and accompanied with great rejoicings. On the 5th of July the cabinet heard of the death of Napoleon, and the news was immediately communicated to the king. This event was of the greatest importance to the Bourbons; for the remembrance of Napoleon was the spirit that moved the most active of the disaffected parties in France, and even some of those who wore constitutional colours. Bonaparte died on the 5th of May, after suffering great pain from a cancer in the stomach. He was in the fifty-second year of his age. The body was interred in the little valley, where it is said that he had expressed a wish to lie: and as the latter part of the road to the place was impassable for carriages, the former emperor of the French was carried to his grave by English soldiers.

The result of the elections for this year, of a new one-fifth, was still more in favour of the royalists than the previous elections. Men saw that the present ministers must fall, and they turned their eyes and gave their help to those who were to succeed them. The duc de Richelieu had still hopes of being able to maintain himself, of gaining over a considerable number by good measures, so as to leave the men of the two extremes in a minority; and he relied on the king's dislike to the ultras. But the combination against him was too strong; and the king in his palace, worn out by age and disease, and surrounded by the comte d'Artois, the duchess d'Angoulême, and men and women whose sympathies were all with the right, was not likely to hold out in favour of his ministry. The accession of M. de Villèle to power could not long be deferred. When the Chamber met (5th of November) he was one of the five persons elected for the presidency; but the king chose M. Ravez. The king in his speech spoke of his friendly relations with foreign powers, and expressed a hope that they would continue. The address of the Chamber of Deputies, in reply to the king's speech, which was drawn up by a committee composed of the extreme right, contained this remarkable expression: "We congratulate ourselves, sire, on the continuance of your friendly relations with foreign powers, in the just confidence that so precious a peace has not been bought by sacrifices incompatible with the honour of the nation and the dignity of the crown." * This was not decent: it was even insulting. The ministry required these words to be struck out; but there was a majority against them, formed by the union of the right and left, and the address was carried by 176 votes to 98. The king refused to hear it read; and he told the president and the secretaries of the Chamber, who brought the address, that he was "indignant even at the idea that he could ever think of sacrificing the honour of the nation and the dignity of the crown." The ministry shortly after resigned, and it was necessary that they should not delay. The king's health was so bad that he might die any time, and it was impossible for the ministry to struggle against his successor. On the 13th of December the duc de Richelieu was commissioned to form the new administration, which was to succeed his. M. de Villèle was at the head of it. When the list of new ministers was presented to the king, he said that he must show it to his brother; a proof of the influence which the comte d'Artois had obtained over the king.

* 'Annuaire Historique pour 1821,' p. 228.

CHAPTER XCIII.

DE VILLÈLE.

The new ministry was altogether royalist. The minister for foreign affairs was Mathieu de Montmorency, a religious and an honourable man, but of little capacity. He was one of those in the Constituent Assembly who laid down his titles and his privileges on the memorable night of the 4th of August;* and he had repented of what he had done. It was natural that he should go from one extreme to the opposite. Peyronnet, the new minister of justice, was a man of talent, a good speaker, and of resolute character. Corbière was minister of the interior, for which his peculiar character did not well qualify him; but he was an honest man. Marshal Victor was minister of war, a soldier of fortune, and now a member of the cabinet which was to secure the victory of the royalists and of aristocracy. Clermont-Tonnerre had the marine, which was one of the less important of the branches of administration. Villèle had the department of finance. Châteaubriand was sent as ambassador to England in the place of Decazes, a position not well adapted to a man of his ardent temperament and lofty imagination. In a country of practical ideas an ordinary man would have been a better choice. Changes were made in the police and other departments, and many men were employed who were strongly imbued with religious opinions, which affected their administrative conduct. Marshal Victor gave a military command to general Donnadieu, who had been a violent enemy of the late ministry. Two of the most violent assailants of the late cabinet, Delalot and La Bourdonnaye, got nothing: but hopes were held out that something would be done for them as soon as the king was pacified. The change that had been made was most complete: the new cabinet and their adherents were rather the men of the comte d'Artois than of the reigning king, whose days were nearly numbered, and who was amused in his palace by a succession of female favourites.

Though the left had assisted in overthrowing the late ministry, it could not support the new one. Yet the minister had a compact majority, consisting of the right and the centre. The opposition consisted of the doctrinaires, the centre gauche, and the extreme left. In the Chamber of Peers the new ministry had a strong opposition, composed of different shades of opinion. The first measure presented to the Chamber of Deputies was one which De Serre had already proposed on the 3rd of December, 1821, a general measure for the repression and the prevention of offences committed by the press, or by any other means of publication.† It provided for the case of insults to the religion of the state, or any other religion legally established in France; attacks on the royal dignity, the king's rights by birth, those by virtue of which he had given the Charter his *constitutional* authority; and for many other cases. Offences of the press were to be under the cognizance of the police correctionnelle, except in the cases provided by articles 15 and 16; and the appeals from the judgments of these tribunals were to be made to the cours royales. In the law as passed by the deputies, the word *constitutional* was omitted, but it was restored by an amendment made in the Chamber of Peers, and the law was carried with the amendment in spite of the ministry, who thus learned that they had not a majority in the Chamber of Peers, and that they could only recover it by a new creation. Another law was passed* which permitted no political journal to be established after the 1st of January, 1822, without the authority of the king; and the cours royales had power given them to suspend and to suppress any political journal, the tendency of which should be judged by these courts to be dangerous to the public peace, to the religion of the state, or other religions legally recognized in France, to the authority of the king, and so forth.

The existence of secret societies in France at this period is undoubted. They were known by the name of Carbonari, Bons-cousins, and Chevaliers de la Liberté. These associations communicated with one another, and obeyed the directions of a central body, but the directing power maintained a mysterious secrecy. It has been affirmed that the ministry possessed evidence which compromised certain distinguished personages, and yet they dared not touch them or thought it prudent to deal only with those who committed themselves by overt acts. These associations were in full vigour at the end of 1821. The first outbreak was at Saumur. General Berton raised the tri-coloured flag at Thouars, the flag of which Lafayette was the apostle and defender. At Nantes, Rochelle, and Toulon, also, conspiracies were discovered. So many simultaneous outbreaks called for a vigorous exercise of authority. Several of the leaders were seized, tried, and executed. General Berton and his associates perished on the scaffold; one of them with the words 'Vive la République' in his mouth.† Caffé, one of the condemned, opened an artery in prison, while he was lying in bed listening to the exhortations of a priest, and the place was in a moment deluged with his blood. These conspirators were convicted of treason, and their punishment was just; but the blood shed on the scaffold did

* See page 55.

† 'Annuaire Historique pour 1821,' p. 228.

* 'Annuaire Historique,' &c., pour 1822,' p. 620. Loi relative à la police des journaux et écrits périodiques.

† As to the affair of Berton, which throws some light on these conspiracies, see 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1822,' pp. 792, &c., and 809.

not strengthen the cause of the Bourbons. The death of a few men cannot restore tranquillity to a country when disaffection is deep and general. Some politicians look only to seasons of general distress and poverty for the causes of national discontent; but the material condition of France was at this time prosperous, the public funds were high, the middle class was growing rich, and the taxes were diminished. The mass of Frenchmen were disposed to maintain the Restoration; but the ideas of the Revolution still agitated men's minds. A judicious writer observes, that what most damaged the Restoration, was the opinion which was sedulously inculcated in the people, that the Bourbons were identified with the clergy; and thus the Restoration was made to appear a resuscitation of the antient régime, with its monks and its convents, and all its abuses.

After the close of the session on the 1st of May, 1822, the elections of one-fifth of the Chamber immediately followed. The ministry attached great importance to the elections of Paris, but the royalists carried only two of their candidates: the rest of the deputies belonged to the opposition. In the provinces the royalists gained the majority, and particularly in the departmental colleges. On the 17th of May, the duc de Richelieu died suddenly of a febrile attack at the age of fifty-five; and all classes now concurred in honouring the memory of a man who acted a disinterested and honourable part in the midst of great difficulties. He left no children, and a royal ordonnance gave to his nephew, the Comte Odit de Jumilhac, the inheritance of his peerage and his illustrious name. The king was beginning to be better pleased with his ministers. His brother and the duchess d'Angoulême were on the best terms with them, for the new ministry was in fact that of Monsieur. This harmony made things go on better at the palace; and, as the king said to one of his old ministers, he had quiet in his household, and that was a great thing for a man on the verge of the grave. The king raised Villèle, Corbière, and Peyronnet to the rank of comte, and enhanced the favour by communicating it to them in one of his own well-written notes. Villèle's financial administration was characterized by order and economy. His views were not large, but he had administrative ability. Peyronnet was active and zealous, resolute and judicious, but a strong partizan; an ardent royalist, with a majority to deal with more royalist than himself.

The congress of Laybach had settled the questions of the Neapolitan and Piedmontese revolutions; but there remained others of no less importance. The Greek revolution had commenced, and the sympathies of the Russians for their brethren in religion urged the emperor Alexander to interfere against his wish. He felt for the Greeks, but he disliked revolution. The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were invaded by the Ottomans, who ravaged every thing before them. This brought about demands from Russia, to which the Porte at first refused to accede, and a war between Russia and Turkey was only avoided by the dexterity of Metternich, at whose advice Turkey consented to evacuate the two principalities. A congress was agreed upon to consult on the general affairs of Europe, and Verona was appointed as the place of meeting. The French cabinet was now solely occupied with the affairs of Spain, and as the new ministry had come into office under royalist colours, it was impossible to allow matters to continue as they were in the Peninsula. Spain was in a state of disorder, it was a place of refuge for the refugees of France and Italy, and the press insulted the Bourbons. The question of intervention could not be avoided, and this important matter was to be discussed at Verona. M. de Montmorency was sent to Verona, and also Châteaubriand. Montmorency was the representative of the absolute royalist opinion. Châteaubriand was in the confidence of Villèle, who saw the danger of intervention and wished to evade the difficulty. Castlereagh, who was to have gone to Verona, committed suicide on the 12th of August, 1822, and he was succeeded by Mr. Canning as minister for foreign affairs. This change in the British cabinet produced a great effect, and contributed materially to the destruction of the system of the Holy Alliance. The duke of Wellington, who was sent to Verona, was instructed to declare that his Britannic Majesty would take no part or intervention in Spanish affairs. The congress met at Verona in October, 1822. The emperors of Russia and Austria were present, the king of Prussia, Naples, and Sardinia, and a host of diplomatists. The question of the military occupation of Piedmont and Naples was discussed, and it was determined that it was no longer necessary to occupy Piedmont, and that the number of auxiliary troops in Naples should be diminished. Montmorency proposed the question of French intervention in the affairs of Spain, and what aid France might expect from the allies. Proposals had been already made on the part of the allies to the Spanish government, and the answer of the Cortez of Madrid was haughty and resolute. It was now resolved to address an official remonstrance in the name of all the powers, which was drawn up and signed by the ministers of Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia. The duke of Wellington took no part in this measure, which was the beginning of the intervention in Spanish affairs. While Montmorency was engaging France to an armed intervention, Villèle was considering how he might remove a man from the department of foreign affairs, who was drawing France into a war; and to put him in a proper position to do this, he persuaded the king to appoint a president of the council, and to give the place to himself. The intervention of France in Spanish affairs, and the terms of the evacuation of Naples and Piedmont were the only matters that were finally settled at the Congress of Verona, the last and most solemn act of the Holy Alliance. Montmorency left Verona (30th November, 1822) to submit to the council the result of his negotiations at Verona.*

* Capefigue, 'Histoire de la Restauration,' iii., c. 19; 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1822,' pp. 262, 392, and 814.

On Montmorency's arrival at Paris, the king said that he was well pleased with his conduct at Verona, and he made him a duke. He expressed no dissatisfaction at what his ambassador had done; but when he was reminded of the engagement made with the sovereigns to send a note to Madrid in the terms agreed on by the four courts, to be followed by the recall of the French ambassador, if the answer of Spain was not satisfactory, Louis said that the matter required serious consideration. Villèle and the duc de Montmorency were now at variance, and each of them had the expression of his opinion in the journals. The president, with the knowledge of the king, attempted, through the French ambassador at Madrid, to induce the Spanish government to modify their constitution, and to model it on the French Charter. If such concessions were made, France engaged to renounce all idea of intervention. Montmorency had engaged his honour to the Congress of Verona as to the terms of the note which should be addressed to the Spanish cabinet; and that the French ambassador should be recalled if the note produced no effect. At the council he read a note, drawn up in terms conformable to his engagement; a note which was threatening. Villèle read another, which he had concerted privately with the king. The majority of the ministers approved of Montmorency's note; but the king preferred Villèle's, and Montmorency resigned (25th of December, 1822). Thus Villèle was the president of the council, not only in name but in fact; for he had secured his influence over the king. The rest of the ministers kept their places, and Châteaubriand became minister for foreign affairs.

But Villèle could not ultimately resist the royalist majority, which was eager for war. After the entry of Châteaubriand into the ministry, he restored some of the préfets who had been dismissed after the ordonnance of the 5th of September. The Conseil d'État was modified; and among the new members was Bertin de Vaux, a friend of Châteaubriand, who had written articles in the 'Journal des Débats' in support of the pacific views of Villèle. From this time the Conseil d'État contained a large royalist majority. Lagarde, the French minister at Madrid, was following Villèle's secret instructions, to induce the Cortes to make some modification in the Constitution, which would have satisfied M. Villèle for the time. San Miguel replied in a haughty tone to M. Lagarde's proposals: he said that it was not an insurrection in Spain, but the general expression of opinion; and that the army of observation, which the French government maintained at the Pyrenees, so far from calming the troubles of Spain, only increased the elements of disorder. He refused to do anything to satisfy the French ministry. The three courts of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, urged France to settle the Spanish question speedily; and as they obtained only haughty answers to the notes which they had addressed to the Spanish government, they gave their ministers orders to leave Madrid. Lagarde was finally recalled by Villèle much against his will: he still hoped to avoid the armed intervention. The recall of the French minister was equivalent to a declaration of war, and preparations began to be made. It was impossible to avoid the question of war in the king's speech on the opening of the session on the 28th of January, 1823.* The king said that there was little hope of maintaining peace: "A hundred thousand Frenchmen, commanded by a prince of my family, are ready to march, invoking the God of St. Louis to preserve the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henry IV., to preserve this beautiful kingdom from its ruin, and to reconcile it to Europe." The answer of the Chamber of Peers to the address was an echo of the speech: "It belongs to the king to deliberate alone on the grand question of war or of peace;" and it was carried by a great majority. The answer of the Chamber of Deputies was for war without delay, "to stifle anarchy, to conquer peace." The majority was 202 to 93. The debates on the king's speech had never been so animated, or excited so much interest out of doors. It was the gravest matter that had been discussed since the Restoration; and the answers of the two Chambers were considered as having settled the question. The royalist majority resolved to make war on Spain, in order, as the address of the Deputies said, "to restore Ferdinand to liberty; to deliver from the yoke of oppression a people who aided us to break our chains, and who can only receive institutions conformable to their wishes and their habits from their legitimate sovereign." This was the language of the king's speech, which declared that hostilities between France and Spain should cease "as soon as Ferdinand was at liberty to give to his people the institutions which they can only receive from him." This was a doctrine that the British cabinet could not admit to be applicable to their own country, and therefore they could not propose it to another people; consequently they could not take any step in common with the French cabinet towards effecting a pacific settlement of the Spanish question: and this resolution, and the reasons for it, were communicated to Châteaubriand. France had no reason for intervention on the ground of family interests; for a secret treaty made in 1814, between France and England, provided that there should be no treaties or engagements between France and Spain, founded on the 'family pact.' England accordingly remained dissatisfied and neutral, while the duc d'Angoulême led the French soldiers over the Pyrenees. Some of the speakers in the Chamber of Peers, Talleyrand among the rest, predicted only misfortune; but the result was different. The French army finished the war by compelling Cadiz to submit, to which city the Cortes fled; and Ferdinand was delivered.†

The discussions in the Chambers after the answers to the king's speech, turned on the question of money;

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1823,' p. 10, &c., and 667.

† The details of the Spanish affair is beyond the purpose of this sketch. See 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1823.'

for modern warfare is an expensive thing; and the expenses of a campaign cannot be paid out of the ordinary revenue of any nation. Villèle proposed to the Chamber of Deputies a supplementary credit of 100 millions, which would be employed to satisfy the extraordinary expenses. There would be a disposable sum of near 43 millions, arising out of the receipts of 1821 and 1823; and thus 57 millions would be the whole that would really be required. In the debates on this proposition, Châteaubriand spoke on the question of intervention; and his language roused the eloquence of Manuel, who said, "If the spirit of revolution is dangerous, is the spirit of counter-revolution less dangerous?" Châteaubriand had spoken of Louis XVI. "If you wish," said Manuel, "to save Ferdinand, do not renew the circumstances which brought to the scaffold those in whom you take so lively an interest." He added: "It was because the foreigner interfered in the French Revolution, that Louis XVI. was precipitated.—It was when the misfortunes of the royal family in France attracted the attention of the foreigner, that Revolutionary France, feeling that it must defend itself by new force and new energy——" Here the voice of the speaker, who had been often interrupted, was drowned by cries of horror and reprobation: "'Tis shocking, 'tis frightful, it is the justification of regicide." The tumult was so great that the president was obliged to suspend the debates.* The majority was in a transport of rage. The case called for extraordinary measures, it was said; and the measure which the majority resolved on, was the exclusion of Manuel during the rest of the session. This led to a scandalous scene. The day after his expulsion, Manuel was in the Chamber, and he refused to retire, when he was summoned by the president. Some of the National Guard, who were on duty, were ordered to turn him out; and when they entered the Chamber, all the *gauche* rose: "In the midst of these Deputies, conspicuous by his gesticulations, was Lafayette, whose delight was in these great scenes of resistance."† The sergeant, who was ordered by his commanding-officer to advance to take Manuel, did not stir a step, nor the National Guards. "Bravo! bravo!" exclaimed several members of the *gauche*, and among them general Foy; "Honour to the National Guard." A picquet of gendarmerie was then sent for; and the commandant repeated his orders to Manuel to leave the Chamber. He still refused; on which the gendarmes seized him by the collar and dragged him out, followed by the members who used to sit near him; or, according to some authorities, by the whole *côté gauche*. After Manuel was removed, the royalists had everything their own way, and the money was voted for the Spanish war. The session closed on the 9th of May. The royalists had turned Manuel out of the Chamber, but this only increased the violence of the revolutionary party. The king now exercised only the show of power. Everything was first concerted with his brother, who in fact directed the government. Louis could no longer walk, and his only exercise was riding rapidly in his coach. He was full of disease, and his pains were great. The unlucky valet, who had to dress his sores, often experienced the choler of the suffering king. He was amused, and kept in a kind of tutelage. Full of disease, and already at death's door, every stimulus was applied to keep alive the pleasures of sense in his feeble and decaying body. The last days of Louis XVIII. were a pitiable scene of court intrigue and royal weakness.

The success of the Spanish campaign completed the extravagant exaltation of the royalists, who could no longer be kept in check by the minister, who was compelled to follow their impulse. The administration became suspicious and violent in its measures. People were deprived of office on the slightest pretexts, or none at all. A word indiscreetly spoken was enough to ruin a man. The department of public instruction felt the influence of the royalist superiority. The faculty of Medicine was re-organized in a monarchical and religious sense, and some professors of great note were removed, because they were suspected of not being sufficiently attached to royalty. But in spite of all his concessions to the extreme royalists, Villèle could not satisfy them. Delalot and La Bourdonnaye were in open hostility to the minister.

The expenses of the Spanish campaign and other payments required a loan; and the best terms were offered by the house of Rothschild, and accepted. From this time the Rothschilds had the chief management of the French loans. A change was made in the ministry. The duc d'Angoulême was much prejudiced against marshal Victor, the minister of war, and Villèle had no objection to get rid of him. Victor was sent ambassador to Vienna, and the baron de Damas was put in his place. He was not Villèle's choice, but he preferred him to general Guilleminot, whom the duc d'Angoulême wished to put in the ministry. Villèle wished to get rid of the Chamber, for it contained a double minority, which, as he expressed himself, "fires upon us from two sides." "We have had," he said, "good elections since we came into power; under present circumstances, we shall have still better." The president of the council had a grand scheme in his head, to modify the 37th article of the Charter, to make septennial parliaments, and to have no annual elections of a portion of the Deputies. It was in fact an English idea, cherished and recommended by Châteaubriand in a pamphlet. On the 23rd of December, 1823, the king made twenty-seven new peers of France; among whom were several generals, and thirteen of the members of the Chamber of Deputies, among whom was Lainé. On the 25th appeared in the 'Moniteur' an ordonnance for the dissolution of the Chamber, which also fixed the time for the meeting of the electoral colleges, and the opening of the new session on the 23rd of March, 1824.

* The speech of Manuel is given in the 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1823,' p. 68, &c., where the circumstances of his expulsion are told at length.

† Capefigue, no friend to Lafayette.

All other interests were now absorbed in the elections, the result of which would determine whether the royalists were to enjoy a long period of parliamentary power; for the question of septennial parliaments had been discussed in the journals, and it would naturally be discussed by the electors. The government exerted all its influence: even before the dissolution there were circulars, instructions, pastoral letters, and episcopal letters: the clergy were as active as if the matter solely concerned themselves. The cardinal archbishop of Toulouse issued an episcopal letter (*mandement*), which went far beyond the limits of his authority; he called for great changes, all in the interest of the church. Even the ministry could not submit to this; and they suppressed his episcopal message. At this time began the resistance of the civil constituted authorities to the encroachments of the clergy, which was in effect a resistance to the cabinet, which had assumed an ecclesiastical complexion. Religion and the ministerial system now began to be viewed as one thing, a result which was fatal to the monarchy. The returns gave a complete victory to the royalists; a majority such as they had never obtained before. The *gauche* and its centre were reduced to about nineteen. But this victory was dangerous to the minister, for he had no means of resisting: he must do what a majority wished; and though this may appear to be the true theory of a representative system, a government which is the mere expression of the majority of the Chamber, is sure to be in hostility to that which it is said to represent, but cannot represent the opinion of a nation. The various shades of opinion in the new Chamber have been minutely delineated by a French historian.* "The religious party had a full and complete victory: it governed the majority, and through it the ministry, who from that time had no longer the freedom nor the power of action." There were men in this Chamber who "inspired the crown with the idea that it had a mission from Heaven to restore to France its religion, its antient morals, and its monarchic faith." For such men the Revolution was a lesson without instruction, and they could not foresee that they were going on the road to another.

* Capefigue, 'Hist. de la Restauration,' iii., c. 21.

CHAPTER XCIV.

DEATH OF LOUIS XVIII.

The Chamber was dissolved, in order to get a new one which should vote the Septennial Act, which was to be the great measure of the session. The electors had been consulted by the new elections, and it remained for the Chamber to declare their opinions by the majority which had been sent to it. But there was another measure in reserve which the great majority demanded, indemnity for the emigrants. Villèle had long considered this matter: he liked it no better than the Spanish war, but he knew that it was inevitable. He obtained an estimate of the probable amount, and it reached the frightful sum of a milliard. But how was this to be effected?—by taxing the industry of the people, or by a loan, or by what other means? The idea of paying off a part of the public debt and diminishing the interest, was suggested to the minister as a preparatory measure. The speech from the throne announced these two measures, the Septennial Act, and "measures for the repayment of the capital of the rentes created by the State at unfavourable times, or for their conversion into securities, the interest of which should be more in harmony with that of other financial transactions; and when this operation was completed, it would be possible to reduce the taxes and to close the last wounds of the Revolution." Even this did not satisfy the ardent majority: nothing was said of religion in the king's speech; nothing was said of restoring what the Revolution had destroyed: there were still churches without pastors, and a deficiency of bishops; and there were men who longed for the restoration of those religious communities which once covered the territory of France. Though the *côté gauche* was thinned, it was not thin enough, for general Foy and Benjamin Constant were there. Both these returns were disputed. The general soon proved the validity of his return. The affair of Benjamin Constant lasted some time; but finally he proved, what had been denied, that he was a Frenchman according to the law of 1790.

The ministerial measure, as to the septennial Chamber, was briefly expressed: "The present Chamber of Deputies, and all those which shall follow it, shall be re-elected in their entirety: they shall last for seven years, reckoning from the day on which shall be issued the ordonnance for their first meeting, unless they be dissolved by the king." The law was passed in these very terms (9th June, 1824), and thus the Chamber got a seven years' existence.* It met with opposition both among the Peers and the Deputies. The duc de Doudeauville, a member of the Chamber of Peers, who was in favour of it, explained how he understood it:

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1824,' p. 596; and the 'Debates,' p. 86, &c.

"I compare," he said, "the Septennial Act to a kind of lease for seven years between the ministry and the Chambers; a period useful for the development of all institutions and of the representative government." Châteaubriand supported the law with all his talent and influence. He had learned to admire septennial parliaments in England; but if he had not discovered that septennial parliaments in England and in France would be very different things, he must have very imperfectly understood the nature of English elections. Whatever might be the result of this change in France, the circumstances of England and France were very different. One thing alone made a great difference. In England the title of the reigning house was firmly settled: in France the principle of the Bourbons' title was not settled; and what was to be done, if a newly-elected Chamber should send a majority which was hostile to it?*

On the question of the conversion of the rentes, Villèle experienced a check. The project that he finally proposed to the Chambers was one that was concerted with the three houses of Baring, Rothschild, and Laffitte. The minister undertook to propose a measure for the conversion of 140 millions of rentes, 5 per cent. consolidated, into 3 per cents., at the price of 75. The bankers undertook to furnish the treasury with funds for the payment of the holders of the 5 per cent. who should not agree to the conversion, and take themselves, at 75, the 3 per cents. which were appropriated to the dissident holders of 5 per cents. These houses were to be rewarded for their services with the profits which might result to the government from the conversion, from the day on which it should commence, to the 31st of December, 1825.† This was not a party measure at all, for Laffitte was interested in it as well as Rothschild; but it gave rise to a violent opposition, though the diminution of the budget, which the measure would secure, promised the means "of healing the last wounds of the Revolution;" for in Villèle's design the measure of conversion was connected with that of indemnity for the emigrants, which the composition of the present Chamber made an imperious necessity. In the Chamber of Deputies the minister had a majority of 93; in the Chamber of Peers there was a majority against him. The archbishop of Paris contributed to this result. He argued against the justice of the measure; and if its justice should be maintained, he asked if the mode in which it was to be employed was just. "The fundholder," he said, "who is not acquainted with the speculations of commerce, or the calculations of the bank or of the treasury, who lives only on his income, without troubling himself about anything else; will he not see in this reduction a complete revolution in his existence, in that of his children and his family?" Villèle knew that Châteaubriand was opposed to his measure: he spoke not a word on the subject in either Chamber; out of the Chambers he had expressed his disapprobation of it; and the 'Journal des Débats,' his organ, had refused to write in favour of the 3 per cents. The two ministers disliked one another, and probably Châteaubriand would not have objected to a coalition with the Richelieu party in the Peers to get rid of the president of the council. Villèle, however, anticipated his designs, if he had any, and resolved to rid himself of a man who had helped to reject a measure agreed on by the cabinet. The king, who did not like Châteaubriand, was easily persuaded by Villèle, and a royal ordonnance was made, to the effect that the comte de Villèle had the interim portfolio for foreign affairs, in place of the vicomte Châteaubriand. Villèle sent the ordonnance to Châteaubriand, with the following note: "M. le Vicomte, I obey the orders of the king, and I transmit to you the accompanying ordonnance." The method of communication was ill-bred and impolitic. The answer of Châteaubriand was brief: "M. le Comte, I have quitted the hôtel of foreign affairs: the department is at your disposal." All the royalist press sided with Châteaubriand, and the ministry of Villèle was attacked with unceasing violence.

When Châteaubriand quitted the ministry of foreign affairs, there were several difficult questions to settle: the dispute between Russia and Turkey, on the evacuation of the principalities, which Turkey had hitherto evaded, and the Greek revolution: the occupation of Spain by the French troops: the question of the Spanish colonies, which Ferdinand, now restored to his power, wished to recover, and to subject again to the yoke of Spain: and the question of Portugal. France had been occupied by the allies, in order to secure the tranquillity of Europe; and Spain was still occupied by the French, who wished to moderate the tyrannical excesses of Ferdinand, a brutal and cruel man, irritated by the insults that he had been compelled to submit to. The prince de Polignac was instructed to assure Mr. Canning that France had no intention to prolong the occupation of Spain beyond the month of January, 1825, and that the only object of the occupation was to urge moderation on the Spanish government. As to the Spanish colonies, the question was more difficult. The royalist opinion in France was in favour of an armed force to restore the colonies to the mother country. But Great Britain would not consent to any armed intervention, or even allow any menace from a foreign power: such measures would only lead to a recognition of their independence on her part. In fact the English minister was resolved to act towards the colonies in such way as he should think best for the interests of England. In Portugal, don Miguel had risen against his father, John VI., under the pretext of supporting his rights; and the king was a prisoner. The French minister, Hyde de Neuville, prevailed on the king to take refuge in an English ship in the Tagus, where he resumed his authority, and summoned his rebellious son to him. Don Miguel obeyed, was deprived of his command in chief, and received per-

* Capefigue, 'Hist. de la Restauration,' iii., c. 21.

† 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1824,' p. 35.

mission to travel. The royalist party in France and in Spain were no strangers to Miguel's rebellion, and they were loud in their complaints against Hyde de Neuville, whom Villèle recalled, without the risk of any complaints on their part. Miguel was well received by the royalist party in France; a fact not without its significance, as showing what the object of this party really was—the establishment of the old régime. England took advantage of the insecurity of John VI.; and, in accordance with treaties which have long bound the miserable country of Portugal and England, troops were sent by the British minister to occupy one part of the peninsula, while he was expressing his uneasiness at the French occupation of the other part.

The financial questions came on at the close of the session, and the debates on the Spanish expedition. M. Martignac made a report, on the 21st of June, on the expenses of the late war. It appeared that when the army was on the point of entering Spain, the stock of provisions was far from being sufficient, and the means of transport were entirely wanting. "In these circumstances," said M. Martignac, who had accompanied the expedition to Spain, "M. Ouvrard had found the means of rendering himself necessary: he declared that he had taken measures to secure the supplies which were wanting: he answered for the means of subsistence and of transport." These transactions with Ouvrard could not pass without examination; and the minister, who at first resisted inquiry, at last appointed a commission for the examination into the causes and urgency of these dealings with Ouvrard. The result fully justified the suspicions of the opposition.* The character of the royalist party and their general opinions, might be collected from the speeches of the session. They wanted "the supremacy of the clergy, even in civil matters; a division of France into provinces; a new territorial jurisdiction of the courts of justice; the predominance of gentlemen in the army, without regard to civil and political equality." (Capefigue.) There was a continual cry from this party, that nothing was done for religion or the clergy; nothing for the churches, many of which were still in ruins; the bishops had not enough. The characteristic of the majority in the Chamber was religious and aristocratical, rather than royalist; but religious in a material, not a spiritual sense; a reaction against the tendency of the eighteenth century.

Villèle remodelled his cabinet by choosing M. de Damas, then minister of war, for the new minister for foreign affairs, and by other appointments made with the view of having a manageable cabinet. Though the minister had the Chamber of Deputies with him, he could not govern the press; for the law of 1822 had not accomplished what the ministry expected. The opposition journals, both liberal and royalist, poured out all their violence against the president of the cabinet. The law had made the designations of the journals, and the authorisation of them, to depend exclusively on the government. The existing journals might be dealt with in two ways. They might either be destroyed by legal proceedings founded on the "tendency" of such journals, or they might be purchased. Some persons put this idea into the head of Monsieur, of buying up journals, with the view of suppressing them, or directing them in his own way. Monsieur spoke of this to Villèle, who made no objections, and money was got for this purpose out of the secret-service money of the departments of the interior and foreign affairs, and from the king's civil-list. It was what Louis XVI. did in 1792, and one of the ways in which his money was spent to no purpose. Some papers were bought and suppressed; but this kind of business could not be carried on to any great extent. An attempt was made on the 'Constitutionnel' and the 'Courier Français,' and it failed. Proceedings against the journals for "their tendency" were then attempted; but here the cours royales failed the ministry. They acquitted the journals, and became very popular. The minister had given to them their powers, and he now felt that these powers were turned against him. The press was triumphant, and the minister was obliged to have recourse to the censorship. The session was over; and the Conseil d'État deliberated whether they should call into existence the censorship by virtue of a power contained in the law of 1822. The state of the king's health rendered it necessary, as they supposed, for them to be masters of the press in this emergency; and it was unanimously resolved to establish the censorship.* It is said that no man of letters would accept the office of censor, and it was necessary to organize a secret commission for that purpose, to which the journals were obliged to send their articles daily, which were returned, accepted, modified, or rejected, without any further information than the signature of the secretary of the commission. A great change was made by the creation (26th of August) of a minister for ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction, which was separated from the ministry of the interior, and given to Fraysinnous, bishop of Hermopolis, peer of France, and grand-master of the University. There were, however, excepted from his department the faculties of Protestant theology, which were placed under the direction of the baron Cuvier, a Protestant, and still attached to the ministry of the interior, as well as all matters relating to other forms of religion than the Catholic. Notwithstanding this exception, made with the view of satisfying the Protestants, and securing to them the protection guaranteed by the Charter, the appointment of a bishop to this important office was viewed as a decisive step towards putting public education altogether in the hands of the Catholic clergy. The Conseil d'État was also re-organized by an ordonnance.

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1824,' p. 254, &c.: "Besides the 100 millions of supplementary credit for the service of 1823, on account of the Spanish war, royal ordonnances had added to it 107,827,085 francs of new credits."

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1824,' p. 604.

In the midst of these changes and this conflict of opinion, an important event, long foreseen, at last occurred.* Gout and erisypelas had destroyed the king's health: his limbs were swollen and diseased; his sufferings were great, and his strength had for several months been gradually failing. He continued to give audiences, to preside in the council, and to work with his ministers as usual, until the 12th of September, when two bulletins in the 'Moniteur' announced his dangerous condition. On the morning of the 13th he received the sacrament and extreme unction, and prepared himself for death with firmness and devotion. On the morning of the 16th of September, 1824, his long agony terminated: at four in the morning one of the physicians drew the hand of Louis XVIII. from the bed, and said, "The king is dead." His successor, Charles X., who had not left his brother for two days, placed himself on his knees, and kissed the deceased king's hand with deep emotion.

The reign of Louis XVIII. was an important period for France. He ascended the throne in circumstances of the greatest difficulty; and his conduct, at least after the second restoration, does credit to his integrity and his good sense. Though fond of power, and fully impressed with a sense of his own dignity and his exalted position, he wished to govern in an enlightened and liberal spirit; and the real merit of his administration is best shown by contrasting it with the reign which followed. The king had taste, and the education of a gentleman: he had even literary pretensions, and the vanity of an author. He had an excellent memory, and could repeat whole passages in Horace and Virgil; and was never better pleased than when he found some one who could respond to him. The courtiers took infinite pains to adapt themselves to their royal master's classical tastes; and "the lively M. Beugnot sweated over some thousand verses, to please the king." The conversation of Louis was anecdotical: he told a story well, and was pleased to find a good listener. He had probably little sincerity, and was not capable of much personal attachment. In private life he would have passed as an accomplished gentleman. As a constitutional king, he deserves the grateful remembrance of the French.*

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1824,' p. 303, &c.

* Capefigue 'Hist. de la Restauration,' iii., c. 21, whose judgment of the king appears to be just and discriminating.

CHAPTER XCV.

CHARLES X.

Charles X. became king of France on the 16th of September, 1824. It is said that one of the first acts was to put the seals on the cabinet of the late king, which contained his papers and his will, and nothing more was heard of them. The new king gave to the duc d'Angoulême the title of Dauphin, one of the memorials of the old monarchy. The duc d'Orléans, once the duc de Chartres, the eldest son of him who bore the name of Égalité, had in vain solicited Louis XVIII. to change his title of most serene highness into that of royal highness. What Louis refused, perhaps from some instinctive presage of the future chances of the duke of Orléans, Charles X. granted without hesitation. Villèle continued president of the cabinet: he had contrived to secure the confidence of the king before the death of his predecessor.

The commencement of the new reign was popular, notwithstanding Charles X. was considered as the representative of the extreme royalist opinions. His pleasing manners and his conversation gained over all who came near him. When he received the addresses made to him on his accession to the throne, he satisfied everybody by his replies. He said to the Peers and the Deputies: "I will employ the power which is in my hands to consolidate, for the happiness of my people, the great act (the Charter) which I have sworn to maintain." He urged the courts of justice, in his reply to the address of the Court of Cassation, to execute the law: he promised to each religious body protection for its worship. Everything gave hope of the firm establishment of constitutional liberty. The first measure was the abolition of the censorship, which had been recently established. It is said that the king suggested, and the Dauphin, who was made a member of the Council, proposed the repeal of the ordonnance of the 15th of August, and that the ministry did not resist. The most violent of the journals were appeased by this concession: the 'Courier Français' said, "A new reign commences: the prince means well, but we must let him know what is well—what more satisfactory pledge could the nation desire than that of the liberty of the press?" All conspiracies and thoughts of conspiracy were at an end, and all parties accepted the Restoration.

But there were causes at work which finally exercised a fatal influence on the fortunes of the king; the supremacy which the clergy were gaining, the attempts to re-fashion an aristocracy, and the king's obstinacy in maintaining his ministry and the septennial Chamber. The piety of the king increased with his years, and dexterous men laid hold of the hopes and fears of another world to work on an old man, whose past

life had not been free from reproach. The king was a firm believer, and of an ardent imagination. It is not alleged that he was a hypocrite. Under his reign the influence of the Jesuits increased; for though proscribed under Napoleon, they had maintained an existence under the name of Pères de la Foi. Louis XVIII. affected no great religious zeal, and felt perhaps still less; but the Pères under his reign formed many establishments of education, and the accession of Charles X. increased their influence. Countless lies and calumnies were published and believed about them. The fact is, that they were protected and encouraged by the king's most faithful adherents, and obtained a great influence over education by their admirable organization and untiring perseverance. But this body did not maintain the antient reputation of the Jesuits, whose schools in former times owed their superiority to the great acquirements and profound knowledge of the teachers. It was now the fashion to send children to the schools of the Jesuits: all the great families and public functionaries sent theirs; and those who wished to make the fortunes of their children, took care to send them to be educated under those who were supposed, to exercise and who did exercise influence over the government. The Jesuits had their friends in all the departments of government: they had members of the Chamber of Peers affiliated to their order; and a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. Some invisible hand is described as directing this vast association, guiding the government, and suggesting its measures. Those who were hostile to the crown attacked it through the Jesuits, who became one of the means of making the government unpopular. The king, in keeping Villèle president of the council, made no modifications in it; and yet all parties were opposed to the minister. The censorship being abolished, the attacks of the press might be directed without fear against a cabinet which had no friends to support it.

The ministry were preparing for the meeting of the Chambers. The most important matter for consideration was the indemnity of the emigrants. In the meantime measures were taken for reducing the expenditure by improving the system of examining the accounts of the different departments of finance, and by reducing the number of general officers, a measure of economy which gave great offence.

The session opened on the 22nd of December, 1824. The king's speech was carefully written. He said, "The confidence with which my accession to the throne has been received, shall not be disappointed. I know all the duties which royalty imposes on me, but with the aid of God, I hope to have the courage and the firmness necessary for their fulfilment." The speech only touched on two important matters, the indemnity to the emigrants and the king's coronation. "I shall," he said, "renew the oath to maintain and to cause to be observed the laws of the state and the institutions granted by the king my brother."* The only measures alluded to were the coronation and the indemnity. The address to the king's speech was voted unanimously and with enthusiasm. The first measure was to form the civil list, which was settled at twenty-five millions of francs as in the the two preceding reigns. Seven millions were fixed as the apanage of the princes and princesses of the royal family. Lous XVIII. left no debts behind him on the civil list beyond a couple of thousand pounds. The 4th article of the law relating to the civil list gave rise to great debate and much opposition: it related to the apanage of the Orleans branch. The title of this family to its immense property rested only on an ordonnance of Louis XVIII., who had restored to the duke of Orleans what had been given originally to Monsieur the brother of Louis XIV. Louis XVIII. had refused to do any more, but Charles X. engaged to have the duke's title confirmed by a law. If the king had consented to separate the question of the Orleans apanage from the civil list, it would have been rejected, for the *côté droit* was hostile to the duke. The *côté gauche* supported his claim, and general Foy was one of the duke's friends on this occasion. The first three articles relating to the civil list were voted unanimously, and there was a large majority in favour of the duke's apanage. The law secured the property restored to the house of Orleans to the duke and his male descendants; and in case of their failure it reverted to the crown. The property was estimated at 56,692 hectares, which paid taxes to the amount of 297,000 francs. This measure added to the duke's political importance. He became a patron of artists, and the friend of unfortunate liberals. In his brilliant entertainments at the Palais Royal there were assembled round him the men of '89 and some of the men of the Restoration, Talleyrand and others, who were not quite satisfied with it.* Lafayette at this time was making his tour of the United States, where he was received with every demonstration of respect from one end of the country to the other. The indemnity to the emigrants was the great question, and the justice of it could hardly be disputed, after the Restoration had paid both the debts of the Republic and of the Empire. It was first proposed by marshal Macdonald in 1814, and M. Laffitte had supported it in his opinions as to the budgets of 1816 and 1817. The debates on this subject show the temper of the Chamber at this time. General Foy and Dupont de l'Eure were among those who made violent opposition to the indemnity; but a measure which was for the interests of so many of the deputies was not likely to be rejected. There was no serious opposition in the Chamber of Peers. Châteaubriand said that he felt more freedom in giving his opinion, as he had nothing to claim, but he claimed the indemnity on the part of those who had served their king: he did not wish to disturb those who were now in possession of the property of the emigrants, and had fertilized it by the sweat of their brow: "The possessors of these domains are now everywhere,—in the

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1824,' p. 323.

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1825,' p. 7, &c.

political bodies, the bodies judiciary and administrative, in the army, in the palace of the king. The Charter has confirmed the sales of this property, and the oaths taken to support the Charter cannot be vain: what is asked of you, is to indemnify those who have been despoiled, to render them tardy justice." The measure was carried on the 27th of April, 1825. The first article of the law was: "Thirty millions of rentes, the capital being taken at a milliard, are appropriated to the indemnity due by the state to the Frenchmen whose landed property, situated in France, or which made a part of the territory of France on the 1st of January, 1792, has been confiscated and alienated in consequence of the laws on the emigrants, persons deported, and persons condemned by revolutionary judgments. This indemnity is final, and in no case shall there be appropriated to this purpose any sum exceeding that which is contained in the present article." * The rentes were 3 per cents.

It was necessary to have a commission for the distribution of the indemnity to the claimants, which gave Villèle the opportunity of creating a number of lucrative places for commissioners, precisely in the English fashion.† It is said the claims were settled with great care and with perfect justice. The patriots cried out against the indemnity, and when the law was passed, they accepted their share. The duc de Choiseul got above 1,100,000 francs, and M. de Liancourt, 1,400,000 francs. Lafayette got 450,682 francs. He was now receiving with both hands, for the Congress of the United States had voted him a handsome present for his services in the revolutionary war of North America. Lafayette had generously given them his aid in the time of their difficulty, and the testimonial of the gratitude of the Republicans, though late, was honourable and appropriate. The general saw a people whose revolution was stained with no crime, whose prosperity, the fruit of their successful struggle, was the reward of a happy territorial position and the fortunate combination of power and liberty harmonized.‡ But America received its fundamental organization from the mother country. When it gained its independence, it had only to maintain that which it already possessed.

In this session was passed a law for the punishment of crimes and misdemeanours committed in sacred edifices, or with respect to objects consecrated to the Catholic religion, or other forms of worship legally celebrated in France. Theft committed in "an edifice consecrated to the exercise of the religion, Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman," was punished with death. The profanation of the consecrated host, publicly committed, was made punishable with death.§ This sanguinary law could not possibly be executed. The extravagant character of the extreme royalist party is well characterized by the speech of one of the deputies, M. de Bonald: "A speaker has observed that religion commands men to pardon; true, but it tells power to punish, for, says the apostle, it is not without a purpose that it bears the sword: the Saviour asked for pardon for his murderers, but his Father has not granted it: he has even extended the chastisement to a whole people: as for sacrilege, by a sentence of death you send it before its natural judge." A law was also passed (24th of May) which prescribed the terms on which "religious congregations of females" must for the future be established. The peers amended the law as passed by the deputies, and the deputies accepted the law as amended. By this amendment, no new religious community of women could be established except by virtue of a law. The object of the extreme party was to give the king the power of doing this by an ordonnance; which would have made the transition more easy to the establishment of religious communities of men. Villèle had dexterously established the 3 per cents. for the indemnity to the emigrants; and it only remained now to accomplish the conversion of the old debt, as the new stock was already established. This was accomplished by a law of the 1st of May, 1825, though on a less scale than had before been proposed.* The budget was all that remained to be fixed: there was the settlement *final* of the accounts for 1823, the supplemental credit for 1824, and the budget for 1826. The Chamber voted 100 millions for the expense of the Spanish campaign, which it was supposed might last some time; but though it had been terminated sooner than all expectation, the whole expense was 207 millions. These extraordinary expenses were connected with the affair of Ouvrard; and a resolution of the Chamber of Deputies required the minister to place before the Chambers, as soon as it was completed, the result of the examination into this matter. The expenditure for the year 1826, was estimated at 915,504,499 francs; and the receipts at 924,095,704. The increase of sixteen millions and a half, compared with the expenditure of 1825, arose from a payment of a portion of the indemnity in the manner fixed by the law, and from the increase in the expenditure in some departments of government. There was an increase in the expenditure of the department of religion and public instruction, arising from the establishment of four hundred new chapels (*succursales*), the repairs of churches, episcopal residences and presbyteries. The bishop of Hermopolis said, when opening the discussion on the budget of his department, that France required 50,000 priests for the service of the Roman Catholic religion, and there were only 35,000, and many of those were bowed down by infirmities; 14,000 of them were

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1825,' Appendix, p. 6. The law consists of twenty-four articles.

† This is Capefigue's remark; but it is here adopted, because it is true.

‡ 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1824,' p. 555.

§ 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1825,' 20th of April, 1825, p. 5.

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1825,' p. 155, and Appendix, p. 9; and Capefigue, 'Hist. de la Restaurat.,' iii., c. 22.



ENTHRONIZATION OF CHARLES X. AT REIMS.

above seventy years of age. There were formerly 40,000 parish churches: in 1826 there were only 29,000, and 4,000 of them were unoccupied for want of priests to do the duty.*

* The speech of the bishop of Hermopolis ('Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1825,' p. 232), on the nature of ecclesiastical power, is worth reading. He maintains that the church has an independent power, and attempts to show it historically. Whatever dissent there may be from the doctrine, the bishop truly described the purpose or end which is to be aimed at in society, "that every man, under a common protection, may in tranquillity employ his property, his faculties, his person; which in fact constitutes real liberty: let Christianity disappear, and all these temporal advantages disappear with it." The question is, how is this power to be constituted?

CHAPTER XCVI.

THE CORONATION.

The king's coronation had been announced for the month of May. Louis XVIII. had once officially announced his intention to be crowned, but the state of his health made him give up the design. A commission was appointed to regulate the ceremonial of the coronation of Charles X., and architects were sent to Reims to restore and prepare for the ceremony the noble cathedral, which had the privilege of consecrating the kings of France, as St. Denis had of receiving their bodies. This church had escaped the fury of the Revolution, but it was in a dilapidated state. It was repaired and beautified; its magnificent glass windows and statues were restored. The sacred phial, the ampulla, which contained the holy oil, had been broken on the 6th of October, 1793, by a commissaire of the Convention, but some faithful hands had picked up the fragments and a part of the oil which the vessel contained. The archbishop of Reims effected the transfusion of this precious remnant into some holy chrism, and enclosed it in a new phial. "Accordingly," it was said, "there is no doubt that the holy oil which will flow on the forehead of Charles X. in the solemnity of his consecration, is the same as that which since the time of Clovis has consecrated the French kings." ('Moniteur,' 16th of May.) One may imagine how such a solemn announcement would be received by a large part of a nation, in which a consecrated king had been dethroned and beheaded.

The coronation had been announced to the crowned heads of Europe, who sent their representatives to honour the ceremony, ambassadors extraordinary, not political personages, but wealthy nobles who could make a splendid show. Austria sent Esterhazy; and England sent the wealthy duke of Northumberland. The ceremony of the coronation took place on the 29th of May, and began at half-past seven in the evening. It was a splendid pageant, and would furnish matter for a long and tedious description.* The holy chrism was applied to seven parts of the king's body by the archbishop of Reims, who after the unction took with both his hands from the altar the crown of Charlemagne, and placed it on the head of the aged king. When the king was seated on his throne, the bells rang, the artillery from the ramparts responded to the musketry of the royal guard; the heralds threw among the people the medals struck for the occasion; and the king's fowlers, according to an old usage, let loose doves and other birds which fluttered and whirled about under the vaulted roofs, dazzled by the splendour of the lights. Such a ceremony was ill-suited to the age. All that could be said for it was that the king had solemnly promised to maintain the Charter.

At this time the religious party tried their strength by instituting proceedings on the ground of "tendency" against the 'Constitutionnel' and the 'Courier Français.' The attack was made upon them in the name of religion, which they were charged with tending to bring into disrepute. The cour royale gladly exercised the powers which the law of 1822 had given it, and which the religious party imprudently called into action. The judgment of the court was that there was no ground for the sentence of suspension which the prosecutors had demanded. The judgment was not merely a declaration of the law: it contained an enunciation of principles: it was a protest against the "tendency" of the administration.

The death of general Foy in November was the occasion of a demonstration of public opinion. He and de Serre died about the same time; each of whom had a real esteem for the other. An immense crowd followed the general to his grave in the midst of a driving rain. He died poor, leaving for his children only an honourable name; but a subscription was opened for the purpose of erecting a monument to his memory, and providing for his children. Sums large and small were received: Laffitte gave 50,000 francs, and the duke of Orleans and Casimir Périer each 10,000. The whole subscription amounted to the munificent sum of one million francs. This was a significant fact, and so was the deep-felt, silent sorrow, the order and the quiet behaviour of the immense multitude which attended the funeral of the orator of the people, who was not a man for revolutions, but the champion of constitutional liberty, and left a reputation without stain or

* There is some account of it in the 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1825;' but few people would care to read a description of a coronation, which was more than a week old.

reproach. Laws against sacrilege and the institution of religious communities were childish demonstrations compared with this.*

The question of St. Domingo had never yet been settled. The island had maintained its independence ever since it broke its allegiance to France, but France had not acknowledged its independence. The acknowledgment was due to Villèle, in whose mind it was associated with the idea of improving the industry and commerce of France, and with the ultimate design of acknowledging the independence of the Spanish colonies. The first step towards this would be for France to acknowledge the independence of her own revolted colony. The cabinet resolved that the acknowledgement of the independence of St. Domingo should be effected by an ordonnance; it determined the amount of indemnity to be paid to the colonists; and required certain commercial advantages to be secured to French commerce in St. Domingo.† This year was memorable for the death of the emperor Alexander, a prince who had played a more important part in European affairs for the last twelve years than any other crowned head. He died of a fever at Taganrog in the Crimea, on the 1st of December, and was succeeded by his younger brother Nicholas, the present emperor of Russia, who had to put down an insurrection before his title was firmly secured. The new emperor wrote to Charles X., and told him that he would walk in the steps of his august brother: he professed the same fidelity to the engagements contracted by Russia, the same respect for the rights consecrated by existing treaties, the same attachment to the conservative maxims of general peace, and the ties which subsisted among the powers.

The legislative session was fixed for the 30th of January, 1826. Among the projects of the ministry was the sanctioning of the independence of St. Domingo, and a measure which the right had often called for. It was said that the great subdivision of land in France, which was the result of the law for the equal distribution of a man's property, would destroy the monarchy. The remedy proposed was to establish the droit d'ainesse, or law of primogeniture, and to allow substitutions. Large estates, it was said, were disappearing, the little proprietors were the owners of the soil, they were the masters of the elections, and gave them a democratical character. Peyronnet laid before the council the draft of a law on this matter, which would have produced no great effect perhaps, even if it had become a law. He defended it in the council with great talent and vigour, and he became the favourite minister of the right and of the religious party, who preferred his zeal and courage to the less steady step and wavering attitude of Villèle. Peyronnet's measure attacked the principle which was established on the Code Civil (art. 913, &c.), which, as observed, had produced a great subdivision of landed property, which subdivision some persons considered to be an element of public prosperity, and others as destructive to society and dangerous to the monarchical system. Peyronnet's proposed measure caused a great sensation both in Paris and in the departments. It was presented to the Chamber of Peers on the 10th of February, 1826, in a speech which contained the chief arguments that can be urged in favour of such a law.* To the great astonishment of all parties the Peers rejected the chief part of the ministerial measure, the droit d'ainesse, by a majority of twenty-six; and all that remained of the measure was a single article, which established the power of substitution within certain limits. This was a kind of defeat for the ministry, and it was celebrated as such by the liberal party. There were illuminations and rejoicings on the occasion, and some slight disturbance of the peace. The minister carried his mutilated plan to the Chamber of Deputies, for he thought even a fragment of it was worth securing; and it was supported by a majority of 185.† The budget fixed the expenses for 1827 at 915,773,042 francs, and the receipts were estimated at about a million of francs more. The minister proposed some diminution of taxation, which, as it affected the contribution foncière, was not disagreeable to the royalists, for it gave direct relief to property of which they considered themselves the representatives, and by diminishing the number of electors, fixed power in the hands of the aristocracy. The session closed on the 6th of July. The bishop of Hermopolis, who was attacked for his ecclesiastical budget, made an admission which was more frank than prudent. In his reply to the charge of the encroachments of the priests, of the congregation, and of the Jesuits, whose name was now distinctly pronounced, he said that out of 180 seminaries they had only seven, that with such means they could not corrupt youth and form them to their doctrines, and that besides this they were in complete subjection to the bishops. M. de Montlosier, the implacable enemy of the Jesuits, appeared with a new pamphlet against them, in which he denounced their clandestine existence, and their introduction under the imperial government under the title of Pères de la Foi. Religious affairs formed a great part of the events of the present period. Two of the most zealous prelates, the Cardinals Clermont-Tonnerre and Latil, were made ministers of state. The influence of the bishops over education was extended, and the colleges of the Jesuits were gaining strength. The declaration of the bishops of France, of the month of April, 1826, which was the work of the bishop of Hermopolis, was the result of a kind of negociation with the bishops, who by this declaration recognized the independence of the king

* Capefigue, 'Hist. de la Restauration,' iii., c. 22.

† The law as to the distribution of the indemnity money was passed in the next session, 30th of April, 1826. 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1826,' Appendix, p. 2. The indemnity amounted to 150 millions of francs.

* The different arguments are worth reading. 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1826,' p. 83, &c.

† 'Loi sur les substitutions du 17 Mai,' 1826, 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1826,' Appendix, p. 3.

on the spiritual authority in temporal matters.* The talk at this time was all ecclesiastical; papal bulls, declarations, episcopal addresses, were the order of the day. This was in the taste of Charles X., who was proud of the religious character and of the orthodoxy of his government. The Tartuffe of Molière was reproduced as a novelty, and people employed themselves in discovering the allusions which it contained. The government forbade the representation, as if it acknowledged that it was detected. The religious party were very active in maintaining external decency; they even penetrated into the theatres, and lengthened the scanty dresses of the dancers.

The result of the French intervention in Spain had been to restore Ferdinand, but not to pacify the Peninsula. French influence was daily diminishing in Spain, and both the kingdoms of the Peninsula were full of disorder. The history of these events belongs to the general history of Europe.

The session of 1827 was opened by the king on the 12th of December, whose speech explained the reasons for anticipating the usual time of the convocation of the Chambers: important measures had been prepared; first of all a Code Forestier and a Code Militaire; next, a new law on the press, the fresh abuses of which it was proposed to repress by more extensive and more efficient measures; a law on the organization of the jury; and on the slave trade, for the suppression of which the government proposed more severe penalties. The condition of France at the opening of the session of 1827 was alarming, not as to the material condition of the people, which was prosperous enough, but as to the state of opinion. Society was agitated by political and religious dissensions, which were aggravated by the attempt made in the last session to establish the droit d'ainesse, and the avowed tolerance of the Jesuits in places of public instruction. These measures had met with an unexpected opposition in the Chamber of Peers, which had become popular, while the Chamber of Deputies had sunk in credit. The uneasiness of men's minds was increased by the knowledge that a new law on the press was in preparation. The draft of this proposed law was presented to the Chamber of Deputies on the 29th of December, 1827. It immediately raised a violent opposition out of doors, for printers, publishers, authors, and writers, every man whose existence was connected with that of the press, saw that they were threatened with utter ruin. Before the discussion of the law on the press, there was a debate on the question of the post-office charges. The object of the measure proposed by the ministry was to improve the post-office department; but one article was looked on with suspicion, because it was supposed to be connected with the measure against the liberty of the press. This article (No. 8) proposed to increase the charge for the carriage of journals and periodical writings, and it was on this point that all the debate turned. A deputy proposed an amendment to this article, the purport of which was to except "collections, annals, mémoires, periodical bulletins, solely devoted to the arts, to industry, and to the sciences," which was carried with some slight alteration. This was a victory gained by the centre droit, which was becoming somewhat impatient of the tyranny of the right and of the religious party. A law was enacted for the suppression of the slave trade. The penalty imposed on all merchants, supercargoes, captains and officers, and some other classes of persons, for engaging in this trade was banishment, and a fine equal to the value of the ship and cargo.* The suppression of the slave trade had been determined in the congress of crowned heads in 1815, and it was now the duty of the French legislature to insure the execution of this measure. It was said to be in a great measure due to the urgency of the British ministers; but though an important enactment, it attracted no great attention: more serious affairs occupied the public.

The law on the press was the great event of the session, and it was closely connected with the designs or supposed designs of the Church party. The bishops in their pastoral letters (*mandemens*) in 1827 were continually crying out against the abuses of the press, and calling for more efficient checks; and the Chamber of Deputies, in its address in 1826, had expressed the same wish. The government from motives of prudence had hitherto done nothing, but at the close of the year 1827, the influence of the extreme party, or the increasing violence of the attacks on the ministry, or both causes combined, determined the government to exert all their power against an enemy which threatened their destruction. The proposition of the ministry even roused the opposition of the Académie Française, and M. de Lacretelle read before this body, in the sitting of the 4th of January, an energetic paper on the evils which would result to literature from the proposed law; and he moved that an humble petition be presented to the king, for the purpose of informing him of the fears and the wishes of the Académie, of which the king was the patron. Three members appointed by the Académie drew up the petition: they were Châteaubriand, Lacretelle, and Villemain. The perpetual secretary wrote to the first gentleman in waiting of the king, to ask for an audience to present the humble petition of the Académie. The king's answer was that he would not grant the audience. But this was not all. The ministry punished some of those who were parties to the petition. Villemain still held the humble place of maître des requêtes to the Conseil d'Etat, and Peyronnet deprived him of it. Lacretelle had the office of dramatic censor: Corbière took it from him. Michaud who had been a most faithful adherent of the Comte d'Artois during all the storms of the Revolution, was rewarded by the poor-paid place of a reader to the king, and the king now informed the public, through the 'Moniteur,' that M. Michaud was no longer a reader. Royalty had been constantly

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1826,' Appendix, p. 7.

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1827,' Appendix, p. 2.

increasing its enemies on all sides; it now added to them the moderate men of the Royalist party, those who still maintained some independence, and were distinguished for their attainments.

The original measure of the ministers on the press was the destruction of it.* The author of an article in defence of it, which appeared in the 'Moniteur,' called it "a law of justice and of love." Châteaubriand called it "a Vandal law." Casimir Périer said, they might just as well propose an article to this effect: "printing is suppressed in France for the benefit of Belgium." No measure since the establishment of a representative government in France was debated so long or with so much animation. The proposed law, after receiving numerous modifications, was carried in the Chamber of Deputies by a majority of 233 to 134. Though this would have been a considerable majority in any other deliberative assembly, it was the sign of a decreasing majority in the French Chamber. To estimate the character of the ministers who proposed this law, and that of the Chamber which voted for it, as it was amended, the original measure should be compared with the law as it was passed.† Though the law had been modified by the Deputies, and greatly altered in the most vexatious articles, before it was presented to the Chamber of Peers, it was still stigmatized as an attack on the public liberties. The committee of the peers appointed to examine and report on the law contained a majority in favour of the liberty of the press; and the choice of such a committee showed that the ministry might expect a formidable opposition. While the committee of the peers was engaged in examining this law, an event happened which added to the fury of political discord. The duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, one of the most distinguished peers of the opposition, died on the 27th of March. His long life had been occupied by charity and benevolent acts. On the day of the funeral a number of young men, who had been educated in the school of arts et métiers at Châlons, wishing to honour the memory of their benefactor, carried the coffin from the duke's hotel to the church. When the coffin was brought out of the church, they were making preparations to carry it in the same way to the barrière, from whence the body was to be conveyed to Liancourt, when a commissioner of police appeared and ordered the coffin to be placed on the funeral-car. The young men persisted in their intention to carry the body, and resisted the armed force which was on the spot to enforce the orders of the police. In the confusion that ensued, and in the midst of a deputation of peers, many distinguished persons, and the family of the deceased, the coffin, which was forcibly taken from the young men, fell on the ground and was half broken. This scandalous affair was made known to all France through the journals, and the Chamber of Peers instructed their grand referendary to ascertain all the facts and to present a report on them. The report was presented on the 2nd of April. It appeared that the commissioner of police only obeyed the orders of the préfet of police, which were to look to the execution of the rules as to interment as in other cases, after having communicated with the members of the family. It appeared that the commandant of the soldiers also behaved with great moderation, and forbade his men to use their bayonets. The result of this affair was a renewal of the orders of police, which forbade the carrying of a body on men's shoulders.

It was already rumoured that the report of the committee, which had been prepared by Portalis, would be unfavourable to the law on the press, when the ministry brought to the Chamber on the 17th of April, a royal ordonnance to the effect that the measure was withdrawn. There could not have been more rejoicing, if a great victory had been gained by the armies of France, so unexpected, so joyful was the news. A great number of persons, whose interests were at stake, were relieved of their anxiety, and others rejoiced in the triumph over the enemies of constitutional liberty. There were illuminations and fireworks in some of the principal streets, unaccompanied by any serious disorders; and these rejoicings were repeated in all the great cities in France.

The king, wishing to show his satisfaction with the National Guard of Paris for their services on the 12th of April, the anniversary of his entry into Paris, announced that he would review the guard on Sunday, the 29th of April, in the Champ-de-Mars. On the 29th, the legions assembled, under a brilliant sun, in the Champ-de-Mars, in excellent order, and the king, on his arrival with the royal family, was received with shouts of "Vive le Roi." Some of the men looked on the review as a favourable opportunity for manifesting their opinions, in the hope that a change in the ministry might be the result. From some of the ranks there were cries of "Down with the ministers; down with the Jesuits." The king, addressing a man who had made himself very conspicuous by these cries, said, "I am come here to receive homage, and not a lesson." The affair went off quietly, and the king, on returning to the Tuileries on horseback, received the same marks of respect which had accompanied him to the Champ-de-Mars. Some of the legions on their way home repeated the offensive cries under the windows of the minister of finance, and of the keeper of the seals, which these two ministers considered as a menace, or even a sign of insurrection. A council of the ministers was called, which sat to a late hour of the night, and it was resolved to disband the National Guard. The ordonnance, drawn up without any preamble, and countersigned by the minister of the interior, whose duty it was to give it effect, was sent during the night to the commander-in-chief of the National Guard, and at six o'clock the next morning all the posts of the National Guard were occupied by troops of the line, and at the same time appeared in the 'Moniteur' the

* 'Projet de loi' 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1827,' p. 70, with the amendments of the commission.

† 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1827,' Appendix, p. 4.

ordonnance for the suppression of the guard, in place of an expected article which was to give an account of the happy termination of the review. The ministers were not unanimous on this question: only Villèle, Damas, Corbière, Peyronnet, and Clermont Tonnerre were absolutely in favour of it. The duc de Dondeauville, minister of the royal household, resigned his place. The dissolution of the National Guard of Paris was one of the measures which contributed most directly, as some suppose, to the overthrow of the Bourbons, for it caused great dissatisfaction, and deprived royalty of one of the bonds which held the people to it. The session closed with the budget, which was discussed with more animation and more violence than in the preceding sessions; for men's passions were roused by the attempts to fetter the press, and the dissolution of the National Guard. The estimates were founded on the state of the finances in the month of January, but after that time there had been an alarming diminution in the receipts of the public revenue. Confidence was shaken, and the effect of this is always perceived in the public income. It was known or supposed that the censorship would be revived after the close of the session; and this increased the hostility of the opposition. Finally the budget of 1828 was fixed for the expenditure at 929,104,161 francs, and the receipts were estimated at 931,302,698. An ordonnance of the king of the 22nd of June, terminated the session of 1827. Two days after the close of the session, the censorship was established by an ordonnance, which contained no preamble, and was countersigned by the three ministers who were the principal objects of the attacks of the opposition, Villèle, Corbière, and Peyronnet. As soon as the ordonnance was published, a society was formed with Châteaubriand for president, for the purpose of defending and protecting the liberty of the press. The society published pamphlets, which were spread all over France, and tended to increase the unpopularity of the ministry.

The affairs of Greece had long occupied the British cabinet, and the French government had been in communication with it on this subject.* The result was, the treaty of the 6th of July, 1827, between France, Russia, and England, by which the three powers agreed, that if the Sultan did not accept their terms, they would compel him. This was the meaning, expressed in diplomatic language. This treaty laid the foundation of the independence of Greece and of the new kingdom of Greece, and was the last important act of Mr. Canning, who died, after a short illness, on the 8th of August. The liberal party in France lamented his death, and numerous writers pronounced the eulogium of Mr. Canning, the friend of civil and religious liberty; wherein there was probably less real respect for the English minister, than a design to express, even in this form, hostility to Villèle and his colleagues. The funeral of the ex-deputy Manuel, who died at the house of his friend Laffitte, furnished occasion of a demonstration against the government (August 24th). In the cemetery of Père Lachaise discourses were pronounced over the grave of Manuel by Laffitte, Lafayette, Béranger, and others, in which regret for the untimely death of this distinguished orator was mingled with indignation at the violence which had terminated his career as a legislator.

On the 3rd of September, the king left St. Cloud to visit the camp of St. Omer, and some of the departments of the North, the centre of so much of the industry of France. He was received with great demonstrations of respect and affection. The curés of the communes, clothed in their sacerdotal vests, and accompanied by their clergy, waited on the steps of the churches in front of which the king passed, and saluted him with shouts and the ringing of bells. Triumphal arches, and all the usual signs of rejoicing, such as had marked the progress of Napoléon, now attended the king of the French, who returned to Paris in the full belief of his popularity, and in the conviction that the newspapers were the sole cause of all the noisy opposition. Under such an opinion, he could have no apprehension as to the consequence of an appeal to the country, which Villèle was already preparing. He had resolved on dissolving the Chamber, a measure which was not the consequence of any hasty resolution, but of long and anxious deliberation. As to the Chamber of Peers, he could only deal with them by a new creation. By a dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, he expected to get more moderate men returned, and he would then be able to remodel his cabinet, and get rid of those men who were most odious to public opinion. On the 5th of November appeared in the 'Moniteur' the ordonnance which dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, and convoked the electorial colleges for the 17th and 24th of November: the opening of the session was fixed for the 5th of February, 1828. On the same day appeared an ordonnance which made seventy-six new peers, the greater part of whom were taken from the ministerial majority of the late Chamber of Deputies. Many of them were men of large landed property. At the head of the list were five archbishops.* It was an odd mixture of persons. M. Rongé, one of the leaders of the congregation, and Marshal Soult, a man of war and of the empire, appeared together in this motley list. On the same day (the 5th of November) also appeared an ordonnance which declared that the ordonnance of the 24th of June preceding, for the establishment of the censorship, should cease to have any effect. None of these ordonnances were preceded by any preamble or explanation of motives; but the official journal, the 'Moniteur,' of the 7th of November, explained what these motives were, or at least as much as the ministry thought proper to publish. The journals having recovered their liberty for a season, broke out with redoubled fury against the oppression under which they had groaned for four months. They reviewed all the acts

* On the new batch of Peers, see Capefigue. 'Hist. de la Restauration, &c.,' iv., c. 23.

of the ministry, their proposed measures, the dissolution of the National Guard, and every public event which could furnish matter for their unrelenting hostility. The dissolution of the Chambers, and the new elections, supplied abundant materials for the expression of their deadly hatred to the ministerialists, and the hopes and fears of France in this critical period. The ministers had made every preparation to ensure their success in the elections, and the préfets, who had received full powers to act, showed by their zeal their devotion to the power that exists. During the elections arrived the news of the naval battle of Navarino (20th of October, 1827) in which the combined French, Russian, and English fleet defeated the Turco-Egyptian fleet, an event which decided the independence of Greece. The ministers availed themselves of this news in the elections, but it did them little good. The two oppositions, liberal and royalist, combined by mutual concessions, simply out of hatred to Villèle; and the names of Labourdonnaye and B. Constant, of Lafayette and of Ferdinand de Berthier, appeared on the same lists. The elections of the arrondissemens were made over all the country with great unanimity of opinion, and the ministerial candidates were generally rejected. All the hopes of the cabinet now rested on the departmental elections, where it was hoped that the element of larger property would turn out to be conservative. The news of the result of the elections caused great rejoicings at Paris; some houses were illuminated, and bodies of men went about the streets making noisy demonstrations, and throwing stones at the windows which were not illuminated. In the Rue St. Denis windows were broken, and peaceable people were insulted and frightened. It was some time before any means were taken to check this disturbance, and when a detachment of gendarmerie appeared, they were received with a shower of stones. A stronger force was brought, and the rioters were dispersed. But they soon rallied and constructed barricades, and it was only after repeated attacks and discharges of musketry that the barricades could be carried. A sinister omen appeared on this occasion: there was some hesitation on the part of the troops of the line. These scenes occurred for several days, and there was so much order and regularity, that it appeared as if the rioters were acting under some general direction. It was however merely the people of a large capital trying their strength, preparing for a more serious conflict that was soon to take place.* The telegraph conveyed the intelligence to the departmental colleges that Paris was in a state of revolt, and that the throne was threatened. The returns from these colleges agreed pretty well with what had been anticipated: the liberals obtained a majority only in a small number of the colleges; the right, and the right and left centres, had the victory. Thus there was a royalist majority, but not a majority for the ministry. Villèle now seriously set about remodelling the cabinet: he never scrupled at sacrificing any of his colleagues to secure himself. He entered into some negotiations with Martignac, Pastoret, and Talarué, but they produced no result. Villèle saw that his ministry was abandoned, and his fall was accelerated by a party in the Tuileries which had long been his enemy. One of these persons, who was most active in overthrowing Villèle and destroying his influence with the king, was de Rivière, the governor of the infant duke of Bordeaux, who daily saw the king to give him an account of the child's progress. When the king returned from Compiègne in the month of December, he asked Villèle if he had formed a ministry. Villèle replied that he had not yet succeeded, and he asked for time until the 25th of December. The king said that everything ought to be settled before that time, for he wanted to announce his new ministry on the 1st of January. At last the minister declared that a union of the different shades of royalists could not be effected without his resignation, and he accordingly assumed the position of a man who sacrificed himself in order to effect a reconciliation among all the royalists. The new ministry was not formed with the view of completely satisfying opinion, but with the object of rallying the Chamber against the *gauche* or left, and even securing a few members of the centre *gauche*. On the 5th of January, 1828, appeared in the 'Moniteur' a list of the new ministers: Portalis, peer of France, had the department of justice; Ferronays, formerly ambassador in Russia, held the department of foreign affairs; Decaux, the department of war: for the interior, the vicomte Martignac; and for finance, Roy. Fraysinnous, bishop of Hermopolis, kept his place, but his functions were limited to the ecclesiastical offices of the Catholic worship; and also Chabrol, minister of the marine. The five ministers who resigned were named ministers of state (ministres d' état), and members of the privy council; and those among them who were not yet peers, Villèle, Peyronnet, and Corbière, were promoted to the peerage. Villèle had rendered services to France as an administrator, but the general character of his policy had brought matters to such a state that it seemed almost impossible for his successor to maintain himself or to secure the throne.

* As to these disturbances, see 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1827,' p. 260.

CHAPTER XCVII.

MARTIGNAC.

The ministry, which takes its name from Martignac, commenced its career with a Chamber elected under the influence of hatred and fear of those who held power, and with little support from the king, who told his new ministers, the first time he saw them, that he had parted from Villèle with regret, and that the minister's system was his own. Five well-marked differences of opinion, it is said, divided the Chamber of Deputies. The *gauche*, though strengthened, did not contain above seventy-five members; and among the new members was De Pradt, the first priest who was elected to the Chamber of Deputies; a man who had a passion for writing pamphlets and filling volumes. The ministry did not represent exactly any of the different opinions which divided the Chamber. The object of this ministry in its formation was to take its stand on the right centre, and to combine all the various fractions of the royalists. Accordingly, an attempt was made to secure the assistance of several members who had influence, and, among others, a proposal was made to Châteaubriand: he was to have the administration of the fine arts and public instruction. After expressing his satisfaction with the offer, he wrote to say, that, after due reflection, he could not accept the place. The ministry of public instruction was at last given to M. Vatismenil. Something was done to satisfy public opinion, by the appointing of a special commission, for the purpose of securing, in all the ecclesiastical schools of the kingdom, the execution of the laws. This commission contained men of all shades of opinion, and the appointment of it calmed in some degree the excitement against the Jesuits. The department of the fine arts was offered to Villemain, then attached to the centre *gauche*, who declined it, having no confidence in the ministry, and wishing to enter upon office in company with his friends. It was given to Siméon, who had no qualification for the office. The ministry also tried to soothe and please men of literature and science. Pensions were restored to some of these men, who had been deprived of them by the late ministry; and there was formed in the department of the interior a committee, whose duty was to receive and consider all applications relating to pensions to men of literature and science, and relating to subscriptions and assistance of every description to be given to the sciences, literature, and the fine arts. The committee was composed of distinguished personages taken from the four Academies which composed the Institut, Cuvier, Fourrier, Andrieux, Michaud, Abel Remusat, Gérard, and Fontaine.

The session was opened on the 5th of February. The king's speech announced the pacification of Greece, and the speedy evacuation of Spain by the French troops; and that the blockade of Algiers, which had been commenced, would cease as soon as the Dey had given proper satisfaction to France.* As to the internal affairs of France, the king said, "Wishing to strengthen more and more in my states the charter which was granted by my brother, and which I have sworn to maintain, I shall be vigilant in seeing that all prudent and well-matured measures are taken, to put our legislation in harmony with it: certain high questions of public administration have been pointed out to my solicitude: convinced that the real strength of thrones is, next to the Divine protection, in the observance of the laws, I have given instructions that these questions be thoroughly examined, and that their discussion bring out the truth in all its brilliancy,—the first necessity of princes and of peoples." It is hardly possible to express in English the vague and unmeaning phraseology of this speech,—a vagueness to which the French language readily adapts itself. The contemporary annalist says, "It would be difficult for us to render the profound impression which these words produced on the Assembly: this noble and sincere language fully responded to the wishes and the hopes of France."† It would require more than ordinary sagacity to discover what the words of the speech promised. A minister who could put such expressions in the king's mouth, could have no very clear conception of what he intended to do.

The verification of the titles of the deputies was a question of more than usual interest. A great number of petitions, presented to the two chambers, charged the late ministry and many of their agents with abuse of power, fraud and violence, in the late elections; and the charge was true. The choice of candidates for the presidency was, as usual, the first test of the relative strength of the different parties. The first balloting gave Labourdonnaye, the organ of the côté droit, 178 votes, and Casimir Périer, of the côté gauche, 156 votes. The three other names, which represented the intermediate opinions, fell short of the number of votes given to Labourdonnaye, and exceeded those of Casimir Périer. As none had an absolute majority, another balloting was necessary. The first result showed that neither of the extremes could command a majority, neither the right nor the left. The result of the second voting, which gave an absolute majority to Delalot, to Hyde de Neuville, Royer-Collard, and Gauthier, showed what a combination could do. Labourdonnaye's 178 votes were reduced to 154. The king chose Royer-

* The origin of this quarrel with the Dey, which ended in France acquiring a large territory on the north coast of Africa, is briefly stated in the 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1827,' p. 271.

† 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1828,' p. 14.

Collard as president, though his name was only third on the list. The address of the Chamber of Deputies (9th of March) contained the expression, "The complaints of France only accuse the deplorable system which too often rendered your intended favours illusory."* This was an attack on the late ministry, and offensive to the king, who at first put himself in a great passion about it; but reflection got the better of passion, and his answer to the address was in moderate and conciliatory terms. After this condemnation of Villèle, it was impossible that Frayssinous and Chabrol, who had been in his cabinet, could continue in the new one; and they resigned. Hyde de Neuville was made minister of marine; and the bishop of Beauvais, a prudent and tolerant man, took the direction of ecclesiastical affairs. Early in the session, De Pradt resigned his seat in the chamber, on the ground of his bad health.

One of the first measures of the ministry was a law on the electoral lists, the object of which was to prevent the abuses charged on the late ministry during the last elections, and to take away, in future, all reasonable ground of complaint on a matter which is of vital importance in a constitutional system,—the determination of the names of those who are entitled to vote. The proposed law was well received by the majority, as a pledge of the constitutional sincerity of the ministers.† It was carried by a majority of 152, after thirteen days' discussion. In presenting the law to the Chamber of Peers, Martignac spoke like a man of integrity. "The proposition," he said, "tends to secure the regularity of the lists, to prevent mistakes, to guarantee real rights, to reject ill-founded claims; it tends to free the administration from suspicions which degrade it, from those violent attacks which exhaust and damage it." After some opposition, the law was carried by a majority of 83 votes out of 159; which showed a minority very little larger than the number of the last batch of peers. The king was struck with this, and spoke of it to his ministers, who pointed out to him the necessary consequence of fifty or sixty peers being devoted to Villèle. "I know it," said the king, "but they have given excellent reasons."

There were partial elections in the month of April, for the purpose of supplying the places of members deceased, those who had resigned, and those who had been elected for more than one place. Six of the arrondissements of Paris had new members to choose. Out of 51 new members in all who were returned, 40 belonged to the côté gauche, or centre gauche, and only eleven to the centre droit. The ministry had scarcely taken any part in the elections, which had been managed solely by the electoral committees. The court was alarmed at the mode of proceeding in the Paris elections. Meetings were held to discuss the qualifications of the different candidates; in one of the arrondissements of Paris, the electors met to the number of seven or eight hundred; every candidate was questioned about his opinions and his former conduct, and made his political confession of faith. The journals of the royalist opposition denounced these meetings as revolutionary clubs, though the meetings were not attended with any disorder. The king was alarmed at the men who were sent to the chamber, and he said to Martignac, "You see where we are going to with our laws." Martignac could only answer, that they must attempt "to advance to a grand system of fusion, oblivion, and liberty; and that on this ground all opinions would come over to royalty."*

The treaty of the 6th of July, and the intervention of France in the affairs of Greece, brought, as usual in such cases, some new expenses. Ibrahim Pacha was in the Morea, with a considerable force, and it was agreed among the parties to the treaty that the French should have the honour of driving him out. The necessary preparations were made by the French ministry with wonderful rapidity. The expedition left France on the 17th of August, and landed at Coron on the 29th of the same month. A convention was soon concluded with Ibrahim, by which he agreed to evacuate the Morea on the 9th of September. A law of the 19th of June had provided for the extraordinary expenses of this year by an inscription in the Grand Livre of the public debt of four millions of rentes, at five per cent. The new ministry had to deal with the delicate question of the press, the liberty of which had been warmly defended in the past session by a minority, which was now in a different position. They proposed a law, which was carried in the Chamber of Deputies, after twenty days' debate, by 266 to 116, and in the Chamber of Peers, by 139 to 71.† Every Frenchman was allowed to publish a journal or other periodical publication, without any previous authorization, provided he conformed to the dispositions of the law. The proprietor or proprietors of any journal or periodical work were required, before publication, to give security, the amount of which varied according to circumstances, which were determined by the law. Certain journals or periodical works were exempted from this liability,—such, for instance, as appeared only once a month, or not so often, and those devoted only to science and so forth. "This law," said Châteaubriand, "notwithstanding its great imperfections, is an immense improvement." The law imposed severe conditions on the publication of a journal, and it excited great opposition, both in the chambers and on the part of

* 'Annuaire Hist., &c., pour 1828,' App.

† 'Annuaire Hist., &c., pour 1828,' p. 84, 'Listes Electorales.'

* Capefigue puts these words in the mouth of Martignac. It is not said whether the king was comforted by this foggy and nebulose consolation. The text is a translation of the original, for the English and French idioms here agree; and each word is faithfully rendered. But the whole is a French combination, or mode of expression, which their writers of the present day often fall into, the consequence, apparently, of a straining after effect, and perhaps, to some extent, of vagueness of conception.

† 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1828,' p. 7. 'Loi sur les journaux et écrits périodiques.'

the press. Yet on the whole it was well received by all people of moderate opinions, and considered as a pledge of the constitutional faith of the ministry. The new law did not allow the jury in cases of offences committed by the press, and the journals had not said much in favour of the jury. The minister renounced all proceedings founded "on the tendency" of a journal; and the cours royales had gained public favour by their judgments, so that they were not much to be dreaded in mere political questions. But the courts soon showed their severity in some instances. M. Cauchois-Lemaire had addressed a letter to the duc d'Orleans, which seemed like an invitation to him to be ready to step upon the throne. The duke disavowed the letter, and the author was condemned to an imprisonment of fifteen months, and the payment of a fine of 2000 francs. The poet Béranger was prosecuted for his songs, and condemned to nine months' imprisonment,* and a fine of 10,000 francs.

The passing of the new law was followed by the publication of a great number of periodical publications: every department had its opposition journal and its correspondence with Paris. The liberal party organized itself in the departments, through the medium of the press, and Paris was the common centre. Since the adhesion of Châteaubriand, the government had the 'Journal des Débats' on its side; and M. Martignac had established a journal, 'Le Messager,' as the organ of his own opinions. But the king did not like the 'Messager:' he read the 'Gazette de France,' the expression of Villèle's opinions, and quoted it at the meetings of the council against his ministers. The liberal party had only two great organs, the 'Courier,' and the 'Constitutionnel.' Martignac had called into life a host of journals by his new law, and they turned against the man to whom they owed their existence. They did not consider that, in a constitutional monarchy, a minister must do what he can, and cannot do everything that he would.

In the interval between the adoption of the law on the periodical press by the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Peers, appeared the ordonnance of the 16th of June, relative to the secondary ecclesiastical schools. The commission which had been appointed to examine into the state of these schools, and to report on them, was not unanimous. A majority were of opinion, with respect to the legality of eight establishments, which were under the direction of Jesuits or priests living within the walls, according to the rule of St. Ignatius, that the bishops, by virtue of the ordonnance of the 5th of October, 1814, could entrust these schools to any individuals who were subjected to their authority. This report was contrary to the opinions of a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, and the ministers were reproached with following in the track of their predecessors. The report established the fact of the Jesuits being in the possession of several colleges: the only question was the legality of the existence of the Jesuits, and the ministers adopted the opinion of the minority of the commission, who were against the Jesuits. M. Martignac had a difficult task to overcome the king's repugnance to a measure contrary to his own inclinations, and the report of the commission. The matter was debated in four meetings of the council; and it was not until a fifth meeting, that the king consented to sign the ordonnances. The dauphin was in favour of them, and supported the ministry. The king consulted his confessor and all the pious persons about the court. He signed with great reluctance: he said that nothing ever pained him so much. The ordonnance of the 16th of June declared that among the establishments known under the name of secondary ecclesiastical schools, there were eight which were under the direction of persons who belonged to a religious congregation not legally established in France. The name of the Jesuits was not mentioned. The ordonnance declared that, from the 1st of October, 1828, these eight establishments, which were named, should be subject to the University régime; and from the same 1st of October, no person could have either the direction of any place of education, which was under the control of the University, or of any secondary ecclesiastical school, or be a teacher in such places, unless he first affirmed, in writing, that he did not belong to any religious congregation not legally established in France. Another ordonnance prepared by the bishop of Beauvais, on the smaller seminaries (petits séminaires), limited the number of pupils in the secondary ecclesiastical schools; and the number was in no case to exceed twenty thousand. The superiors of these schools were to be named by the archbishops or bishops, and to be approved by the king. All the secondary ecclesiastical schools which should not conform to the terms of the ordonnance, were to be under the régime of the University. The clergy were thrown into a state of almost open rebellion by these two ordonnances: they were denounced as "religious persecution," which was to be opposed by "legitimate resistance." And even some moderate writers did not scruple to say that these ordonnances were concessions made by the ministry to the spirit of the Revolution. The ministry was fortified by a papal brief; for, as it has been often observed, the Holy See can always be dealt with, when its authority is appealed to in matters affecting episcopal jurisdiction, which the See is always willing to keep within limits. A confidential agent was sent to Rome by Portalis, to take the opinion of the Holy Father on the ordonnances, and to remove any unfavourable impression that he might have. The success of the mission was complete: a pontifical brief was obtained to the effect, "that his Holiness did not see in the ordonnances any violation of episcopal rights, and that he had no design to impose on the French government the congregations which its legislation did not acknowledge." The Jesuits refused to submit to the general régime of the University, and they left the kingdom. The ordonnances of June

* It was for a new volume—the third—he was condemned, and on the ground of offence against the religion of the state and the person of the king.

completed the rupture between the religious party and the ministry; but they brought the ministry nearer to the centre gauche.

The budget for 1829 was presented in a new form: the head of expenses and that of receipts were each the subject of a separate law; and the expenditure was placed under its several distinct branches. The minister of finance showed that there had been a progressive increase of the deficit from 1814 to 1828; that after the payment of all the expenses of 1828, it would amount to 200 millions; and this was the condition in which they had to come to the budget of 1829. When this matter was discussed, it appeared that the party of Villèle and Labourdonnaye were reconciled. The declaration of such a deficit was an attack on the previous administration; and Labourdonnaye maintained that the real deficit was not much above 21 millions. The debates on this matter, though expressive of various shades of opinion, showed a very general desire to make retrenchments and to establish an equality between the receipts and the expenditure. But it appeared, upon consideration, that all the savings which could be made were trifling compared with the whole expenditure. Such is the condition of the nations of Europe: loaded with a heavy debt, the interest of which must be paid, or a worse evil must be endured; with an enormous military or naval force, or both; with an ever-increasing number of persons employed by the state and paid out of the taxes, to many of whom a reduction of salary or deprivation of place is the same as a sentence of death—an efficient reduction of expenditure is an undertaking which every existing administration shrinks from aghast, and leaves its successors at some time to deal with a difficulty which by delay becomes greater. The session closed on the 18th of August, the longest since the Restoration, and one of the most remarkable, both for the talent displayed in the Chambers, for the importance of the matters discussed, and for the results.* The 'Gazette de France,' the favourite journal of the Tuileries, in recapitulating the events of the session, said, "If the ministry persist in the same way, there remains little to do in the next session, in order to consummate the re-establishment of the Republic and the erection of altars to the Goddess of Reason; unless the faction prefers to substitute immediately usurpation for legitimacy, and the reformed religion for the religion of the state."

The leaders of the right had secret interviews with the king; the extreme right and the party of Villèle were drawing together, and the king had received Mémoires from MM. Ravez and Chantelauze. The ministers also presented the king with a Mémoire, the purpose of which was to explain what had been done in the past session, and what remained to be done, particularly with regard to the persons employed in the administration: indeed, the main object of the Mémoire was to induce the king to remove a great many functionaries. It concluded with a prophetic anticipation of the danger to the crown, if other counsels than those of the ministry should prevail. M. de la Féronnays, the minister for foreign affairs, was ill, and was obliged to ask for leave to retire for a time. His final retirement seemed certain, and the king still cherished the idea of making his favourite, the prince de Polignac, then French ambassador at London, minister for foreign affairs. There were already intrigues with this view going on at the Tuileries. The ministers could think of no better expedient for the present than to induce the king to make a journey into the departments formed out of the former province of Alsace. The king, who was accompanied by the dauphin and the minister of the interior, returned from his tour, extremely delighted with his reception.* The minister thought this a favourable opportunity for renewing his attack and removing many obnoxious persons: "You wish, then," said the king, "to dismiss all my friends?" "It is not the object to dismiss all your friends," replied the minister, "but those of your friends who are in opposition to your system: otherwise the Chamber will overthrow us." The king did not seem to be aware of the important truth, that the worst enemies a man has always come from among his friends; friends being merely a name for those who happen to have closer relations of intimacy or interest with a man than others. The changes which the minister urged were made chiefly in the préfectures of the departments; and important places, as they became vacant, were filled with persons whose merits were recognized by the liberal party. Two ordonnances (5th and 12th November) remodelled the conseil d'état: the second distributed the members of the service ordinaire among four committees. The conseil could not discuss any matter unless one-half of the members, and one more, of those who had a deliberative voice, were present at the sitting. Every proposed law or ordonnance relating to the public was deliberated in a general meeting; and in that case only the ordonnances were to have as preamble the following words: "After hearing our Council of State." About fifty deputies were elected in the course of this year, in the place of deputies who resigned, died, or whose places became vacant in some other way; and of this number the liberal party had at least forty. In general, the ministry had very little influence on these elections. Two important commissions had been appointed (12th of August and 5th of October): one to examine into the state of the roads and canals in France; and the other to make any proposals which should seem advantageous as to changes in the commercial régime. The first commission reported that it would be necessary to expend considerable sums beyond those allowed by the budget, in order to bring the roads to a desirable state of completion or even of repair, and to complete the canals which were already commenced. The second commission, which was mainly formed of members of the

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1828,' p. 287; and the laws and ordonnances of the session, 'Appendice,' p. 1, &c.

* It seems to have been hearty and sincere. 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1828,' p. 297.

Chamber of Deputies, inquired chiefly into the distress existing in the wine-producing countries, which called for a diminution in the Custom-house duties; into the flourishing condition of the iron manufactory, which was improving at the cost of the nation, in consequence of the restrictions on the importation of foreign iron; and into the cotton manufactory, which also called for the same protection. Every important town appointed its agents to inform this commission of its wishes and its wants. It was a great contention of opposite interests; but there appeared in the commission a disposition to admit the greatest possible extension of the freedom of commerce, with due regard to those branches of industry which had developed themselves under the protection of the laws which were already in force.

Charles continued a practice of Louis XVIII., of writing directly, under the cover of the ministry, to such foreign ambassadors as were in his confidence; and he kept up a correspondence with the prince de Polignac at London. The health of Féronnays was still very bad, and Portalis, by the king's command, wrote to Polignac to come from London. The prince announced to the English ministry that he was going to Paris to take the department of foreign affairs. On his arrival at Paris, however, he found that the ministry objected to receive him among them, for the press had declared itself most violently against him. He could not go back to London after what he had said; and the king, even, did not go so far as to make a direct proposal that Polignac should have the department of foreign affairs. The ministers were resolved to resign rather than consent to the prince's appointment. Portalis had the interim portfolio for foreign affairs.

The Chambers met on the 27th of January, 1829. The king's speech was of a liberal complexion: it said, "Experience has dissipated mad theories: France knows, as well as you, on what basis her happiness reposes; and those who would seek for it elsewhere than in the sincere union of the royal authority and of the liberties consecrated by the Charter, would be disavowed by her, to their shame." Royer-Collard was appointed president of the Chamber of Deputies. In the debates on the address Laffitte said, "The position of France is better than ever it was; I see in it nothing but satisfaction and hope." The right withdrew, in order not to join in the vote on the address; and the ministry of Martignac found itself supported by the gauche and the centre gauche. Martignac presented his two great measures for the session,—the law for the organization of the communes, and that for the departments. The measures were large and liberal. The minister explained the objects of the measures in a clear and able manner, and the Chambers received the propositions in the most flattering way. But intrigue was working to undermine the ministry. The king had required the two measures to be presented at the same time, in order that his ministers might be embarrassed: he would not allow his ministers to consent to any essential change in the measures; and the right were instructed to take no part in the debates. Some of the centre gauche, seeing that the minister was compelled to look to them for support, thought of turning their power to their own profit, and forming a ministry out of their own body. A committee was appointed in the Chamber of Deputies to examine each law. Sebastiani, who had to report on the departmental law, on behalf of one of the committees, proposed several important changes. The adoption of an amendment for the suppression of the conseils d'arrondissement, was followed by the minister withdrawing both his measures with the full consent of the king, who so far imposed on Martignac as to make him believe that he was his friend, when the king had no other design than to get rid of him. Féronnays was now finally resolved to retire, on account of his health, and the choice of a successor was a difficult question. The king induced Portalis to take the place, and M. Bourdeau, an insignificant person, was appointed his successor. The budget was the only matter now to be settled, and when that was done, the king was ready to get rid of his ministry, whom he had cajoled and deceived. The budget was carried by a majority of 131 votes. According to M. Roy's speech, there would be an excess of above one million in the receipts, though the condition of the working clergy had been improved, primary instruction encouraged, and the endowment of the peerage fixed by a law.*

The king having got his budget settled, was ready to accomplish his design. Polignac had left Paris, on the occasion of the strong manifestation of opinion; but he returned on the 27th of July, in consequence of a letter from the king, who had never abandoned his plan of making Polignac his minister. The object of Charles X. probably was not a coup d'état: he thought, apparently, that the prince could unite the right and the right centre, and secure a majority in the chamber. While Martignac and Hyde de Neuville were still flattering themselves with the supposed possession of the king's confidence, the king was forming a new ministry; and on the 6th of August he informed Portalis that he had constructed a cabinet. Polignac did not form the whole cabinet: it was nearly completed when he was invited to be a member of it. The 'Moniteur,' of the 9th of August, 1829, contained the names of the new ministry. Polignac had the department of foreign affairs; Courvoisier was minister of justice; Bourmont was minister of war;† Rigny had the marine; Labourdonnaye was minister of the interior; Montbel had ecclesiastical affairs and public instruction; there was no separate ministry for ecclesiastical affairs, but Fraysinnous had the nomination to vacant places; and Chabrol, minister of marine in 1827, had finance. The retiring ministers received honorary tokens of the royal approbation; and five of them, among whom was Martignac, the more solid recompense of a pension of 12,000 francs.

* 'Loi relative aux pensions affectées à la pairie sur la dotation de l'ancien Sénat,' 28th May: 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1829,' Appendice, p. 3.

† Rigny refused, and d'Haussez had the place.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

POLIGNAC.

THE formation of the new ministry was received with an almost universal concert of reprobation. The very names of some of the men were enough to discredit the cabinet in public estimation. Polignac had no talent, and was a devoted adherent of royalty. Labourdonnaye was already well known: he had gained a reputation by his violent opposition to Villèle, but he had no real ability. Bourmont had talent and military skill; but he had been a royalist in Vendée, and had passed over to the enemy before the battle of Waterloo.* The new ministry did not remove any important functionaries; but several counsellors of state took flight, on the accession to power of these ominous names. The journals attacked the Polignac cabinet with sarcasm and insult. A new journal appeared at this crisis, under a name, afterwards well known, the 'National,' under the direction of M. Thiers. The ministry had on their side the 'Quotidienne' and the 'Gazette de France,' and pamphlets and episcopal letters came to their aid. The press and the electoral committees, which were well organized, agreed in one common purpose, which was, not the overthrow of the Bourbons, but the triumph of the principles maintained by the centre and centre gauche. Their first manifestation was an association for the refusal to pay taxes,—a mode of resistance first announced by the 'Journal de Commerce' (11th of September), as a declaration of the departments of Bretagne. The example being set, these associations for the refusal of the payment of taxes rapidly spread over France. The association of Paris had at its head the deputies for the Seine and the great proprietors. Lafayette was making a tour of the departments of the Isère and the Rhone; and the living image of the Revolution was received with enthusiasm by thousands of people, at Grenoble, Lyon, and other places. It was no conspiracy, no secret design, that was forming against the Bourbons: it was a manifestation of a people prepared to resist an expected attack on their liberty. The ministry saw and heard the gathering storm, but they were in a state of happy self-confidence, busy with little details of administration.

The cabinet for the first few months did nothing. They were not well agreed, and it was discovered that Labourdonnaye was incapable. Polignac claimed to be president of the council, and when he was appointed, Labourdonnaye made this a pretext for resigning (17th of November) a place in which he felt his nullity. The king made him a peer, and Montbel took his place. The ministry of public instruction was given to Guernon-Ranville, the son of an emigrant, a fluent advocate, and an exalted royalist. Immediately on his entry upon office, he encouraged primary instruction in all the communes. Chabrol was employed in drawing up a complete report on the financial state of the kingdom. There was nothing yet in the acts of the ministry which showed any ill designs. Many improvements were effected in administration; and the diplomatic appointments were made rather in a liberal spirit. Yet opinion was anxious, and the ministry were unpopular: there was an instinctive feeling, that as the king had now a cabinet exactly to his own mind, a great crisis was at hand. The time for the meeting of the Chambers had been deferred as long as possible; and the 2nd of March, 1830, was the time fixed. The Chamber of Deputies was pretty nearly in the same proportion as to parties, and of the same opinions as in the preceding session. There were, however, a few new names, and among them M. Guizot, who was elected by the college of Lisieux, and now made his first appearance in the Chamber of Deputies.

All the members of the cabinet had not complete confidence in the good fortune of Polignac; and some of them foresaw that, as they would not have a majority in the Chamber, they could not maintain their power by constitutional means. The cabinet, in fact, was disposed to moderation; but the king was governed by a coterie which urged him to violent measures, and his own temper inclined him that way. He had a most extravagant notion of kingly dignity and royal power, a blind infatuation, pitiable and contemptible. The king's speech was prepared in the usual way; but the last expression in it was not the work of the ministry: it came from the king's private advisers. The speech was intended to produce a great effect, and the king had it ready two days before, in order that he might read it aloud, and, in a manner, fix it in his memory. On the 2nd of March, 1830, the session was opened by the king, in the great room of the Louvre, in the presence of all the royal family and the diplomatic corps, with more than usual pomp and splendour. As the king was approaching the throne, he dropped his hat from his hand, which the duke of Orleans pressed forward to pick up; and he presented it to Charles X., with one knee bent on the ground.* The king announced the intimate union which subsisted among the powers of Europe, the close of the Greek war, and the establishment of the independence of Greece; he spoke of the insults to the French flag from the Dey of Algiers, for which he would demand a signal satisfaction; and he spoke of matters financial. The

* Bourmont commanded the third division of the fourth corps of Napoleon's army, in the campaign which was terminated by the battle of Waterloo. He deserted the emperor on the 14th, and, as the French writers say, gave important information to Blücher.

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1830,' p. 6.

last paragraph was this: "Peers of France, deputies of departments, I do not doubt about your co-operation in effecting the good which I wish to accomplish: you will reject with disdain the perfidious insinuations which malevolence seeks to propagate: if guilty machinations should raise obstacles to my government, which I cannot, which I will not, anticipate, I shall find means to overcome them in my resolution to maintain the public peace, in the just confidence of the French, and in the love which they have always shown to their king." "This speech, pronounced with a firm voice, was heard with general satisfaction, up to the last paragraph, which caused in the greater part of the Assembly a movement of surprise, of stupefaction, and discontent, which was perceptible in the midst of the acclamations usual on such occasions."*

In the election of president the ministers could not carry a single candidate. Out of the five presented to him by the chamber, the king chose Royer-Collard. The address in reply to the king's speech was carried by the centre gauche. M. Guizot had a large share in it. The address told the king that there was in men's minds great uneasiness, which disturbed the security which France had begun to enjoy: "Our conscience, our honour, the fidelity which we have sworn to you, and which we will always maintain, impose on us the duty of revealing to you the cause of it." In respectful terms the address informed the king that harmony no longer existed among the powers of the state: it was a constitutional method of saying that the king's ministry had not the confidence of the Chamber. The address was carried, in spite of the ministers, by 221 to 181 votes. The battle between the majority of the Chamber and the king was begun. The address was presented to the king on the 18th of March, and Royer-Collard read it to the king in a solemn, though faltering, tone. The king listened with calmness, and replied with dignity, and with some emotion, in terms which had been settled at a cabinet council. He said, that he had a right to expect the co-operation of the two Chambers, and he was grieved to find that he could not have that of the Chamber of Deputies: "Messieurs, I have announced my resolutions in my opening speech of the session; these resolutions are unchangeable; the interest of my people forbids me to deviate from them: my ministers will make my intentions known to you." The king's intentions were made known on the next day, by an ordonnance, which prorogued the Chambers to the 1st of September.

The journals responded to the king's speech by urging the electors of all the departments to celebrate, by public dinners, the return of the 221 deputies who had voted the famous address. Paris set the example by a dinner given by six or seven hundred electors, on the 1st of April. Odillon-Barrot, who presided, thanked the deputies of the Seine for what they had done in defence of the public liberties, and assured them that if the sanctity of the laws should be attacked, "the courage of the citizens would not fail them." The ministers, on their part, begun by removing functionaries who were hostile to their policy. But the dissolution of the Chambers was the great measure which the king and the majority of the cabinet relied on for securing a majority. Chabrol and Courvoisier were opposed to it; and when the dissolution was determined by a majority of their colleagues, they resigned. The ordonnance for the dissolution appeared on the 16th of May: the elections were fixed for the months of June and July; and the Chambers were to meet on the 3rd of August. Chantelauze, first president of the royal court of Grenoble, was made minister of justice: Chabrol's place was taken by Montbel, minister of the interior, whose department was given to Peyronnet. A new ministry of public works was made for Capelle, who was well skilled in managing elections; and the king said that he had confidence in nobody else. The state of affairs in France attracted the attention of all the cabinets of Europe; and the character of Polignac and of Charles X. gave reason to expect some violent measures. When the ministers and the king were told of the fears entertained by foreign courts as to their supposed unconstitutional designs, they gave a flat denial; but all that they could say did not remove suspicion. The corps diplomatique at Paris could scarcely get access to Polignac, to express their fears about the approaching crisis: the pope's nuncio only was freely received.

The affair of Algiers now engaged the French cabinet, which resolved to send an expedition to chastise the Dey for his insults to the French flag, and his pillage of the vessels of Christian powers. This resolution caused uneasiness in the British cabinet, as to the ulterior designs of the French government, if the expedition should succeed. England, so greedy of acquiring foreign possessions, did not wish to see France establish her dominion on the African coast. But the English minister, lord Aberdeen, could get no satisfactory answer from the French minister. The command of the expedition was given to Bourmont, the minister of war, whose ability could not be disputed; but the recollection of his past career made the appointment unpopular with the army. The armament was prepared with perfect order and wonderful despatch. Near 38,000 men, and above 4000 horses, left Toulon at the end of May. Three squadrons conveyed across the Mediterranean this formidable force, and 180 pieces of siege and field artillery,—the messengers of death to the barbarians of Africa, whose voice was to proclaim the destruction of a den of thieves. The expedition was crowned with success, and Algiers was taken on the 6th of July. The French plundered the plunderer, and seized all the gold and silver which was accumulated in the Dey's treasury, a rich booty, though the amount was not really so great as it was reported to be. The sum total of gold and silver coin, jewels,

'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1830,' p. 7.

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c.,' Appendice, p. 2.

cannon, and other things, was valued at near 56 millions of francs—about seven millions more than the cost of the expedition. The greatest part of the treasure was despatched to France, and arrived there almost as soon as the news of the victory.*

During the expedition to Algiers the ministers were busy with the elections. Peyronnet wrote to the préfets to inform them that they must report on the conduct of all public functionaries. His prodigious activity had an object which fully employed it; the success of the ministerial candidates, the triumph of the ministers over the opinion of France. The king also issued a proclamation (13th of June) to the electors,—a thing which had been done twice before, though nothing is more directly opposed to the true character of a constitutional government. The electors were told to rally unanimously under one standard: "It is your king who asks it of you; it is a father who calls upon you: fulfil your duties, I shall know how to fulfil mine." This proclamation was countersigned by Polignac, as president of the council. If the people did not respond to the king's proclamation, if they returned a majority against the ministers, it was clear that the king must dismiss them, or must maintain them by force. The ministers, making a pretext of the difficulties and disputes that had arisen in some places, adjourned the elections in twenty of the departments; the elections for the arrondissemens from the 23rd of June to the 12th of July, and those of the departmental colleges from the 3rd of July to the 19th of the same month. But in spite of all the efforts of the ministers, and of the king, the elections went against them. The elections for the arrondissemens (23rd and 24th of June) produced a majority against the ministers: out of 198 deputies, 110 were men who had voted for the famous address. The ministers had no great success in the departmental colleges, 59 in number, which had to make their elections on the 3rd of July. Between the time of these elections and those which were adjourned, arrived the news of the capture of Algiers, which was received in a very different way by the opposite parties. The liberals did not rejoice over a victory gained by the Restoration; and the triumph of the royalists indicated that their success in Africa might strengthen their cause in France. A *Te Deum* was celebrated in Notre Dame, and the king and the royal family were present. The day after (13th of July) the elections of Paris took place, and the returns were against the ministers; and the returns from the 19 other departments were also in favour of the liberals. The result was, that out of the 428 deputies of whom the Chamber was composed, in which number the two deputies for Corsica were not included, the opposition had 270 and the ministers 145. Of the 221 who voted the address, 202 had been re-elected. It is worthy of remark, that out of the 263 deputies returned by the colleges of the arrondissemens, the liberal party had 194; and that the great colleges, composed of the fourth part of those who paid the highest amount of taxes, and returned 165 members, the liberals had only 76, and the royalists 89.

The dissolution of the Chambers had produced a majority against the ministers. The king's constitutional duty was to dismiss them, but he had no such intention: the idea of violent measures had long been familiar to him; and if he would not yield, there was, in fact, no other alternative. It was the 29th of June when the first hints were dropped in the council as to the ordonnances which were afterwards issued.* On the 4th of July it was already manifest to the ministers that there would be a majority of 100 against them, and on the 6th they met to deliberate upon the state of affairs. It was proposed to apply the 14th article of the Charter, by suspending the liberty of the press, by dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, and by proclaiming a new organization of the electoral body. One member of the cabinet only opposed this extreme measure,—M. de Guernon-Ranville,—who urged that the "necessity" for the ordonnances was not shown to exist.† The king had a private interview with Guernon-Ranville, in which he overcame his scruples, and the cabinet were now agreed. The dauphin was against the ordonnances; but he was as timid as a boy in the presence of his father. The interval between the 7th of July and the 25th, when the ordonnances were signed, was employed in taking measures of precaution; but Polignac expected no great resistance, and his preparations were accordingly insignificant. The secret was perfectly kept: there was a vague anticipation that something was going to happen, but nobody knew what it was. On the evening of the 23rd of July the report on the ordonnances by M. de Chantelauze was submitted to the council and approved by the king, as well as the text of the ordonnances. The ordonnances were signed on the 25th of July, and all the ministers affixed their signatures to the ordonnance, which declared (Art. 1) that "the liberty of the periodical press was suspended." The ordonnance of the same date, which declared that "the Chamber of Deputies of the departments was dissolved," was signed by Peyronnet. The ordonnance which remodelled the electoral colleges was signed by all the ministers. The preamble is an historical fact: "Charles, &c.—Having resolved to prevent the return of the manœuvres which have exercised a pernicious influence on the last operations of the electoral colleges; desiring, consequently, to reform, according to the principles of the constitutional Charter, the rules as to elections, of which experience has shown the inconvenience, we have seen the necessity of making use of the right which belongs to us, to provide by acts emanating from ourselves, for the security of the state, and the repression of every attempt against the dignity of our crown." The first article of this ordonnance declared that, "conformably

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1830,' chap. 4. 'Expédition d'Alger.'

* Capefigue, 'Histoire de la Restauration,' c. 25.

† "The king makes the regulations and ordonnances which are necessary for the execution of the laws and the security of the state." 'Charte Constitutionelle,' Art. 14.

to articles 15, 36, and 50, of the constitutional Charter, the Chamber of Deputies shall only consist of deputies of departments." The meaning of this is obvious enough, when we look to the last returns from the departmental colleges. A fourth ordonnance convened the Chambers for the 28th of September. These were the last words of the elder branch of the Bourbons to the French nation.*

The chief political events which preceded the fall of the Bourbons have been stated briefly; but it would be a great mistake to limit our investigations of the causes of this catastrophe to those public acts which proceed from cabinets and legislative bodies. Opinion, which governs the world, is formed silently and imperceptibly: it is not made by acts of legislation or ordonnances: it is the growth of society, which public acts may encourage or check, without being able to create or to destroy. A view of the Political Doctrines, the Philosophy, Literature and the Arts, under the Restoration, would be a proper addition to an exposition of the public acts of the Restoration; and Capefigue has attempted this in the 'Précis,' which follows his 'History of the Restoration.' A foreigner cannot attempt such a sketch, without justly incurring the imputation of ignorance and of arrogance; unless he should have been a resident in France during the period, and have made its internal condition a special study. Even the sketch of Capefigue, though his writings prove his ability, is not always satisfactory. The social doctrines which were developed under the Restoration possess most interest, for they contain the questions which agitate France at the present day. The Revolution destroyed all belief, all faith, in the large mass of the people; for which it substituted the doctrine of Rights, an impracticable theory, closely allied with the doctrine of Happiness, the implicit negation of any existence for man except the present. This is the point on which the whole matter turns, though few will avow it: all discussions about great social changes should commence with a declaration of the acceptance or rejection of the doctrine of a future life, in which each man's condition shall depend, in some degree at least, on his conduct in this. The acceptance of Christianity of course implies the acceptance of this doctrine; but as acceptance is often purely formal, and as we have attempts to construct moral systems independent of Christianity, so we have attempts to modify social systems without any regard to it. The acceptance or rejection of the doctrine of a future life will make a great difference in the way of viewing human society: those who firmly believe the doctrine may not altogether agree in their views of society; but agreement is not impracticable within certain limits. There will be agreement as far as this: the doctrine of happiness being the object of man's pursuit in this life will be rejected; and this is a great step towards a complete fusion of opinion. The evidence of the firmness of the belief will appear in act; and if it does not appear in act, there is no firm belief, not a belief even so strong as that which induces men to adopt a certain line of conduct in their temporal affairs, in the hope of attaining that which they seek. On the other hand, among those who reject the doctrine of a future state, there are the most opposite views on questions of our present social existence. Yet these persons so opposed agree in this, because it is the implicit element of their creed, that the problem is, how shall a man enjoy most happiness in this life? The partizans of great social reforms profess, and those among them who are honest, desire to make such changes as shall give the greatest possible present happiness to all; and herein they have a moral superiority over many of the opponents of all change, who, finding the present system suited to their interests, would maintain it in all respects, for that reason only. These are the men, a numerous class, who look on our actual society as a thing out of which every man should try to get as much as he can, and use it for his enjoyment without any regard to others; except, it may be, his own family.

The doctrines of Saint Simon and Fourier were developed under the Restoration; but they must not be judged of solely by the little that Capefigue has said of them, though some of his remarks are just. Fourier attacked the doctrines of St. Simon and Robert Owen: his own are developed in numerous works, often very obscure. The article, Fourier, Charles, in the Supplement to the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' will give some notion of his social views.

The last act of the reign of Charles X., the ministry of Polignac, forms the first chapter of M. Louis Blanc's 'Histoire de Dix Ans.' The Introduction to the same work contains the author's 'Coup-d'œil sur la Restauration,' in which his object is to show that "the fall of the Empire and the accession of Louis XVIII. were in the interest and were the act of the bourgeoisie: that all the political movements of the Restoration sprung from the efforts of the bourgeoisie to subjugate royalty without destroying it." The author gives a definition of "bourgeoisie," as he understands it, and a definition of "peuple." The definitions are vague, and the author's political theory seems to bias his judgment. Yet the Introduction is worth reading, as the view of a man who represents, or is supposed to represent, a certain amount of opinion.*

* The report to the king on the ordonnances of the 25th of July, and the text of the ordonnances, are given in the 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1830,' p. 27, &c.

* Capefigue, 'Le Gouvernement de Juillet, les Partis, et les Hommes Politiques,' has given a more exact description of what he understands by the 'bourgeoisie.' He observes of the Revolution of July, "The bourgeoise class profited by the victory; it took possession of the positions and of the powers of society: the lower class (le bas peuple) has kept this in mind, and we must repeat it, the danger of the struggle, at this moment, is between the middle class and the prolétaires, who are not stirred up to revolt with impunity: observe all these questions of wages, all these violent discussions, are they not the expression, the transfiguration in a sort, of the interests of the bourgeoisie and of the people?"

CHAPTER XCIX.

THE REVOLUTION OF JULY.

The ordonnances were published on the 26th of July, and they came like a thunderbolt on the Parisians. The working-classes, it is said—the people, as one French writer calls them—were either labouring as usual, or amusing themselves. Those whose fortunes were threatened by the overthrow of the constitution were full of alarm. The 3 per cents. fell at once from 78 to 72. The journalists published a protest against the ordonnances, in which they said, "the government has to-day lost the character of legality which commands obedience: we resist it as far as concerns ourselves: it is for France to judge how far her resistance must go." The protest was signed by Thiers, Mignet, Carrel, and others, who were employed on the 'National,' and by the writers or responsible managers of many other papers. Some of the leading journalists only contemplated a legal resistance; but the protest compromised those who signed it, and some of the boldest stirred up the working-classes to revolt. However it happened, on the 27th the masses were in movement. The 'Globe,' the 'National,' and the 'Temps' appeared in spite of the ordonnance, and were profusely distributed. Well-dressed men in the streets harangued the crowds, and young students cried out "Vive la Charte!" The infection spread, and the cry of "Vive la Charte!" came from the mouths of the working classes. Some masters kept their workmen about them: others said, "We can give you bread no longer." The printing-offices were soon deserted, the streets filled, and the working-classes brought into the quarrel. Marmont, duke of Ragusa, had been appointed military commander in Paris; but the king and his ministers were ill-prepared to meet an outbreak, and they expected no serious difficulty, except from the associations for the refusal of the payment of taxes, and some opposition at the elections. The force which Marmont had at his disposal in Paris consisted at the time of eight battalions of the Royal Guard, of two regiments of cavalry, of two batteries of artillery belonging to the guard, three regiments of the line, and a regiment of light infantry; eleven companies of fusileers, and thirteen or fourteen hundred gendarmes; in all, not 12,000 men, from which number were to be taken the guard for the ordinary service at St. Cloud, where the court was residing.

The tumult was increasing; students and workmen were crowding the Rue Richelieu, the avenues of the Palais Royal, and the neighbourhood of the hotel of the minister for foreign affairs. The police closed the gates of the Palais Royal, and the crowd thus driven back became more threatening. Some gunsmiths' shops were forced for the purpose of getting muskets, and the rest were forthwith closed. On the evening of the 26th, there had been a meeting at Laborde's, of some deputies and others of liberal opinions; and there was another meeting on the 27th, at the house of Casimir Périer, where about thirty Deputies were present. Nothing was proposed except legal modes of resistance to the ordonnances, which all agreed in condemning as unconstitutional. In the midst of this discussion, came a deputation in the name of the electors of Paris; Boulay de la Meurthe and Mérilhou were among the deputation. They said that nothing remained for the citizens except to rise, and they urged the deputies to support them in this resolution. A number of youths were assembled outside of the house, who declared that all the young men in Paris were ready to take arms. The deputies were already surrounded by an armed force, and several young men were wounded by the charges of the military. They agreed to separate for the present, and to meet the next day at another place. Marmont was busy with placing his men: he occupied with troops the Carrousel, the Place Louis XV., the Boulevards, and the Palais Royal; for, as in 1789, the Palais Royal was a centre of insurrection. At six in the evening, the Rues Richelieu and St. Honoré were so crowded that the armed force could not clear them, and the soldiers were received with showers of stones. A shot, fired by an American from a window at the corner of the Rue des Pyramides upon the armed force, was the commencement of an affray in which little mischief was done. At eleven, the troops were in their quarters, and the streets deserted and dark; for some of the lamps had been broken, and the rest were not lighted.

The ministers, who were assembled at the hôtel of the minister of foreign affairs, had no idea of their danger: and yet thousands of workmen had been turned into the streets by their employers; the greater part of the National Guard, which had been disbanded in 1827, retained their arms; not a single voice was raised in favour of the ordonnances, except by two or three journals; and some of the troops had shown reluctance to make use of their arms to disperse the people. The ministers resolved to declare Paris in a state of siege, if there should be any disturbance on the following day. On the 28th, Paris was in a state of siege. The tranquillity of the night was followed by a tempest. At day-break the workmen were assembled with sticks, pikes, implements of various kinds, old guns, and sabres; the streets were unpaved; barricades were made with carriages, pieces of timber, and carts filled with the stones taken up from the streets: the rest of the stones were carried up into the houses to throw upon the soldiers. National guards showed themselves in their uniform, and with their muskets. The arms of France, and all the emblems of government, disappeared from the shops with inconceivable rapidity. The arsenal was taken, and the powder depôt of the Deux Moulins; and early in the morning the Hôtel de Ville

was seized, where there was only a guard of sixteen men. The bell of the Hôtel de Ville was rung, and over the clock was hung the tricolour flag with a crape. The people did no damage. The Préfet secured the chest of the city, the important papers, and shut himself up in the library, where he remained unmolested while the fight was going on. The tri-colour flag was also hoisted on the towers of Notre Dame, and the great bell of the metropolitan church summoned the people to arms. All this was done almost under the eyes of the public authorities; and the insurgents were in possession of the chief part of the capital on the morning of the 28th, before the troops had left their quarters. Marmont had received the ordonnance which declared Paris in a state of siege; but as soon as he began seriously to act, he found that it was not a riot, but a revolution. The operations of the military during these days are only intelligible, if they are given in detail and studied with the assistance of a good map of Paris. Marmont formed the troops in four columns, which were directed on different points; but the disposition which he made left only a small force for the defence of the Tuileries, the Louvre, the Palais Royal, and the Bank of France. While the four columns were getting into motion, the ministers, with the exception of Peyronnet and Capelle, who were gone to the king to St. Cloud, went to the Tuileries, where Marmont's staff were stationed, with the view probably of providing for their safety or communicating with the marshal, who was invested with full powers. At the same time the deputies were meeting pursuant to the arrangement of the previous day. Lafayette and Laffitte were present; both of them having hurried to Paris on hearing of the ordonnances. Among the deputies present were Sebastiani, Villemain, Gérard, Casimir Périer, and Guizot. The court of the house where they were deliberating was full of young men and armed workmen, awaiting the result of the meeting, and forming a kind of guard for the deputies. It was in the midst of noise and tumult, the discharge of fire-arms, and the cries of the people, that the deputies resolved to send a deputation to Marmont to ask for a suspension of hostilities, in order to allow them the opportunity of carrying to the king such complaints or protest as they might agree on. Laffitte, Casimir Périer, Gérard, Lobau and Mauguin were sent on this perilous mission, and the deputies agreed to meet again at another place in the afternoon.

In the mean time the columns were in motion to disperse the insurgents, and the bloody conflict had begun. At the barricades erected at the entrance of the Rue St. Antoine and towards the Place de Birague, a discharge of musketry from the windows wounded several soldiers, and was the signal or fan attack from all the corners of the streets on the Garde Royale, who returned the fire and maintained their ground for some time. Several bodies of cavalry, lancers, gendarmes, and cuirassiers, were sent to reconnoitre the narrow street of Saint-Antoine; but the street was stopped up by barricades, and from every story of the houses a shower of tiles, paving-stones, broken bottles, and even articles of furniture rained on the heads of the unfortunate soldiers, and many men and horses were killed or dangerously wounded. General Saint-Chamans, who commanded this, the third column, perceiving it impossible to force the street, resolved to return to the Tuileries, where Marmont was.

The deputation arrived at the Tuileries about half-past two in the afternoon, and Laffitte was the spokesman. Marmont listened most earnestly to what he said, but showed nevertheless a determination to execute his orders. He was in a painful situation: his duty as a soldier commanded him to do what was contrary to his inclination. He said that the only way to stop the effusion of blood was to induce the people of Paris to return to obedience; to which Laffitte replied, that there could be no obedience where the laws were violated, and that a change of ministry and the withdrawal of the ordonnances were necessary in order to enable the deputation to exercise any influence over the people. The marshal said that he shared in the opinions of the deputation, but he was bound to his duty. He promised to send a messenger to the king, to inform him of the proceedings of the deputation, and of the state of affairs; but he did not conceal his opinion that he expected no good result. The deputation returned to their homes, to wait for the answer from St. Cloud, resolved, as Laffitte said, "if it were unfavourable, to throw themselves body and property into the movement." The marshal kept his promise, and sent an aid-de-camp to St. Cloud to tell the king what he had seen in Paris, and the proceedings of the Deputies.

In the mean time the columns of the Garde Royale were engaged in deadly conflict with the people. The result of the movements of the third column has been mentioned: the fourth column was more successful. The two others—the first and second—which were respectively directed to the Hôtel de Ville, and to securing the position of the Marché des Innocens, were vigorously assailed, and lost many men. The fight about the Hôtel de Ville was obstinate on both sides: the Hôtel de Ville was finally abandoned by those who had occupied it; and the general in command, judging that he must confine himself to defensive operations, took possession of the place: he posted his cavalry and artillery in the stable-yard of the Prefecture, to save them from the fire, and he put a battalion in the court. Things were in this state when a battalion of Swiss arrived at the place from the Tuileries, and the contest was renewed with fury. The people came upon them from all the corners and streets: the barricades of the Rues des Arcis and du Mouton were taken and recovered alternately. In this combat the Swiss sustained great loss. From the windows of the Hôtel de Ville, which looked on the Place, the soldiers fired on the people, and kept them from approaching close to the Hôtel. At the approach of night, the troops in the Hôtel de Ville, instead of receiving reinforcements, had orders to make their way back to the Tuileries as well as they could. This movement was the consequence of orders which Marmont received from St. Cloud, in answer to the dispatch sent by the aid-de-camp. The king gave him only a verbal answer: the



THE BARRICADE.

marshal was instructed to hold out; to collect his forces on the Carrousel and in the Place Louis XV., and to act with masses. The evening passed at St. Cloud without any fresh intelligence: the Court appeared to have no idea of the magnitude of the danger, and the king played in the evening as usual. But the canon were still roaring in the distance, and the citizens were still exchanging shots with the Royal Guard at the several posts occupied by them. Neither mail nor diligence left Paris this evening, and the communication by telegraph was interrupted. All was confusion in Paris: they did not know in one quarter what was doing in another: there was nobody to direct the insurrection; no union, no authority. It was a moment of anarchy; for the royal power was resisted, and no new one had yet arisen. But it is in the nature of society to produce power even in the midst of discord; and the first convulsive effort of the revolution in its throes was an attempt to found a government on a lie. Some journalists announced in a placard, which was posted in the afternoon in several quarters, that a provisional-government had been formed, consisting of general Lafayette, the duc de Choiseul, and general Gérard. The falsehood was soon discovered; but it helped to sustain the courage of the combatants: it showed what people were thinking about.

The Deputies, who were to meet again to hear the report of the deputation to the Tuileries, were only few: among these were general Lafayette, Gérard, Sebastiani, Laffitte. A protest which M. Guizot had proposed at the morning meeting was adopted, after striking out certain expressions of fidelity and devotion to the king. It was drawn up in the name of the deputies present at Paris, whose opinions were a guarantee that it would not be disavowed by them, and it was printed as having been drawn up in their presence. This protestation or proclamation was posted at the corners of some streets, and published the next day. The propriety of giving a direction to the revolutionary movement was also considered, but the uncertainty in which everything was, paralysed the courage of the Deputies.* They separated, and met again in the evening to the number of twelve or fifteen, in a small room lighted by a couple of candles, in the midst of the noise of musketry, cannon, and the ringing of the

* The names of the Deputies as given, were, Lafayette, Mauguin, Bavoux, Laborde, Guizot, Bérard, Sebastiani, Chardel, Méchin, Bertin de Vaux, Louis, Laffitte.

tocsin. A crowd of armed citizens was on the outside of the house, to protect the Deputies. They did not separate until midnight; and they agreed to meet again the next day at Laffitte's. During the night the people improved the barricades, so as to make it almost impossible for the troops to traverse Paris the next day. They got arms and ammunition at the guard-houses, barracks, and barriers, where the posts were disarmed by young men, among whom the pupils of the École Polytechnique were most conspicuous. The troops withdrew from the Hôtel de Ville at midnight, where they had eaten nothing all day. They entered the Tuileries after fighting twelve or thirteen hours, and losing three or four hundred men, killed and wounded. The ministers met the duke of Ragusa, and were informed of the events of the day. They sent orders to the different bodies of the Garde Royale at Beauvais, Orleans, Rouen, and Caen, and to the troops in camp at St. Omer and Lunéville, to march upon Paris or St. Cloud. Till the fresh troops arrived it was resolved to limit the military operations to the defence of the Louvre, the Tuileries, and the communication with St. Cloud; and new arrangements were made for the next day.

The church bells had rung all night, and the citizens were ready for the combat on the morning of the 29th. A greater number of bourgeois, National Guards, and young students, came with guns, and joined the working classes, who on the day before had almost exclusively borne the brunt of the battle. Some Deputies and many military men visited the barricades. A man named Dubourg first appeared in a general's uniform, with a large tricolour cockade, and repaired to the Place de la Bourse, where he found several thousand men, the greater part of whom were armed.* He was followed by a great crowd whom he led to the Hôtel de Ville, leaving on the road detachments to protect some of the barricades. He reached the Hôtel de Ville without meeting any resistance, and found nobody there. The black flag which waved there the day before was replaced by the three-coloured one. The people of the faubourg St. Germain, who were quiet on the 28th, were preparing for battle, and they disarmed the posts of the Luxembourg. The apartments, the cellars, and the library of the archbishop's residence, were plundered, on the pretext that shots had been fired on the citizens from the windows, and that arms were concealed there; but the plunderers, as it is said, were secretly excited by the liberal party, who hated the archbishop. The insurgents were now acting on the offensive, and the rising assumed something of order and method. Hostilities had already commenced in several places at seven in the morning, when two peers of France, M. de Semonville and M. d'Argout, presented themselves at the Tuileries, with the object of stopping the effusion of blood and preventing a civil war.

M. de Semonville and d'Argout found Marmont at the Tuileries in despair, for he did not know what to do; his inclinations and his obedience to the king were combating within his bosom. They saw Polignac, and without any ceremony asked him to recall the ordonnances, or at least to break up the ministry, as there were no other means of stopping the slaughter. Polignac was calm and polite; but would promise nothing. He went to consult his colleagues; and the two peers in the mean time proposed to Marmont to arrest the ministers, and the marshal seemed inclined to follow their advice, when Peyronnet suddenly appeared, and coming behind De Semonville, said with great emotion, "What! you are not gone yet?" The two peers immediately set out for St. Cloud, and Polignac also. The president arrived before them, and visited the king first. De Semonville then saw Charles in his private apartment, and found his resolution immoveable. It was not till he urged the danger to which the duchess of Angoulême was exposed, who was at the waters of Vichy, that the king's firmness faultered; and at last he said, in a softened tone, "I will order my son to summon a council." The deliberation was short. The king signed an ordonnance, by which the duc de Mortemart was made president of the Council, and minister of foreign affairs. This ordonnance was countersigned by Chantelauze. Three other ordonnances were signed at St. Cloud on the same day, and countersigned by Mortemart; one of them appointed Casimer Pérrier minister of finance, and another appointed general Gérard to the department of war. De Semonville set out to Paris with the news; but it was too late—the throne of the Bourbons was levelled to the earth.

Marmont was left at the Tuileries, expecting to hear from St. Cloud. He knew not what to do; and while he was in this perplexity, the battle began to rage about him. The detachment at the Palais Bourbon was attacked, and the commandant retired into the garden, and promised to be neutral. Large masses of men also advanced upon the Louvre from all the approaches that led to it; but the Swiss were posted in the court, in the lower apartments, in the colonnade, and at the windows, from whence they directed a murderous fire on the assailants, who lost great numbers, and were beginning to relax the vigour of their attack, when an event happened on the Place Vendôme which altered the aspect of affairs. The popular movement had extended to all classes about the Boulevard Italien, and in the quarter of the Chaussée-d'Antin. In the house of M. Laffitte, in the Rue d'Artois, a great number of Deputies had assembled in the morning; and from this house, it was said, the

* "This man received his uniform from M. Everiste Dumoulin, editor of the 'Constitutionnel,' and it was got from a dealer in second-hand clothes: the epaulettes which he wore were given him by the actor, Perlet, and they came from the wardrobe of the Opéra-Comique. 'Who is this general?' cried the people on all sides; and the answer from those around him being 'It is general Dubourg,' all the people cried, 'Live general Dubourg,' though they had never heard his name before." L. Blanc, 'Histoire de dix Ans,' c. 5.

first orders, or suggestions, came for the direction the insurgents. The mission to Marmont had failed and the insurrection became a revolution. An immense number of people of all classes crowded to the Place Vendôme, where two regiments of the line were stationed, and the remnant of the gendarmerie. These soldiers surrounded on all sides by men who were not at all disposed to look on them as enemies, went over at once, with their officers, to the side of the people Marmont being informed of this, gave orders to block up the passage to the Rue St. Honoré, and to the Tuileries, which the defection had left exposed. The attack was now renewed on the Louvre, and the Swiss were compelled to retire to the Tuileries, and they arrived in confusion at the Carrousel. The disorder was communicated to the troops which occupied the Carrousel, and they hurried in a mass towards the gardens of the Tuileries. Marmont precipitately quitted his quarters, leaving behind him part of the money which it was intended to reward the troops with. While the marshal was rallying his troops in the gardens, in order to make good his retreat to St. Cloud, the people broke into the Tuileries, and the tricolour flag was fixed on the summit of the Palace. The royal statues and portraits were broken and destroyed. A great number of workmen who had entered the throne-room amused themselves with sitting on the throne in turns; and then they placed a dead body in it.* The news soon spread that the doors of the Louvre and Tuileries were open to all who chose to enter, and persons of all classes took the opportunity of paying a visit. Numerous articles were carried off, most of them of such a description as could not have attracted the cupidity of the working men: the thieves were people of some taste. When Marmont left Paris, there only remained the battalion at the military school, and the Swiss, in number somewhat less than two hundred, who occupied the barracks in the Rue Babylone. The battalion in the military school, being warned in time, retreated to the Bois de Boulogne, without any serious loss; but the Swiss had to sustain one of the most desperate attacks that was made during the three days. The major in command, M. Dufay, a veteran who had seen above thirty years of service, would listen to no terms; and he placed his men in the court, and at the windows, whence they fired on the assailants, most of whom were young men, headed by some pupils of the École Polytechnique. The battle raged for some hours, when the insurgents set fire to the great door, broke into the place, and killed the major and some of his men: the remainder made their escape, and joined their regiment at St. Cloud. This was the last struggle of the three days; a contest which was maintained with great obstinacy, though the loss of life was less than might be supposed. The loss on the side of the citizens during the three days was 788 killed, and 4,500 wounded. The loss on the side of the military, which is not so well ascertained, has been stated at 250 killed for the Garde Royale and the gendarmerie, and 500 wounded. The history of the three days contains many episodes, and has received great embellishments; the conduct of the working-classes, to whom the victory was due, was marked on the whole by generosity and moderation. This is a fact which is not disputed; and it is the more remarkable as the insurrection began without any plan, concert, or direction. The plunder of the archbishop's residence, and that of the Tuileries, where the cellars were emptied, was said to be mainly the work of malefactors, who had been let loose from their prison and joined the combatants on the third day. But it is not necessary to recur to this solution to explain or palliate the pillage of these two places. It was not to plunder that the people rose: it was to overthrow the Bourbons; and that being accomplished, all the great public repositories—the Treasury, the Bank, the Museum—were respected and faithfully guarded. The soldiers behaved with great courage and coolness, and had the advantage generally, except in the route of the Louvre; but it was a new kind of warfare, these barricades, the firing from windows, and the shower of stones, tiles, and all kinds of missiles; nor were the guard—at least the French soldiers—willing combatants. They did their duty, and obeyed their orders, fighting in a hateful cause without one single cheer to encourage or support them.*

During the 27th and 28th of July, there was no government in Paris: it was one of those intervals which occur in the history of nations in which there was no hand that held supreme power. On the 29th, the time was come for a new power to appear; and it rose out of the meeting of Deputies at Laffitte's. It was determined to establish a provisional government. Lafayette received the command of the forces of Paris, and general Gérard, under him, undertook the direction of the military operations. Lafayette, in the uniform of a National Guard, had already gone to take possession of the Hôtel de Ville, from which the busts of Louis XVIII. and Charles X. had been removed. The news of the defection of the two regiments was soon followed by the capture of the Louvre and of the Tuileries; and a municipal commission was formed by Mallot, with authority to take all steps that the public safety might require. The commission removed to the Hôtel de Ville, and installed themselves in the midst of the confusion, while the dead bodies were still lying in heaps on the Place. The National Guard was re-established; the administration of the Treasury and of Finance was given to Baron Louis; provision was made for the police and the post-office, and the communications by telegraph; and the diligences left Paris with the tricolour flag, to carry to the departments the

* L. Blanc, 'Hist. de Dix Ans,' ch. 5.

* There is a sketch of the three days' contest in the Annuaire Hist., &c., pour 1830,' ch. 6 and 7, in L. Blanc's Hist. de Dix Ans;' and in 'Paris and its Historical Scenes,' the 'Library of Entertaining Knowledge,' vol. ii. The accounts of the transactions of the Three Days are often very confused, and sometimes contradictory.



news of the revolution. De Semonville, d'Argout, and Vitrolles arrived at the Hôtel de Ville about ten at night, with the news of the ordonnances which have been already mentioned; the fourth ordonnance repealed those of the 25th of July, and appointed the 3rd of August for the meeting of the Chambers. A few hours earlier, and the throne of the Bourbons might have been saved, for the men who had now seized on power had been slow in assuming this weighty responsibility. The three messengers from St. Cloud came to negotiate: the king had yielded, and he hoped to secure his crown. But they were interrupted in their address by the words, "It is too late!" which are attributed by some authorities to Mauguin; and these words determined the fate of the mona[illegible]

Lafayette, the man of 1789, exercised a great influence also in 1830. He sat in a room of the Hôtel de Vil[illegible] surrounded by his staff—the heroes of the three days, the pupils of the Polytechnic School, and all the most ardent members of the liberal party—and listened to the various proposals made to him; for opinions were by no means agreed. The majority begged him not to allow a new head to be given to the nation without first consulting the people in the primary assemblies. On the 30th, the Parisians buried their dead; and subscriptions were opened for the relief of widows, orphans, and the wounded.

There was still some ground for alarm. The Garde Royale, the Gardes-du-corps, the pupils of the school of St. Cyr, some battalions of the line, and the remnant of the gendarmerie, were collected at St. Cloud, and guarded the bridges, the road, and the heights. At Paris means were taken to resist any attack. The duc de Mortemart came to Paris on the 30th, to try if he could succeed better than De Semonville and his two colleagues; but his mission failed. The new ordonnances were carried to the Hôtel de Ville by M. de Sussy, after having been rejected at the Chamber of Deputies; and they were rejected there also. But the Deputies were far from being resolved; things were in a critical state; and it was necessary to find a new representative of authority in order to secure the [illegible] The new representative was the duke of [illegible] Laffitte suggested him as the only person who [illegible]ve the nation from a third restoration, or from a re[illegible]c, and the disorder which many men feared who [illegible] remembered the year '93. Laffitte, it is said, was encouraged in this notion by the poet Béranger, who, though he did not like kings, saw that it was easier to set up a new throne and a constitutional monarchy than to establish a republic.* Thiers, Mignet, and Lareguy, three journalists, agreed upon an Orleanist proclamation, which Thiers drew up. On the 30th, some placards printed at the office of the 'National,' and posted up in Paris, declared the necessity of calling the duke of Orleans to the head of affairs, in order to prevent a civil war, and to secure the public liberties. When power is tumbled down in the dust, it is uncertain what hands will pick it up.

* L. Blanc, 'Histoire,' &c., chap 6.

CHAPTER C.

LOUIS PHILIPPE.

On the 31st of July, 1830, the Municipal Commission of Paris published a proclamation, addressed to the Parisians, which began in these terms: "Inhabitants of Paris, Charles X. has ceased to reign." The Commission announced the provisional commissioners: Dupont de l'Eure, for the department of justice; the baron Louis, for finance; general Gérard, for the department of war; Rigny, for the marine; Bignon, for foreign affairs; Guizot, for public instruction; and the duc de Broglie, for the interior and public works. On the 30th proposals had been made to the duke of Orleans to accept the direction of affairs. Thiers, accompanied by Scheffer, paid a visit to Neuilly, where the duke was then residing; but he was not at home, and the two envoys had only an audience of the duchess of Orleans and madame Adelaide, the duke's sister. The fears, the hesitation, the unwillingness of the duke, real or simulated, to accept the power that was offered to him, put the Orleans party in a difficult position. A deputation went to the Palais Royal about eight in the evening, to offer to the duke the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom; but they found only a few servants there, who knew nothing about their master. This news being reported to the hôtel of Laffitte, greatly disconcerted the Deputies, who were assembled there. This absence of the duke was unaccountable; the friends of Laffitte grew alarmed, and at eleven o'clock he was left alone with Adolphe, Thibaudeau, and Benjamin Constant. "What will become of us to-morrow?" said Laffitte to Benjamin Constant. "We shall be hanged," was the reply.* At one o'clock in the morning Laffitte was informed that the duke of Orleans was in Paris. He entered the city about eleven at night, on foot, in the dress of a bourgeois, accompanied only by three persons.

It was about nine o'clock in the morning of the 31st of July, when a deputation of Deputies again appeared at the Palais Royal, to offer to the duke the lieutenancy-general. He hesitated, or appeared to hesitate; and perhaps he had his fears; but who in such

* L. Blanc, 'Histoire,' &c., ch. 7.

a situation would have refused? and would the duke have served his country better if he had refused? He asked for a moment's deliberation, and sent to consult Talleyrand, whose answer was, "Let him accept;" and the duke accepted. A proclamation was immediately published in the name of the duke of Orleans in which he announced to the inhabitants of Paris, "that the Deputies of France, now assembled at Paris, had expressed a desire that he should repair to the capital, to exercise the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom;" that he had not hesitated to accept that the Chambers would forthwith meet to consult about the means of securing the reign of the laws and the maintenance of the rights of the nation; that henceforth the Charter would be a truth. The Deputies met to hear the report of the deputation which had waited on the duke: his proclamation was read, and received with acclamations of applause. Laffitte, who was in the chair at this meeting, made a proposal, the effect of which was to compromise the Chamber in such a way that they could not recede. His proposal was, that a proclamation to the French should be drawn up. The motion was adopted; and Guizot, Villemain, Bérard, and Benjamin Constant, were appointed to draw up the proclamation, which was said to be chiefly the work of Guizot, whose part, during the last few days, had been that of a conciliator between the throne and the people. The proclamation announced to the French people that "France is free: absolute power was raising its standard; the heroic population of Paris has dashed it to the ground." It was true that the workmen of Paris had overthrown the dynasty of the Bourbons: it remained to be seen what they would get for their pains. The proclamation promised the re-establishment of the National Guard, with the intervention of the National Guards in the choice of the officers; the intervention of the citizens in the formation of the departmental and municipal administrations; the jury in matters concerning proceedings against the press; the legally organized responsibility of the ministers and of the secondary agents of the administration; the condition of the military class to be legally secured; and the re-election of Deputies promoted to public functions; all which very little concerned the men who had won the battle. It was, however, received with applause by the Deputies, put to the vote without discussion, printed, and thousands of copies sent all over the kingdom. The Deputies, about ninety-two in number, rose in a body and went to the Palais Royal to pay their respects to the lieutenant-general, who, on hearing the proclamation read, made a suitable reply, and set out to the Hôtel de Ville, accompanied by a numerous body of National Guards and citizens. Yet everybody was not satisfied with the duke's declaration: it was found to be ambiguous, and was the subject of much unfavourable comment.

General Lafayette, surrounded by his staff, in his full revolutionary glory, advanced to the steps to meet the duke, who embraced him most eagerly; and supported on one side by the revolutionist of '89, and on the other by Laffitte, his patron, one of the prime movers of 1830, he made his way to the great hall, which was crowded with officers of all ranks, and men of all conditions. The proclamation of the Deputies was read, and received with applause. The duke replied in a few words, and then appeared at the windows of the Hôtel de Ville, holding Lafayette by the hand, and waving a tricolour flag. The lieutenant-general's first official act was to order the resumption of the tricolour cockade, and to convoke the Chambers for the 3rd of August. At the same time (the 1st of August) Dupont de l'Eure was named provisional minister of justice; Gérard, for the department of war; Guizot, for the interior; Louis, for finance; and Girod de l'Aix, préfet de police. Three of these persons had already been named by the municipal commission.

In the mean time, Charles X. was on his way to exile. On the 30th of July, it was known at St. Cloud that the king's authority no longer existed, and the people who were about him dropped off rapidly, and he was left almost alone. He left St. Cloud at three o'clock on the morning of the 31st of July with the duchess of Berri and the duc de Bordeaux, and on his road to Versailles he saw the tricolour cockade. All the emblems of royalty on the road had disappeared, but no one showed him any personal disrespect, and he reached Trianon without molestation, followed by his troops, who arrived there about mid-day, exhausted with fatigue. But the king would not stay at Trianon, and he resolved to set out for Rambouillet, much to the annoyance of the soldiers, who followed however, with the exception of one regiment. At Trianon, the king separated from his ministers, except Polignac, who accompanied him for a few days. The king was on horseback at the head of his troops, and the duchess of Berri, in a man's dress, in one of the royal carriages with her two children. It was late when the king and his body-guard reached Rambouillet, where all was silent and desolate. The troops, under the command of the dauphin, wearied by the march and the disorderly retreat, stayed at Trappes—nine or ten thousand men—for whom no provision of any kind had been made. At Rambouillet, the king was joined by the duchess d'Angoulême, who, on her return from Vichy, at Dijon, heard the first warning of the coming tempest, and hurried away to join the king, disguised as a waiting-woman. On the 1st of August, the king learned that there was a lieutenant-general of the kingdom, upon which he addressed a letter to the duke of Orleans, his cousin, on whose sincere attachment he relied, and he appointed him lieutenant-general. He approved of the assembling of the Chambers for the 3rd of August, and declared that he would wait for the return of the person who was charged with carrying his message to Paris. On the 2nd of August, Charles X. addressed to the lieutenant-general a formal act of abdication in favour of his grandson, the duke of Bordeaux; and the king's son, Louis Antoine, duke of Angoulême, by the same act renounced all his rights in favour of his



LOUIS-PHILIPPE AT THE HÔTEL DE VILLE.

nephew. The troops now began to fall away from the king. At Paris, there was some uneasiness as to the intentions of Charles, and as to the disposition of the troops that he had with him. The lieutenant-general instructed Lafayette to send six thousand men of the National Guard towards Rambouillet, in the hope that this demonstration might induce the king to disband his troops. At the same time Marshal Maison, De Schonen, and Odilon-Barrot, were sent by the lieutenant-general to Charles X. to urge him to withdraw as soon as possible from the kingdom; and the duke, it is said, sent him money. As soon as the National Guard was preparing to march, a host of men joined the expedition in vehicles of all descriptions. The king had determined to remain at Rambouillet until the accession of his grandson; and he refused at first to see the three commissioners; but the defection of the heavy cavalry, and exaggerated reports of the approach of the Parisians, induced him to grant the commissioners an interview in the evening of the 3rd of August. The king consented to leave, and his route to Cherbourg was fixed, up to which place he was to be escorted by the Garde-du-corps. He disbanded the Garde Royale, gave up the crown-jewels, and set out for Maintenon, where he bade farewell to his troops. On the 8th of August he reached Argenton, and stayed there on the 9th to hear mass in the cathedral. The slowness of the journey gave rise to suspicions of the king's intentions: some said that he was going to La Vendée; but he was waiting to hear the result of his abdication in favour of the child who accompanied him. The 'Moniteur' put an end to all his hopes and illusions. On the 7th of August, the two Chambers gave the crown of France, with the title of king of the French, to Louis Philippe, duc d'Orleans. Charles X. continued his journey. "Of this pompous Court," says an eye-witness, "of this crowd of tinselled courtiers who surrounded the king, who filled the rooms of the Tuileries, or of St. Cloud, there remained only some civil and military officers, and some officers of the Garde Royale." As the royal fugitives went on, the national cockades and tricolour flags became more numerous; on every village belfry floated the National Standard; and the National Guards presented themselves in a line as the king passed along. On the 14th, Charles was at Valogne, where he halted while the commissioners were urging the preparations for the embarkation at Cherbourg. On this day, the companies of the Garde-du-corps gave up their colours to the king: every eye was suffused with tears; and Charles X., his voice almost stifled with sobs, thanked each company in turn for its fidelity. He said, "he received their colours, which were without stain, and he hoped that one day the duc of Bordeaux would restore them still unsullied." On the 16th, the royal family was at Cherbourg, and the king, who had hitherto worn his usual blue dress, half civil and half military, with the cross of the legion of honour and other decorations, now assumed the costume of a plain citizen. The princesses were dressed in a negligent manner, for they had come off in such a hurry that their wardrobe was left behind. From the heights above Cherbourg the royal fugitives saw the sea, and in the distance the vessels which were to convey them from France. Two American vessels, the Great Britain and the Charles Carrol, which belonged to Mr. Patterson, whose daughter had once been the wife of Jerôme Bonaparte, were engaged to carry the royal family away. A regiment lined the approaches to the port: the soldiers presented arms, and the officers saluted the king with their swords, without the word of command being given, by a spontaneous movement, and in deep silence. Captain Dumont d'Urville commanded some vessels of war which were to convoy the king, and on asking him whither he would go, the reply was, to England. The vessels set sail for that country, which is the place of refuge for all the exiles of the world, and carried the royal family to the coast of Dorsetshire, where they resided for a time in Lulworth Castle. They afterwards removed to Holyrood House, in Edinburgh, where Charles X. had resided before. The king maintained his dignity during the painful period of his progress through France; and the people on the road treated his misfortunes with decent respect.

CHAPTER CI.

THE NEW CHARTER.

On the 3rd of August the duke of Orleans opened the legislative session in the Chamber of Deputies, where the Peers had been invited to attend. About sixty Peers were present, and about 240 Deputies. The session was opened with the usual ceremonial; the signs of royalty still remained on the place of the throne, but the crown was surmounted with a tricolour flag. The duke did not occupy the throne. He read an address in a firm voice, which was well received, though the last paragraph, in which he spoke of the abdication of Charles X. without mentioning the duke of Bordeaux, caused some murmurs among the royalists.* But the legitimist party was without power. All France had accepted the Revolution. Mayors and

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1830,' p. 195.



CHARLES X. AT VALOGNE.

préfets had in vain tried to prevent the news being circulated, and to check the popular movement: they were obliged to withdraw, and provisional authorities filled their place. The National Guard rose like the fabulous warriors, armed and ready for the conflict, called forth by the seed of the ordonnances scattered by the blindness of Charles X. The royalist party was completely confounded: even their journals were for some days struck dumb. The first moments of a revolution are a time of intoxication: then comes reflection, coolness, and dissension. There was disunion in the victorious camp. There were men who saw that the duke of Orleans must be king; and their sole object was to flatter and please him. There were republicans, who looked for more than a change of dynasty: they wished for the abolition of the hereditary peerage; and attempts were made to gain Lafayette over to this opinion. Lafayette possessed a prodigious influence; at least it was thought so; but the Orleans party knew how to secure him. He was to have the command in chief of the National Guards of the kingdom; enough to satisfy his vanity, to compromise him in all the first acts of the government, to give him abundance of matters of detail to look after, proclamations and orders of the day to make,—a paper power, a shadow, and not a substance. No means so efficient to keep a vain man quiet, as to amuse him with something to do. Lafayette would not listen to the proposal of the republicans. He had been entreated, he said, not to deliver up Paris to a new revolution; and he had promised.

The journals attacked the competence of the Chamber of Deputies to dispose of the supreme power: they were elected under the Charter, and the Charter was broken; the king who called them together was deposed: there was no king, no supreme authority. All that they could do consistently with their powers was to determine the way in which the opinion of the nation should be taken in the present circumstances. This was only a fair deduction from the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people; but a mere illusion, a mere word, is no sure foundation for a political conclusion. The duke of Orleans conducted himself during this critical time with great prudence: he showed no impatience to lay his hand on the crown which was within his reach: his policy was to make people feel how necessary he was for the tranquillity of France. His manner was frank and open: he was affable and easy of access to everybody: his hand ever ready to press the hard fists of those whose blows had levelled for him the approaches to the throne. On the 3rd of August the lieutenant issued ordonnances in royal style; he named Pasquier, peer of France, president of the Chamber of Peers; and he authorized his two sons, the duc de Chartres and the duc de Nemours, one a very young man, the other a boy, to "take in the Chamber of Peers, during the present session, the

rank and the places which belong to them." Marshal Jourdan was appointed, by an ordonnance of the same date, provisionally, minister for foreign affairs,—a place which his age and his wounds could not long allow him to keep; and Bignon, the historian of the diplomacy of the empire, to the department of public instruction. The Chamber of Deputies, on the 5th of August, proceeded to name five candidates for the presidency, just as if the Charter were in full vigour. Benjamin Constant had the fewest votes of all the five, and Casimir Périer had more than Laffitte. The lieutenant-general chose Casimir Périer, by a prudent semblance of deference to the will of a body which was going to repay him with a crown. He went so far as to express a wish that the Chamber had chosen their president directly; and added, "I hope it will be the last time that this list will be presented to me." Casimir Périer was not well on the 6th, and Laffitte betook the chair in the Chamber of Deputies. This was the important day, which was to settle the questions that agitated France; for the storm was only hushed out of doors, and if power was not placed in some hand, it would again be tossed about like a ball in the streets of Paris. M. Bérard was the first who rose to propose a measure that should restore order: he proposed various modifications in the Charter, and if they should be accepted, then to offer the crown of France to the duke of Orleans, and to settle it in the male branch of his family. M. Demarçay was for rejecting the proposition of M. Bérard altogether, because the result of it would be to maintain the Charter with some modifications; and he said that the Charter contained fundamental principles that required alteration. The Chamber, however, appointed a committee to examine and report on Bérard's proposition; and the committee was chosen nearly altogether from the moderate party, which was the majority in the Chamber. The Chamber adjourned till eight in the evening, when the report was to be presented.

At eight there was a disturbance about the approaches to the Chambers and in the neighbourhood: there were cries of "Down with the Chamber of Peers; the Chamber of Deputies is betraying us." The leaders appeared to be youths; and some of the Deputies came out to pacify them. As soon as quiet was restored, the act of abdication of Charles X. was presented, a copy of which the lieutenant-general had forwarded to the Chamber through Guizot. "We won't accept it," cried some; but Laffitte, the president, took the opinion of the Chamber; and in spite of some opposition, it was determined that the act of abdication should be deposited in the archives. The report was presented at ten in the evening by M. Dupin the elder. It contained some modifications of Bérard's proposition. Some of the Deputies were in favour of immediately discussing the report; but on Guizot's proposal it was ordered to be printed, and the discussion was to be resumed on the following morning.

On the morning of the 7th the meeting was not numerous, for many of the members of the *côté droit* were absent; yet there were a few men bold enough to defend the fallen dynasty, and to show that there was liberty of speech. M. de Conny spoke eloquently in favour of the duke of Bordeaux. B. Constant replied to him, and showed the necessity of filling the vacant throne, and at the same time of bargaining for all the liberties which it is possible to give to a prudent nation: he rejected the doctrine of legitimacy, which M. de Conny had defended as the only one which could preserve the country. Each article of the report was debated. It is worthy of remark, that upon the words "to take the title of king of the French," M. de Corcelles proposed to add, "saving the acceptance of the people," an amendment which was not even seconded, though the declaration upon which they were going to vote affirmed that the rights professed to be granted by the Charter of Louis XVIII. "belonged essentially to the French." After six hours' deliberation the vote was taken on the Declaration, as it was called, when there were 219 votes for, and 33 against it. This Declaration suppressed some articles of the Charter, and modified others.* It concluded with a declaration, that, subject to the acceptance of the modified Charter, "the universal and urgent interests of the French nation called to the throne the duke of Orleans." The whole Chamber, with the exception of some members of the *côté droit*, went straight to the Palais Royal with the declaration, though the Chamber of Peers had not yet discussed it; a significant intimation that they intended to dispense with their consent, if they could not have it. Laffitte read the declaration to the duke in a firm and sonorous tone. The duke replied with emotion, that he "regarded the declaration as the expression of the national will, and that it appeared to him conformable to the political principles which he had expressed all his life"—"free from ambition, and accustomed to a peaceable domestic life," he only assented out of love to his country. He shed tears, and pressed the hand of Laffitte. The crowd outside called for him, and he appeared at the balcony, "accompanied by Lafayette, into whose arms the prince threw himself as into the arms of the nation personified." It was on this occasion that the veteran of revolutions said to the crowd, pointing to the new king, or is reported to have said, "This is the prince whom we wanted; it is the best of republics."

Whilst the Deputies at the Palais Royal were giving away a crown, the Chamber of Peers had suspended their sittings to wait for the message which was to communicate to them the declaration of the Deputies. They resumed their sittings at nine in the evening, with 114 members present,—only a few more than the number required by the rules of the Chamber to constitute a house. They met to discuss a matter that was settled: the crown was offered, and accepted, as everybody understood, though certainly not in

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1830,' App., p. 43.

express words. In the midst of the duke's emotion, his answer was still most cautious and general. In the Chamber of Peers, Châteaubriand asked if they thought it proper to deliberate when the Chamber of Deputies had already carried its declaration to the lieutenant-general? to which the duc de Broglie replied that they could not refuse to discuss the message of the other Chamber, which was the best evidence that the Deputies did not wish to take on themselves alone the result of the deliberation; and he added adroitly, that the lieutenant-general had neither refused nor accepted positively. This objection being answered, Châteaubriand addressed the Chamber. It is said that his intended opposition was known at the Palais Royal, and it was dreaded: he was bold and uncompromising; devoted to the Bourbons, but not a friend to their faults, and his honour was without a stain. The lieutenant-general wished to avert the lightning, and his sister, Madame Adelaide, who played a great part in this drama of her brother's elevation, tried to work on Châteaubriand through François Arago. The offer of a place in the ministry did not seduce Châteaubriand, nor did the arguments, derived from the state of the country, prevail on him to be silent. He merely promised, as it is said, to soften the expressions of his intended discourse.* The speech which he delivered is a monument of his honourable and manly spirit; of his contempt for the cowardly royalists who had deserted Charles X. in his hour of danger and his greatest need, and a generous acknowledgment of the courage and disinterested conduct of the Parisians. It is a discourse, too, characterised by great political sagacity, as instructive now as it was then. The Chamber ordered the discourse to be printed. The Peers adopted what the Deputies had done, except an article by which it was proposed to decimate their body: the article was to this effect: "All the nominations and new creations of peers made under the reign of king Charles X. are declared null and of no effect." All the Peers had to say, in reply to this article, was, that they could not discuss it, and that they deferred entirely as to this matter "to the high prudence of the prince lieutenant-general." For the declaration, with the exception of this article, there were 89 votes; ten against it; and one vote was null. The debate did not last above an hour. A deputation, headed by Pasquier, went to carry the declaration to the lieutenant-general; and Pasquier addressed him in terms worthy of a peerage which had submitted to the insult of being asked their opinion about a matter that was already determined. The answer was brief and commonplace; it contained neither words of direct acceptation or refusal. The remark of the duc de Broglie was just as applicable to this answer as to the answer made to the deputies.

There only remained the solemn ceremony of the duke of Orleans publicly declaring his acceptance, and taking the oath on receiving the crown. It was the 9th of August, while Charles X. was journeying slowly to his last exile, that the ceremony took place in the Chamber of Deputies. No minister of any of the great powers was present. None of the 76 peers created by the late king were present, and none of those who had voted against the declaration. The declaration of the 7th of August was read; and the duke then called for the act of adhesion of the peers, which was presented to him. He said that he had weighed and meditated on all the expressions, and that he accepted without restrictions or reserve all the clauses and terms of this declaration, and the title of king of the French. Then uncovering himself, and raising his hand, the new king pronounced in a firm voice the oath, "In the presence of God, I swear to observe faithfully the constitutional charter, with the modifications expressed in the declaration, to govern only by the laws and according to the laws; to cause good and true justice to be rendered to each according to his right, and to act in all things only with a view to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people." Four marshals of France took the insignia of royalty, and presented them to the king, who then signed the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies, the act of adhesion of the Peers, and the formula of the oath which he had sworn. He ascended the throne of France amidst a burst of applause, and thus addressed the Peers and Deputies: "I have just accomplished a great act: I am profoundly affected by the magnitude of the duties which it imposes on me: I have a consciousness that I shall fulfil them: it is with a full conviction that I have accepted the pact of alliance which was proposed to me. I could have earnestly wished never to fill the throne, to which the wish of the nation has just called me; but France, attacked in its liberties, saw that public order was in peril; the violation of the Charter had shaken everything; it was necessary to restore the laws to activity, and it belonged to the Chambers to provide for this: you have done it, gentlemen; the prudent modifications which we have made in the Charter guarantee security for the future; and France, I hope, will be happy at home, respected abroad; and the peace of Europe will be the more secure." The king and his family returned to the Palais Royal, escorted by the National Guard, and accompanied by an immense crowd, loud in expressions of affection and devotion.

* L. Blanc, 'Hist. de Dix Ans,' ch. 9. The discourse is in the 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1830,' p. 238.

CHAPTER CII.

BELGIUM.

The rejoicings of the Revolution were soon disturbed by the cries of hunger. Before the end of August the working classes made their complaints heard, and large crowds collected in the public places. There was want of employment and reduced wages; and a clamour against machinery. Those who lived by the wages of labour were in a worse condition after the Revolution than before, and particularly the artizans, who supplied the demands of the rich and luxurious at Paris; for a diminution in expenditure is always the accompaniment of political disorder. There were the same complaints in other parts of France. The diminution of the produce of the indirect taxes was felt in August, and was a sure sign of the misery which thousands were suffering. Those who had the means of providing for their wants were still rejoicing over a victory which they had not gained. Deputations came from all parts to congratulate the king; and Lafayette, who was more popular than the king himself, was honoured with a public dinner by the city of Paris. On the 29th of August the National Guard was reviewed before the king in the Champ-de-Mars, beneath a brilliant sun. Lafayette distributed the colours, and received their oath in the name of the king.

On the morning of the 27th of August, the old duc de Bourbon, prince de Condé, father of the duc d'Enghien, was found dead in his bed-room at St. Leu. He was suspended by two silk handkerchiefs fastened together, with his feet almost touching the carpet. The circumstances of his death were such, that it was strongly debated whether he had been assassinated or had committed suicide; and there were reasons in support of both opinions. A will was found in his desk, by which he made the duc d'Aumale, the third son of king Louis-Philippe, his universal legatee; but this gift was charged with the payment of various legacies, and particularly one to the amount of ten millions of francs or upwards, to Madame Feuchères, who lived in the house with him. Madame Feuchères was an Englishwoman, whose name was Dawes, whom the duke became acquainted with during his residence in England. She married one of the duke's aid-de-camps, who soon separated from her, and she lived with the duke, over whom she exercised unbounded influence. The will of the duke was dated the 27th of October, 1829; and the bequest to the duc d'Aumale was made at the earnest entreaty of Madame Feuchères, who was in correspondence with the duke of Orleans both before and after the date of the will. As early as 1827, this woman offered her services to the Orleans Family, to induce the duke of Bourbon to adopt a son of the duke of Orleans; who, upon this, wrote to the duke of Bourbon to express his thanks for the interest which Madame Feuchères took in this matter, and to say how proud he should be to see one of his sons bear the glorious name of Condé. The duke of Bourbon is said to have been exceedingly troubled at this interference of Madame Feuchères, for he had no intimacy with the duke of Orleans, and no disposition to give his immense fortune to that family. The history of this tragic affair would not deserve notice, if it had not furnished matter for the enemies of the new king. It might have been prudent to reject a succession acquired under such circumstances; but the king accepted for his son that which his own letter had declared that he would gladly have. It seems hardly credible, though it is affirmed, that Madame Feuchères was even invited to the Court after the death of the duc de Bourbon.*

The first solicitude of the king was to have his crown recognised by his brother kings, and on the 19th of August, he wrote to the emperor Nicholas to inform him of his accession. The letter was, in fact, an apology for introducing himself into the society of the crowned heads of Europe; it was altogether wanting in dignity: "I feel it necessary" said the king, "to speak to you with entire confidence on the consequences of the calamity which I could earnestly have wished to prevent." This submissive letter did not change the emperor's resolution, who gave the bearer of the letter a haughty and disdainful reception. Austria and Prussia acknowledged the new king; and also the kings of the Netherlands and of Great Britain. A petty prince of Italy, the duke of Modena, refused to acknowledge Louis Philippe, and Spain published an insulting manifesto against the government of July. The king of the French had embraced a pacific policy: he adhered to the treaties of 1815. But some of the ardent spirits of France, the men of the clubs, wished to propagate revolution; to extend the frontiers of France to the Rhine, to draw Belgium within the vortex of insurrection. Belgium had gained materially by the union with Holland, and her industry was flourishing under the care of the king of the Netherlands, who had himself a turn for commercial speculation, and increased his own wealth while he enriched the country. But the difference of language and of religion, the hostility of the priests to the government, and causes of dissatisfaction—some real, and some only imaginary—had formed a powerful party in opposition to the king, a union of priests and of liberals. Yet there was hardly a design to overthrow

* L. Blanc, 'Histoire de Dix Ans,' ii., ch. 2; 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1830,' p. 265; and the 'Annuaires, pour 1831, 1832,' which contain the account of the proceedings of the princes of Rohan to impugn the validity of the duke of Bourbon's will.

the government; and some changes which would have separated the administration of Belgium and Holland might have satisfied all the demands of the opponents of the government. But some of the emissaries of the revolutionary party came into Belgium from France, and sowed the seeds of insurrection, which commenced with a formidable riot at Brussels on the night of the 25th of August. The news of the event was not agreeable to the French king, whose object was to keep the peace, while there was a party in France who wished to annex Belgium at any risk. At this crisis the king appointed Talleyrand ambassador at London, against the advice of his ministers; a measure which indicated the king's resolution to maintain the treaties of 1815, and to seek the alliance of England; a country to which he had always professed his attachment. The letter of the emperor of Russia (18th of September), in reply to the French king's letter, was coolly civil; he did not return the expression of "Monsieur mon frère," by which he had been addressed, but he hoped that his "majesty" might be successful in his efforts for the good of the French people. In the mean time, Belgium was in a violent ferment, and the movement was felt not only at Brussels, but in Liège, Mons, Gand, and other towns. An extraordinary session of the States-General of the Low Countries was opened at the Hague on the 12th of September, by king William. With reference to the troubles of Belgium, the cause of this extraordinary convention, the king said that "he was entirely disposed to satisfy all reasonable wishes, but he would grant nothing to the spirit of faction." The answer to the address, voted by a great majority, declared, "in the name of the nation," that they would make any sacrifice to consolidate the throne and dynasty, to re-establish order, to protect the constitutional existence of the state. Before the end of the month in which this declaration was made, the Dutch troops were drawn out of Brussels, after a conflict with the insurgents, and the house of Nassau had ceased to reign in Belgium.* The condition of Belgium after the revolution was exceedingly critical, and a union with France seemed to be the safest and the best measure; but whether Belgium became an independent state, or was made a part of France, in either case the settlement of 1815 was broken.

Four of the ministers of Charles X., Polignac, Peyronnet, Guernon-Ranville, and Chantelauze, had been arrested, and lodged in the prison of Vincennes; and the Chamber of Deputies appointed a committee to examine them. The committee performed their duty without any unnecessary severity; and the prisoners seemed to think that the risk of mounting the scaffold was not great. But popular fury was excited against them, and the king, who well understood their critical position, was anxious that the commencement of his reign should not be marked by a public execution. A preliminary measure for accomplishing his purpose was to abolish the punishment of death in certain cases. The Chamber of Deputies, by a great majority, presented an address to the king (9th of October), in which he was requested to take the initiative in this salutary reform; and the king replied, that he had long desired the abolition of the punishment of death for political offences, and would take care that a law was presented to the Chamber which should be conformable to their wishes. On the same day, M. Guizot laid before the Chamber the draft of a law for providing for the widows and the orphans of those who had fallen in July, and for the relief of the wounded. The report of the intended abolition of the punishment of death, and that the late ministers were to be tried by the Court of Peers, created a lively indignation amongst the men who had made the revolution. If the ministers had illegally caused so much death and misery, it was inconsistent to save them from the scaffold, if the punishment of death was still to be the penalty of murder. The king's council was already divided; and an incident happened which increased the disunion. Odilon-Barrot, préfet of the Seine, was not liked by the king; and on the occasion of some troubles in Paris, caused by a body of men who cried "Death to the ministers" who were shut up at Vincennes, the préfet published a proclamation, in which he condemned the disturbances, but he also declared that the late address of the Chamber of Deputies to the king was inopportune. The Court was indignant at the préfet's proclamation, and the king resolved to get rid of him. The king announced to the Council that Odilon-Barrot must be removed, and that Lafayette, his friend, had consented to it. Dupont de l'Eure said that Lafayette had held a different language to him, and that he was incapable of contradicting himself. A warm altercation ensued between the king and the minister; at last the duke of Orleans, the king's eldest son, reconciled them. But most of the ministers felt that they could not exercise power as they wished, if Lafayette retained his influence, and if Dupont was their colleague; and they resigned. Affairs were in a critical condition: the consequences of the shock of the month of July were felt in every member of society; the taxes could hardly be collected in many of the departments, and opinion was agitated by the approaching trial of the late ministers of Charles X. It was difficult to find men who were ambitious of power at such a time, and the king was indebted to the devotion of Laffitte for rescuing him from the difficulty. Laffitte was made president of the Council and minister of finance; Maison had the department of foreign affairs; Dupont de l'Eure of justice; Montalivet of the interior; Sebastiani of the marine; and Mérilhou of public instruction. Laffitte had attempted in vain to reconcile Dupont de l'Eure and the doctrinaires, of whom Guizot and M. de Broglie were the representatives. One definition of the term 'doctrinaires' has already been given. Another definition or description characterises them, as in political economy not going beyond

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1830,' p. 523.

the doctrines which J. B. Say had adopted and expounded; and in matters political limiting themselves to the English constitutional principle, "of which the Constituent Assembly made an essay, which was applied in the Charter of Louis XVIII., and popularised by Benjamin Constant: accordingly they introduced into society nothing new: they recognised no other principles than those which had established in France the preponderance of the bourgeoisie; principles which were common to them with Laffitte, Dupont de l'Eure, Lafayette, and all those who were considered their opponents."* The new ministry was soon modified. Sebastiani had the department of foreign affairs, and the marine was taken by the Comte d'Argout. Gérard retired, and the department of war was given (17th of November) to marshal Soult, duke of Dalmatia. Just before the change of ministry, there had been elections of 135 Deputies. These elections passed off quietly, and the government exercised very little influence over them. A great number of royalists or legitimists abstained from voting, and the liberals were everywhere successful. All those who were candidates for re-election, in consequence of being promoted to salaried places under the new government, were re-elected, with few exceptions. The numbers of the *côté droit*, whose elections had been annulled, or who had resigned in consequence of refusing to take the oath, were replaced by old patriots, deputies, magistrates, advocates, or military men, who were likely to swell the numbers of the *côté gauche*.

Early in November, Van de Weyer came on a mission from Belgium to London, where he was informed by the British ministry that Great Britain could in no way assent to the annexation of Belgium to France. This was one of the last acts of the administration of the duke of Wellington and sir Robert Peel. England was agitated, for she felt the effect of the disturbances on the continent; the Tories went out of office; and the Whig administration of lord Grey was in power before the middle of November, and the nation had a prospect of Parliamentary Reform. The conference of the representatives of the allied powers commenced at London before the change of ministry; and the first protocol which proposed the cessation of hostilities between Holland and Belgium was dated the 4th of November, 1830. The Belgians, who were favourable to a union with France, learned from their envoy at Paris that they could not even expect one of the sons of Louis Philippe for their king, if Belgium should determine on a monarchical form of government. The Belgian Congress proclaimed the independence of Belgium on the 18th of November, and the conference of London on the 20th of December declared the dissolution of the kingdom of the Low Countries, in spite of the protest of king William, whose appeal to the treaties of 1815 and the principles of the Holy Alliance, was an unanswerable argument. The protocol of the 20th of December, signed by the plenipotentiaries, and by Talleyrand on the part of France, settled the Belgian question; and as the Belgian Congress had already determined in favour of monarchical government (November 22nd) by a majority of 174 to 13, and on the exclusion of the house of Orange-Nassau, nothing remained except the choice of a king.

The friendship of Laffitte and the king of the French was now cooling; and the origin of it, if the story is true, is not creditable to the king. Laffitte was embarrassed in consequence of the commercial disturbance which followed the Revolution of July; and he sold an estate to the king, on the condition that the sale should not be registered in the usual form, in order that Laffitte's creditors might not be alarmed. The king, however, fearing for the security of his purchase, got it registered, and informed Laffitte of it in a note; adding, that it had been done with the utmost privacy; as if an act, in its nature public, could ever be a secret. Laffitte said nothing of this breach of faith, but he lost his confidence in the man whom he had helped to a crown. On the 1st of December he read a discourse before the Chamber of Deputies, which was a manifesto of the policy which the ministry intended to follow.* He spoke of the rumours of war which were afloat, but he said that they hoped to maintain peace. France would not permit the principle of non-intervention to be violated; but she would also strive to prevent a peace being compromised which might have been preserved. The close alliance with England, a country connected with France by a common interest and civilization, was a leading feature in the discourse of the president of the council.

On the 29th of November the peace of Europe was threatened by a revolution in Poland, which excited the liveliest sympathies of the French; but the government persisted in its policy; and the revolt of Poland had neither direct or indirect encouragement from the French government. The Poles had entered on a desperate contest against the power of Russia, and they were left to contend alone in their bloody and unsuccessful resistance.

* L. Blanc, 'Hist. de Dix Ans,' ii., chap. 4.

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1830,' p. 407.

CHAPTER CIII.

THE TRIAL.

The Chamber of Peers, reduced in numbers since the Revolution of July, by the elimination of the Peers named by Charles X., and the refusal of many to take the oath, maintained only an equivocal existence; but it again assumed some importance, by declaring itself, on the 1st of October, a court of justice. This declaration was made in consequence of a report of the 23rd of September, to the Chamber of Deputies, on the question of trying the late ministers of Charles X. This report, which was communicated to the Chamber of Peers, concluded with resolutions for the impeachment of the ministers before the Chamber of Peers, and was immediately communicated to that body. The Peers made the first experiment of their judicial authority on one of their own body, comte Florian de Kergorlay, who had in writing declared that the Chambers had given the crown to the king, and that his title was good for nothing. He was condemned to pay a fine of 500 francs, and to six months' imprisonment. On the 29th of November a law was passed, by which all attacks on the order of succession to the throne, and "the rights which the king derived from the wish of the French nation expressed in the declaration of the 7th of August, 1830," were made punishable by imprisonment varying from three to five years, and a fine of 300 to 6,000 francs. That the power which exists in fact should protect itself by the power which it has, is conformable to the nature of power; but for power to found its title on a lie, is hypocrisy and weakness combined. "The expressed wish of the French nation," as to the accession of Louis-Philippe, was as pure a fiction as the social contract, or the sovereignty of the people.

On the 10th of December, the four ministers who had been shut up at Vincennes, were removed to the prison of the Petit-Luxembourg. Great precautions were taken to prevent any disorders, but the people were quiet. The funeral of Benjamin Constant, who died on the 8th of December, was the occasion of a display by the liberal party, who attended his funeral. Ministers, generals, peers, deputies, and even schoolboys, put on mourning; and an immense crowd of the working-classes swelled a procession such as once accompanied to the grave the remains of Mirabeau. The trial of the ministers for treason commenced on the 15th of December. They behaved with calmness and dignity; and in their answers to the questions of Pasquier, they did not seek to cover themselves by throwing the blame of the ordonnances on their exiled master. Martignac defended Polignac, though he had censured his political conduct in severe terms. The trial continued till the 20th of December, and there was apprehension of a popular movement. On the 21st, the last day, the government made formidable preparations to resist any violence; and after the close of the proceedings, the prisoners were hastily carried back to Vincennes, to secure their safety. The news of this hasty removal produced a great sensation: the crowd called out, "To the Luxembourg: Death to the ministers." Lafayette thought that it was enough to show himself, and the crowd would disperse. "I do not perceive here," said he, "the combatants of July." "Likely enough;" said a man, "you were not among them." True or false, the anecdote is significant. The men of July did the work of the Three Days, and their services were no longer wanted. The Peers were assembled to deliberate on the guilt of the accused, and to pronounce sentence. One hundred and fifty-six Peers were present at the voting, and 132 or 134 pronounced for the condemnation of the accused, against 20 or 24. The sentence was perpetual imprisonment for the rest; and for Polignac, deportation. But as there was no place out of France to transport Polignac to, he was to undergo perpetual imprisonment in France, with all the consequences of deportation, among which is civil death.* The other three were deprived of their rank, titles, and orders, and placed under a legal interdict. The three absent ministers who had not been arrested, Montbel, d'Haussez, and Capelle, were subsequently (11th of April, 1831,) condemned, on the ground of contumacy, to perpetual imprisonment. Eight days after the sentence was pronounced, the four ministers were conducted to the fortress of Ham, under the protection of a strong escort.

The sentence against the ministers excited the indignation of Paris; and the violent passions of the people had passed even to the National Guard. The evening of the 21st was stormy and threatening, and the next day (22nd of December) there was the clamour of crowds around the Palais Royal and the Luxembourg. There was a general feeling that the men who had caused all the miseries of July deserved a severer punishment. The tumult, however, passed away: no leaders presented themselves to the people, and Paris again became calm. On the 26th of December,

* Procès des den. Min. de Charles X., 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1830.' The doctrine of civil death was borrowed by the French from the Roman Law, and misapplied in their penal code; that is, those who formed the code did not understand how to apply the Roman Law. Polignac was living in a second marriage when he was condemned; and this marriage was dissolved by the sentence, as to "all its civil effects." (17, Code Pénal; 23, 24, 25, Code Civil.) Polignac's wife accompanied him to Ham, and children were born there. The marriage of a Roman, who was deported, was no longer a Roman marriage, but it remained a marriage for all other purposes. (See p. 450.)

Lafayette resigned the commandership of the National Guard of France. This body, in almost all the towns of the kingdom, was equipped, armed, and formed according to the law of 1791, before the government had the opportunity of organising it. It was now thought advisable to re-organise it; and by one of the articles of the new law, the commandership-in-chief was to be suppressed. Lafayette, who was not present at the discussion, did not wait for the question to be discussed in the other Chamber. He sent in his resignation to the king, who, in his letter of reply of the 25th of December, said that he was as much pained as surprised at the general's decision: and yet the general's resignation was merely a compliance with the wish of the Chamber, to which the king cannot be supposed to have been a stranger. The king also published a proclamation (26th of December) "to the brave National Guards, his dear compatriots," in which he said that he had flattered himself that he should see the general still a long time at their head: but he had the consolation of thinking that he had neglected nothing to spare the National Guard what would be to them a signal of lively regret, and to himself a real pain. This event was followed by the resignation of Dupont de l'Eure, whose place was taken by Mérilhou, and the ministry of instruction and of worship was given to M. Barthe. Odilon-Barrot also made a speech in the Chamber, which intimated that he should not probably hold the office of préfet of the Seine much longer. From the departments there came addresses of condolence to Lafayette, in which the ministers were not spared. The revolutionary spirit showed itself in the artillery of the National Guard of Paris, and the ministry dissolved it. At the same time a commission was appointed for its re-organisation. This was the last official act of this eventful year.

Several important laws were enacted after the accession of Louis Philippe, in the latter part of 1830. A law of the 11th of September declared that those Frenchmen who were banished by virtue of the third and seventh articles of the law of the 12th of January, 1816, were restored to all their civil and political rights. Another law declared that Deputies who accepted public functions to which salaries were attached were to be considered as having resigned their seats by the simple fact of acceptance, but they were re-eligible. In cases of offences of the press and political offences, with some exceptions, the trial by jury was established (8th of October); and this law was proposed in the Chamber of Peers.

It was not until the 11th of August, that marshal Bourmont, with his victorious army in Algiers, harassed by the Arabs, and thinned by fever and dysentery, received the news of the revolution of July. Bourmont, it is said, had at first a design to return to France with the mass of the army and support the cause of Charles X.; but if he did entertain such a design, he soon discovered that his officers and soldiers preferred the tricolour to the white cockade. After a few days' hesitation, he recognised the authority of the lieutenant-general, and on the 2nd of September, general Clausel arrived at Algiers to take the command of the army of Africa. Bourmont, who had left Toulon with a formidable fleet, sailed for Malaga with a few men, his two sons, and the embalmed heart of one who had perished in the campaign.

The effect of the revolution on the condition of the people had been disastrous. The public securities were low, the value of convertible property was depreciated, commerce was deranged, and an immense number of failures shook the credit of the wealthiest houses. Want of employment, the suspension of industrial undertakings, and a diminution of the produce of the indirect taxes, were the consequences of this convulsion. The produce of the indirect taxes for 1830 fell short of that of 1829, by nearly nineteen millions of francs. The political and moral effects of the revolution were more difficult to appreciate. The new power had quickly stepped into the place of that which was overthrown, and it proclaimed itself to be the expression of the wish of the nation. But the wish of the nation was only a fiction used to embellish an accident. If the wish of the nation existed, it was not expressed, and hardly could be expressed; and certainly no opportunity for the expression was given. Under the restoration, France was distracted by political opinions—royalist, republican, Bonapartist, and constitutional; and questions were agitated which touched the elements of all society. The Revolution of July grew out of no principle of unity, unless we assume that the nation preferred what is called a constitutional monarchy to any other form; and that, perhaps, was so. But the setting-up of a new dynasty was the introduction of another element of discord, for the title of the old dynasty was still respected by many. The only just consequence of the month of July, in a constitutional point of view, was the dethroning of Charles X., the rejection of his son, and the acceptance of his grandson as king of France. An infant king was indeed a formidable objection in the actual state of France, but it was, perhaps, not insuperable. The difficulties which surrounded the new king on his accession to the throne, both internal and external, must be fairly appreciated before a just judgment can be pronounced on his conduct in the first few years of his reign. As to the latter years of it, the time is not yet come for a full and impartial review, unless it be made by one who possesses more information than published documents supply, and who combines, with an exact knowledge of the state of France under Louis-Philippe, a larger share of sound judgment and greater impartiality than most persons possess. All that will be attempted here is a brief notice of some of the chief events in the history of France from the end of 1830 to the last Revolution.*

* Capefigue's work, 'Le Gouvernement de Juillet,' contains many good remarks. If not all true, they are yet worth reading, as the opinions of a sensible and moderate man. See 'La Monarchie de Juillet, et ses progrès vers l'ordre.'

CHAPTER CIV.

FRANCE UNDER LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

The Belgian Congress had to choose between the duke of Leuchtenberg, a son of Eugène Beauharnais, and the duc de Nemours, a son of Louis-Philippe. The duc de Nemours was elected, and a deputation came from Belgium to offer to the king of the French a crown for his son; but the king refused (17th of February, 1831), on the ground that it was his first duty to consult the interests of France, and consequently not to compromise that peace which he hoped to maintain. "The thirst of conquest," he said, "or the honour of seeing a crown placed on the head of his son, should never induce him to expose his country to the renewal of the evils of war." The king's policy was also to keep on good terms with Russia; and he sent the duc de Mortemart to St. Petersburg as ambassador, after the French court had been informed that it would be agreeable to Nicholas to see the duke.

On the 11th of February, 1831, the president of the council submitted to the Chamber the budget of receipts and expenditure. The ordinary expenses were 957,377,335 francs; and the extraordinary expenses 219,773,700. The receipts were estimated at 973,101,894 francs, which left an excess on the ordinary expenses. To meet the extraordinary expenses, a law was passed (25th of March) for the creation of 200 millions of treasury obligations, which were secured by the sale of national forests. A law was also passed which provided for the cost of the worship of the Jews: and a municipal law. Before the end of March there was a change of ministry. Paris had been agitated by disturbances in the month of February, on the occasion of the anniversary (14th of February) of the duc de Berri's assassination. The religious ceremony took place in the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, where a lithograph, representing the duc de Bordeaux, was fixed on the catafalque by the friends of the exiled Bourbons, who thronged the church. The National Guards came in and turned the people out of the church; but that did not satisfy the indignation of the people. They broke into the church, and when they saw the great cross surmounted by three fleur-de-lis, they called for its destruction. The cross was thrown down with a horrible crash, and the interior of the church was made a mass of ruins, in the presence of the National Guard. The archbishop's residence was next attacked: books, pictures, and valuables, were pitched into the Seine, and the devastation of the building was accomplished as completely as if the work had been directed by the most consummate skill. Paris continued in a disturbed state after the 14th and 15th of February, as if it were suffering from an intermittent fever. The administration of Laffitte was without energy enough to suppress the disorders of Paris, and without a sufficient majority to govern the Chamber. By the ordonnances of the 13th of March, a new ministry was formed. Casimir Périer was made minister of the interior and president of the council of ministers; the baron Louis had finance; Barthe, the department of justice; Montalivet, public instruction and worship; d'Argout, commerce and public works; Rigny, the marine. Sebastiani kept his place as minister for foreign affairs, and Soult as minister of war.

The most important law that was enacted after the appointment of the new ministry was the electoral law (19th April, 1830).* It was at first proposed to reduce the electoral qualification from 300 francs, as it was under the Restoration, to 240 francs; on which the 'Gazette de France' both wittily and truly remarked, "Before the Revolution, 300 fr.; after, 240: difference in favour of the Revolution, 60 fr." The law, as passed, declared (Art. 1) that "every Frenchman in the enjoyment of civil and political rights, aged twenty-five years, and paying 200 francs of direct taxes, is an elector, if he fulfils the other conditions determined by the present law." Certain classes of persons were also electors, if they paid only 100 francs of direct taxes, such as members and correspondents of the Institut. An annual revision of the electoral lists was provided for (Tit. iii., Art. 13). The Chamber of Deputies was declared to consist of 459 members: every electoral college elected a single deputy: the number of deputies of each department, and the division of the departments into electoral arrondissemens, were regulated in a table, attached to the law, and making part of it. In order to be eligible as a deputy, a man must be thirty years of age, and pay 500 francs of direct taxes, except in the case provided for by the 33rd article of the Charter. The amount of electoral qualification, in a country where the division of the land was rapidly going on, and where the Code Civil sanctioned the division of property, would in time materially diminish the number of those who paid 200 francs of direct taxes.

The principle of non-intervention was maintained by the new minister, and by the king. There were insurrections in the Roman states, in Modena and Parma. The insurgents were successful, and they had no enemy to fear except Austria, whose aid was called for against the revolutionists by the Holy Father, the duchess of Parma, and the exiled duke of Modena. France had declared that she would not consent to the Austrian troops interfering in this quarrel between the princes and people of Italy; but the French minister

* Passed by the Chamber of Deputies on the 9th of March: by the Peers the 15th of April.

said, that not to consent, and to prevent, were two different things. To attempt to prevent, the French must have gone to war; and the king was bent on keeping the peace. The new president of the council had no liking for popular movements; and as there were symptoms of a disposition to congregate in threatening numbers at Paris, he carried a law (9th of April), by which, if persons formed tumultuous assemblages (des attroupemens) on the Places or on the public road, and did not disperse after being thrice summoned by the authorities named in the law, force might be employed, conformably to the law of the 3rd of August, 1791. There was some danger from the republican party, and a great number of political societies had been formed immediately after the Revolution of July. The policy of the minister is alleged to have been, and it appears to have been, designed to crush this party. About the middle of May the king made a tour in the northern departments, where he was well received; and, as it is observed by a contemporary writer, "the addresses which were made to him, and the public demonstrations, professed, as usual, entire devotion to the monarchy and the prince." Napoleon and Charles X. had both received the same evidence of unchangeable affection and devotion. On the king's return was published the ordonnance of the 31st of May, for the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies; and the 9th of August, the day of the king's accession, was fixed for the meeting of the Chambers, after the elections had taken place in July. The king left Paris a second time, in June, on a tour in the departments of the east, and he visited the battle field of Valmy, where his old companion, Dumouriez, made a stand against the Prussians. There were the same demonstrations of joy and devotion, which those to whom they are offered are so readily inclined to take for more than they are worth. But at Metz the mayor read to the king an address from the municipal council, in which it was said, "the Charter has left in our internal government an important matter to regulate, that of the hereditary peerage; let us hope that in the next session the legislative power will cause to disappear from among our laws a privilege which is now incompatible with our national habits." The king, after thanking them for their personal expressions towards him, said: "You speak to me of what all the municipal councils of France have proclaimed: they have proclaimed nothing; it is not within their competence to do so, nor to deliberate upon matters of high policy: this right is reserved to the Chambers; accordingly I have nothing to answer to this part of your address; this applies equally to what you say to me on the diplomatic relations of France (the address had expressed sympathy with the Poles) with foreign powers, on which the municipal councils also have no right to deliberate." This answer is a memorable fact in the commencement of the reign of Louis-Philippe. The National Guard also presented an address, which the king appeared to listen to attentively, till he heard these words: "among these laws, the most decisive for the future condition of France is that which should organize the second branch of the legislative power; the almost unanimous wish of our city is ——". Here the king interrupted the reader of the address, and taking it in his hands, said: "That is enough: the National Guard must not occupy themselves with political questions; they have nothing to do with them; the National Guard has no advice to give." "Sire," replied the reader, "it is not advice which they give: it is a wish that they express." The king rejoined: "The National Guard must form no wish; they are not permitted to discuss; I will hear no more." Here appears a distinct ground of quarrel between the king and the people in 1831. The superior officers of the National Guard were invited to dine with the king; and one man only went.

The elections passed off quietly in general. Of the Deputies elected, 222 belonged to the preceding Chamber, seven had been members of previous Chambers, and 195 were entirely new: 203 members of the late Chamber had not been re-elected. On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the capture of the Bastile, there was a design to plant one or more trees of liberty, and probably to attempt a rising. The authorities were active, and prevented the planters from accomplishing their object. A young man who pointed a pistol at the mayor, fell, pierced with bayonets. In some of the towns of the departments the day was kept, the tree was planted, and people danced about it, in presence of the civil authorities, and of the military, who refused to make use of their arms to disperse the crowd. The Chamber of Deputies received some new members of note, general Lamarque, François Arago, known through Europe as a man of science, Duvergier de Hauranne, Thiers, and Garnier Pagès. The opposition in the Chamber had hardly a recognised head, but Odilon-Barrot had the chief influence. Mauguin, more impetuous than his rival Odilon-Barrot, played a great part so long as the revolutionary movement of the people still continued. Foreign affairs agitated France more than their own, —Poland, Belgium, and Portugal. In Poland, the war was still raging between the Poles and the Russians; and the French, though far removed from the scene, followed all the events with the most intense anxiety. Don Miguel, who had usurped the throne of Portugal, had maltreated two Frenchmen, and as he refused satisfaction, a French fleet was sent under admiral Roussin, which forced the passage of the Tagus, and compelled Miguel to submit to his terms (14th July). The French government acted promptly and vigorously in this affair; but the opposition was niggardly in its acknowledgment of the satisfaction obtained by the French fleet. After the refusal of the French king to allow his son to accept the crown of Belgium, the question of the settlement of that country became one of considerable difficulty. But a king was soon found for the Belgians; and through the interest of England, Leopold, prince of Saxe-Coburg, and the widower of the princess Charlotte, the only daughter

of George IV., was elected by the Congress, on condition of accepting the constitution, such as the National Congress had made it. There still remained several difficult questions to settle between Belgium and Holland, particularly the question of boundaries. The prince accepted the throne subject to the sanction of the last proposals of the conference, in eighteen articles which bore the title of preliminaries of a treaty of peace between Holland and Belgium, and were signed at London on the 28th of June, by the representatives of the five powers. The Belgian Congress adopted the eighteen articles, and Leopold left England to take possession of his throne in spite of a threatening manifesto of the Dutch king. He took the oath at Brussels on the 21st of July, 1831.

The French king opened the session on the 23rd of July in the Chamber of Deputies, and the Peers had to leave their own Chamber to hear the royal speech. It was very clear and positive: the king said, "In calling me to the throne, France has intended that royalty should be national; it has not intended that royalty should be powerless: a government without strength cannot be suitable to a great nation." He announced the settlement of the Belgian question. As to Poland, he had offered his mediation, and invited that of the great powers. The resolution to maintain peace was firmly expressed: war, it was said, could only be caused by unjust aggression, which France was well able to resist. The choice of a president of the Chamber of Deputies was a struggle between the opposition and the ministry, who only carried their candidate Girod (de l'Ain), against Laffitte, the candidate of the opposition, by five votes. But Dupont (de l'Eure) was elected vice-president by a majority of ten votes, which was a victory for the opposition; and Casimir Périer, and three other ministers, offered their resignation to the king. An unexpected event however induced the ministers to try if they could not still maintain themselves in power. On the 4th of August, the 'Moniteur' announced that the king of Holland had declared the armistice at an end, and resumed hostilities against Belgium; that the Belgian king had called for the assistance of a French army; and that marshal Gérard, who commanded the army of the north, was on his march to assist the Belgians: "under such circumstances the ministry remained in office; they wait for the answer of the Chambers to the speech from the throne." Fifty thousand Frenchmen entered Belgium to maintain the eighteen articles, and reached Brussels just in time to prevent the prince of Orange with his troops from marching there from Louvain. The prince retreated within the line fixed by the armistice; and the French army was required by the conference of London to quit the Belgian territory, with the exception of 12,000 men, though the French minister of war had said on the 13th of August, that the French troops would not leave Belgium until the questions were settled which had put them in motion: but the conference decided otherwise.

In the debate on the occasion of the answer to the king's speech, which commenced on the 9th of August, the ministers defended with ability their pacific policy; and they received some able assistance. Casimir Périer, Thiers, Sebastiani, Duvergier de Hauranne (fils), and Charles de Remusat, spoke on the ministerial side. On the opposition side general Lamarque, marshal Clausel, Mauguin, Bignon, and Larabit, made a vigorous attack on the ministerial policy; but in answer to the question, "What would you have done in our place?—what are your plans?" they had nothing definite to say. In the debate, in which Guizot defended the ministry, and attacked the republican party, he said, the doctrines of this party were, contempt of everything that has been, of everything that is, hatred of the constitution of 1830, the necessity of reconstructing everything in government, in legislation, in society: "This party, which I will not call the republican party, but the bad revolutionary party, weakened, exhausted, is now incapable of amendment or of repentance: the revolution of July is everything that was good, legitimate, and national in our first revolution; and it is all that, converted into government." The answer was finally adopted in the ministerial sense by 282 to 73. In the Chamber of Peers, the ministers had an easier victory; and at present, they no longer thought of resigning.

It was during the debates on the law as to the publication of the electoral lists and the jury, and the discussions on the grades and decorations granted during the Hundred Days, and on the peerage, that the news reached Paris (16th of September) of the capture of Warsaw, which became both the cause and the pretext of serious disorders. People collected in several parts of the city with tumultuous cries; a gunsmith's shop was plundered, and the windows of the Hôtel of Foreign Affairs were broken. On the 17th, the agitation increased, and even some attempts were made to construct barricades; but the National Guard and the troops of the line were firm, and the tumult gradually subsided on the 18th, and the following day. There was, no doubt, a deep sympathy with the Poles among all the French; but the attempt to rise must be attributed to what M. Guizot called the bad party. Mauguin, the implacable enemy of Casimir Périer, being provoked by an attack of the president of the council, charged the ministers with encouraging revolutions which they now disavowed: he reminded the Chamber that Casimir Périer had obstinately refused to sign the act by which Charles X. was declared to be dethroned, and that all the present ministers, in the month of July, had defended the existing order of things, while the people were fighting. He said it was the restoration, all entire, that was now in power; and that there was the mischief—there was the danger. M. Dupin the elder, maintained that all the disturbances were owing to three elements—Carlism, Republicanism, and Bonapartism: and that all the movements had one object—the overthrow of the existing social order. The defeat of the Poles, and the ineffectual

attempts at insurrection in Paris, terminated the agitation which the revolution of July had communicated to continental Europe. The final settlement of the Belgian question was still retarded by the obstinacy of the Dutch king, but the conference were resolved to bring him to terms, and to use force if he would not yield. A new treaty of separation had been arranged by the conference, and communicated in October to the envoys of Belgium and Holland. It consisted of twenty-four articles, which the conference declared to be final. These articles, with respect to the territorial limits, were the greatest inroads on the settlement of the Congress of Vienna which the year 1830 produced.

In October the chief debate was on the question of the hereditary peerage. Casimir Périer said, that theory, that experience was in favour of it, but that public opinion was against it; yet the ministers, on this question, yielded to opinion; and leaving to the Chamber a great part of the responsibility of this determination, they proposed that it be declared that the peerage ceases to be hereditary. The chief defenders of the hereditary principle were, Thiers, Guizot, Berryer, Kératry, Jars, and Royer-Collard. Thiers maintained that the government, which was composed of the three forces, kingly power, democracy, and aristocracy, by which he meant an hereditary peerage, presented the best conditions of durability; and England was an example of this. The arguments on both sides in this debate are worth reading. It was shown that there are advantages and disadvantages in either system, as there are in all political institutions. The question of hereditary peerage, said Royer-Collard, is a question of revolution: "with the destruction of the hereditary principle, the peerage perishes; with the peerage, perchance hereditary royalty; and in the republic, even the principle of stability, of dignity, of duration." The hereditary peerage was abolished by a majority of 386 to 40, and the nomination of members of the Chamber of Peers was declared to belong to the king, who was limited in his choice to certain classes of persons, which the law determined: the number was unlimited; their rank only for life; and for the future no allowance, no pension, no dotation, could be attached to the dignity of peer. It was a grave question whether the Peers should be allowed to pronounce their own sentence, or whether the Deputies should be the sole organ of that opinion; in obedience to which, as Casimir Périer said, the ministers prepared a law in opposition to their convictions. More than a month elapsed between the vote of the Chamber of Deputies and the presentation of the new law to the Chamber of Peers. If the Peers should reject it, the government would be embarrassed; for it could not be supposed that the Peers could maintain their existence against the will of the nation and the Chamber of Deputies. The ministry could not consent that the Chamber of Deputies should alone exercise the power of remodelling the Constitution. Out of this dilemma the ministers only escaped by a creation of new Peers; and on the 20th of November appeared an ordonnance in the 'Moniteur,' by which thirty-six Peers for life were created, in order to destroy the privilege of those who already sat in the Chamber. On the 28th of December the law passed the Peers by a majority of 33 only; three less than the number of newly-created Peers. In 1832 (9th of January), thirteen Peers sent in their resignation of the peerage, in letters to the president, founding their motives on the abolition of their hereditary rank; but the Chamber refused to read the letters.

A measure had already been proposed for the perpetual banishment of the Bourbons; and it was proposed again on the 17th of September, 1831. It met with considerable opposition from M. Pagès, and Martignac, once the minister of Charles X.: it was supported by Guizot, as a legal and written sanction of the fact of the Revolution of July, and carried by 251 votes to 69. It also passed the Chamber of Peers. The law declared (10th April, 1832,) that the territory of France and of its colonies was interdicted for ever to Charles X., who had been deposed by the Declaration of the 7th of August, 1830, to his descendants, and to the husbands and wives of his descendants (Art. 1); and it was declared (Art. 2) that the persons designated in the preceding article could not enjoy in France any civil right, nor possess any property, or acquire any in any way. It was also declared that the dispositions of Articles 1 and 2 were applicable to the ascendants and descendants of Napoleon; to his uncles and aunts, to his nephews and nieces, to his brothers, their wives, and their descendants; to his sisters and to their husbands. By a royal ordonnance of the 8th of April, 1831, the statue of Napoleon was to be again placed on the column in the Place Vendome, and yet none of his family were to be permitted to see the monument of a man who, in the report made to the king, on which the ordonnance was founded, was called "the great captain, whose genius directed the victories of our legions; the able monarch, who made order succeed to anarchy, restored to religion its altars, and gave to society this immortal code which still governs us."

A telegraphic dispatch of the 22nd of November brought to Paris the intelligence of serious disturbances at Lyon, the great seat of the silk manufactory, in consequence of the demands of the workmen. On the 25th of November, Casimir Périer made a communication to the two Chambers on the troubles in Lyon. Before the troubles of July, the silk fabrics of Lyon had suffered from foreign competition, and wages had been reduced, according to the minister's statement, twenty-five per cent., but the reduction seems to have been much more than this, for it is stated that in November, 1831, the workmen employed in some branches of the silk trade got only eighteen sous for a day's labour of eighteen hours. Hunger drove the workmen to seek some relief against their sufferings, and they demanded a minimum rate of wages to be fixed. The matter was discussed between twenty-two workmen and twenty-two masters, who were named

by the Chamber of Commerce. A table of wages was agreed on and published to the great joy of the Lyonnais workmen; but most of the masters were dissatisfied with the new rate of wages, which they affirmed to have been extorted by fear; and it was also urged against the table that it was illegal, which was true. On the 10th of November, a hundred and four masters signed a protest against the table of wages; and on the 17th of November, the préfet, who had shown himself favourable to the workmen's demands, addressed a letter to the council of prud'-hommes, in which he said that the table of prices having never had the force of law, it was not binding on any person, and, at the most, could only be considered as an honourable engagement, which might be the basis of a settlement between masters and workmen. There was enough here for a serious quarrel, and various circumstances increased the irritation on both sides. On Monday, the 21st of November, the silk-workers, to the number of several hundreds, collected at the Croix-Rousse armed with sticks. Their object was to prevent any of the looms from working until the table of prices was recognized; and some of the men visited the shops, to drive away those who were still working. This was the beginning of a fray, in which several of the workmen were shot by the grenadiers of the first legion, which was mainly composed of masters. This was a signal for the rising of Croix-Rousse, a town close to Lyon, occupied nearly altogether by workmen. Barricades were made in all the streets; two pieces of cannon belonging to the National Guard of Croix-Rousse fell into the hands of the insurgents, who marched upon Lyon with drums beating, and a black flag, bearing the inscription, "To live by labour, or die fighting." On the 22nd of November the combat was renewed, and the workmen were victorious: the National Guards showed little disposition to fight, and the troops of the line opposed to the insurgents a feeble and irresolute resistance. But the triumph of the workmen was short. On the 3rd of December was announced the arrival of marshal Soult and the duke of Orleans, the king's eldest son, at the head of a powerful army, which imposed submission. The table of prices, and all the arrangements connected with it, were suppressed; the people were disarmed; the National Guard, part of whom had refused to fight against the workmen, were dissolved; a strong garrison was posted in Lyon, and military works were ordered to be constructed. The troops were rewarded, and sums of money were appropriated for the relief of the workmen. The insurrection of Lyon was not a political movement: no name was appealed to, not even that of the Republic. The president of the council, in speaking of it on the 17th of December (1831) in the Chamber of Deputies, dwelt on this circumstance as a proof of the strength of the government. But though not a political insurrection, it grew out of a principle or a fact, which contains the germ of a contest which threatens the whole social body. The ministers did not perceive, or seemed not to perceive, in the real causes of such an explosion as that of Lyon, the symptoms of disease in the social system; of maladies, some of which are beyond the reach of cure; others, the result of causes long in operation, slowly and silently working on the life of a nation, more powerful than kings and dynasties, than armed men, and all the dread apparel of war.

The evils under which society was suffering in France made men think of the means of remedying them. The benevolent and the enthusiastic groan over the sufferings of their brethren: they believe that man is made for happiness, and that the means may be discovered. More generous than those who, in the possession of wealth and its concomitant, power, see misery around them, and are content to see it, so long as it does not reach themselves, the ardent reformers of our social systems may yet increase the measure of sorrows over which they lament, if they set out from principles that are not true. The doctrines of St. Simon at this time were cultivated by some zealous disciples, for the founder died five years before the Revolution of July. He was a man of noble family, the inheritor of the name and of the arms of the duc de St. Simon, the historian of the reign of Louis XIV. His life was spent in studying society in all its forms, and learning by his own experience what it was. His fundamental principle was a kind of human perfectibility, though he admitted that the experience of the past showed no example of it. But society was progressive: it had its organic epochs, and its critical epochs. His different works, as they are expounded, present a boldness and some originality of conception. He divided society into two classes, the workers, and the idle; and his belief was, that in some future time the workers would prevail and govern. In his different writings he had appealed to three classes of labours into which he distributed society,—the scientific men, the industrial class, and artists. The bond of union among all classes was his new Christianity, founded on the precept of Jesus Christ, that men should love one another as brethren. Thus, according to St. Simon, the religious power should be that which, embracing the whole of humanity, should conduct it towards the Christian object; that is to say, the improvement of the condition of the more numerous class. "Religion was yet to be established, and it could only be established when a system should be discovered adapted to effect the concurrent action, under the impulse of a power gifted at the same time with exquisite sentiment, profound science, and indefatigable activity, of artists, men of science, and the industrials: such, according to St. Simon, were the bases of the new Christianity."* The founder died full of faith and hope, leaving to a few disciples, who attended him in his last moments, the bequest of his doctrines, with the encouraging word, "The fruit is ripe: you will gather it." St. Simon's doctrines were elaborated by his disciples; the leaders of whom were

* L. Blanc, 'Hist. de Dix Ans,' iii., c. 3.

MM. Enfantin and Bazard. Their historical investigation of the progress of humanity under its three divisions, artistical, scientific, and industrial, which they adopted from their master, resulted in these three formulæ: universal association founded on love, and consequently no more competition: to each man according to his capacity; to each capacity according to its works; and consequently, no more succession, testamentary or intestate: organization of industry, and consequently no more war. The first formula demolished modern society, which is founded on the principle of competition. But this system had not the merit of consistency; for it is well observed by the writer from whom this sketch is taken, and who declares that the first and third formulæ "showed a perfect understanding of the laws which are hereafter to govern humanity," that by the second formula they "destroyed with one hand the edifice which they were erecting with the other." For to give to each according to his capacity, and to each capacity according to its works, is to admit the result that is now obtained by competition. To each man according to his real wants, not the factitious wants of the actual society; and for society to demand of each according to his capacity, according to his faculties, is the only formula which is consistent with universal love: a doctrine which is the doctrine of Christianity, which has established the principle, but has left to us the mode of its application; imposing on each man, under the system of competition, so long as men live under that system, and without making any declarations as to the system itself, the duty of practising the doctrine in this life, under the penalty of being punished in the next for breach of its observance; and making the breach of the duty in this world too, by the laws which govern society, penal and punishable by the calamities which from time to time overtake all nations, in which the selfish principle of individual enjoyment prevails over the duty of brotherly love.

The doctrines of St. Simon received an impulse from the Revolution of July; and the narrow school of the founder was enlarged into an active society. The 'Globe,' which the doctrinaires had quitted, fell into the hands of Pierre Leroux, and became the organ of the St. Simonians, who were already in possession of the 'Organisateur.' The 'Globe' was distributed gratuitously. The St. Simonians established in the Rue Taitbout a kind of conventicle, where, every Sunday, young men, dressed in blue, sat on benches, with some women among them, clothed in white and with violet scarfs. The audience crowded the rest of the apartment. The two fathers, Bazard and Enfantin, then made their appearance, conducting the preacher, at whose approach the disciples rose, the spectators the while either serious or disposed to laugh, according to their various tempers. Yet when the preacher spoke, the solemnity of the subject and his eloquence made even the most sceptical listen, and leave the place with profound impressions. The society in Paris corresponded with the departments, and its missionaries went about France propagating their doctrines, received sometimes with enthusiastic admiration, at others with sneers and hooting, but still zealous and indefatigable. "MM. Jean Reynaud and Pierre Leroux had been sent to Lyon, which they set in a flame, and which was destined to retain an imperishable remembrance of their visit." (L. Blanc.)* Yet there was not perfect unity among the missionaries: they were agreed as to the form in which the great problems of society should be stated, but not in the mode of solving them. In their missions each preacher followed his own inspirations: some were mystical, and some were revolutionary. As it was not a consistent system, it necessarily led to divergences; and the doctrine of "to each according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its works," contained enough to ensure its destruction. Accordingly the doctrines underwent transformations, and the school, assuming a new phase, preached a dubious morality which ended in its dissolution. Enfantin and Bazard, the two fathers, men of very different characters and temperament, were divided in opinion, and a schism arose. The two popes, as it was said by the journalists of the time, could not agree, and at last Michel Chevalier, a member of the college, announced in a letter† of the 22nd of November, 1831, that the Père Enfantin had declared himself sole head of the St. Simonian religion: he gave to Père Olinde Rodriguez the direction of industrial labours; and he told Père Bazard that the phase in which his profound reason had rendered such eminent services to the doctrine was accomplished; and that he declared himself sole head of the St. Simonian religion: all the members of the college have recognized the authority of Père Enfantin, whose voice, said the letter, will rally round us the artists and the women, the beings of love and of poetry. The further history of the society is curious, amusing, and ridiculous; and yet it has its serious aspect.

The most important law passed in the early part of 1832, was that which provided for the civil list. The law presented to the Chamber of Deputies (4th of October, 1831), comprehended a dotation both of immoveable property and moveables, and a sum of money. Laffitte, on the 15th of December, 1830, had presented a draft of a law, in which the amount of the civil list was fixed at 18 millions; but this demand caused a great outcry, and it was withdrawn for the time. Casimir Périer brought forward again the question of the civil list; but, in compliance with "an

* The difference in the effect of Robert Owen's preaching in England, and the preaching in France, was owing partly to the different mode in which the doctrines were presented, and partly to the greater susceptibility of the French. But in France the fact of St. Simonianism proclaiming itself as a religion was injurious to it. Religious indifference was invincible. Those who are curious to see one of the latest expositions of Mr. Owen's system, will find it in his 'New Moral World.'

† This letter is printed in the 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1831,' p. 272.

august wish," he left the amount of money blank. After a committee had made its report to the Chamber on this question, M. de Cormenin, one of the members of the committee, commenced a series of published letters on the subject, which caused a great sensation. He showed that the three consuls, one of whom was Bonaparte, only cost the nation 1,050,000 francs a year, and that Louis-Philippe was going to have more than Charles X. The scheme met with much opposition. In his defence of it, Montalivet said, "Luxury must not be banished from the dwelling of the king of France, for it would soon be banished from the dwellings of his subjects." The words "king of France" and "subjects" caused an explosion of indignation, and one of the most tumultuous scenes that had been witnessed in the Chamber. A protest against these words, drawn up by Odilon-Barrot, was signed by 165 Deputies. The law on the civil list was carried by 259 to 107 votes; rather a strong minority on such a question. The law endowed the crown with the Louvre, the Tuileries, the Elysée-Bourbon, and the châteaus, houses, buildings, manufactures, lands, meadows, farms, woods and forests, principally comprising the domains of Versailles, Marly, St. Cloud, and other places: with the apanage of Orléans, established by the edicts of 1661, 1672, and 1692; and with the diamonds, pearls, pictures, and other articles contained in the Garde-Meuble and the royal palaces. The king was to receive annually from the public treasury 12 millions of francs; a dower was to be provided for the queen, if she survived the king: the prince royal was to have a million of francs a year; if the private domain should be insufficient, the allowances to the younger sons and the princesses was to be regulated by special laws. The king was to keep all the property which he had before his accession; and this property, and whatever he might acquire, were to constitute his private domain, and the king was to have the power of disposing of it, either in his life-time or by testament, without being subjected to the rules of the Code Civil, which limited the amount that a testator could dispose of.* At the time when the king was applying to the Chamber for money, the suit of the family of Rohan, for invalidating the duc de Bourbon's will, was going on. The family of Rohan lost the rich inheritance of the duc de Bourbon, but the royal family gained no credit by the judicial investigation. The press was ever active, and its language provoked government prosecutions. In February, 1832, the responsible editors of the 'Révolution,' the 'Gazette de France,' and of the 'Courrier de l'Europe,' were convicted by a jury of an attack upon the power which the king held by the wish of the French nation, by the insertion of certain articles in their respective journals. They were severally condemned to three months' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of 3,000 francs.

A government had been destroyed in three days, but it takes many years to calm the waves of popular insurrection. About five o'clock on the evening of the 4th of January, some men who had got admission to the towers of Notre Dame began to ring the bell, and set fire to one of the towers, in the hope of exciting the people to rise. One of the men, who was seized, being asked his profession, said that he was an insurrectionist (*émeutier*). The affair was in itself of little importance, but it indicated the disposition of some of the people. Another conspiracy of a different kind was soon detected, not one of poor miserable workmen, who thought that the ringing of a bell would at any time overthrow a dynasty. This time it was something more serious; it was the partizans of the fallen dynasty who aimed to overthrow the dynasty of July. It was well known that the agents of the Bourbons were active, and looking out for their opportunity. The day for the execution of the scheme, after being deferred several times, was fixed for the night of the 1st of February (1832). The conspirators were to assemble at three places, one of which was a house in the Rue Provaires, where the leaders met. Their design was to seize the royal family, and to proclaim Henry V. But the police was prepared, the leading conspirators were seized in the Rue Provaires, in the midst of a discharge of guns and pistols; and the inhabitants of Paris knew nothing of the affair till they saw the account of it in the journals the next day. The conspirators were tried: some were condemned to deportation, and others were imprisoned for different periods.

The disturbed state of Central Italy still occupied the attention of Europe. The papal states were in a wretched condition; the administration in the hands of ecclesiastics, who could only govern by force; the people heavily taxed and oppressed; in fine, a government, both in form and practice, one of the worst that has ever existed. The five great powers, by a note dated 21st of May, 1831, and addressed to the Holy See, recommended certain reforms, as the only means of tranquillizing Italy; that the principle of popular election should be admitted as the basis of the communal and provincial assemblies; that there should be a central body for the revision of all branches of administration; that laymen should be admissible to all the offices of the state; and some other measures of a like import. Pope Gregory XVI. responded by an edict, which eluded the conclusions of the five powers: he refused to allow the participation of laymen in the administration; a refusal which in itself characterized the whole papal system. This refusal of the pope, and other measures, exasperated the inhabitants of the papal states, which became a scene of tumult and disorder: and the pope at last resolved to send his troops into the legations, to dissolve the civic guard. Of the five powers, England alone expressed her disapprobation of the pope's conduct: the other powers all agreed in approving of the pope's measures, and in abandoning the inhabitants of Romagna, who were the most refractory, to the vengeance of the Holy Father and his mercenary troops. The ambassador of France,

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1832,' Appendice, p. 1.

M. de Saint-Aulaire, said that if any resistance should be made to the pacific mission of the pope's soldiers, he had no hesitation in declaring that those who made resistance would be considered the most dangerous enemies of the general peace by the French government. The troops of the Holy Father did meet with resistance in Romagna; and after routing the civic guard, committed horrible excesses. "The groans of the victims of Forli and Cesena were answered by a formidable echo in Italy; and unfortunately the name of the French government was at the bottom of every cry of malediction or of anguish." (L. Blanc.) The truth of these massacres is attested by a proclamation of the commandant, Barbieri, and a note of Cardinal Albani, which expressed some regret at the occurrence of this unfortunate affair. Bologna was resolved to resist the Holy Father and his band of soldiers, many of whom were said to have been recruited in the prisons; but the Austrians were called in by the pope, and occupied Bologna. They preserved strict discipline; and if they came to drive the Bolognese back to their obedience to the Holy See, they at least saved them from the vengeance of the pope's soldiers. All the towns were glad to receive an Austrian garrison instead of a papal one, or at least to have both. While the passions of men were desolating society, the very soil of Italy heaved with convulsive throes. Vesuvius vomited forth its burning entrails, and towns were reduced to ruins by the shocks of the earthquake. In Foligno scarcely a house was left habitable, and other towns sustained great damage. The Austrians were at Bologna; and all at once the French appeared at Ancona, and took possession of the place. The *Suffren* and two frigates were sent from Toulon with 1,100 men. The vessels made the circuit of Italy with great expedition, and on the 23rd of February, 1832, the tri-colour flag floated over the fortress of Ancona, by the side of the papal colours. The cause of this sudden descent on Italy was rather jealousy of Austrian interference, than a desire to relieve the inhabitants of the papal states from their oppression. However, the inhabitants of Ancona received the invaders joyfully: anybody was more welcome than the spiritual chief under whose temporal rule they groaned. The pope fell into a violent passion at this invasion of his territory, and the French minister got little credit for the boldness of his measure; for it was asked what was the object in sending a few hundred men to seize on a papal town? It could not be to force the Austrians to evacuate Italy: that would require an army; nor to protect the people against the Holy Father, for the French ambassador had declared that the pope ought to chastise his people if they did not submit. The only conclusion then was, that the ministry had no clear, well-defined object in this expedition; and this was sufficient to condemn them. All that could be said for them was, that the seizing of Ancona was a demonstration to the Austrians, that the French did not intend to let them do as they liked in Italy.

In the month of March, 1832, there was disturbance in various parts of France, particularly in the south. The most serious disturbances were at Grenoble, where they began on Sunday, the 11th of March, with some young men who appeared in a masquerade dress, which in the eyes of the authorities had an offensive allusion to the king, the ministers, and various political personages. This was the beginning of a contest between the people and the authorities, which ended in bloodshed. The préfet of the Isère being informed that this allegorical masquerade was to appear at a ball announced for the evening, wished to prevent the scandal, and he forbade the ball to take place. The next day the young men assembled in the court of the prefecture to show their disapprobation of the measures adopted the day before. The tumult increased; the soldiers were called in; and without the formality of summoning the crowd to disperse, they charged with bayonets, and wounded several persons. This affair was one of the many symptoms of political discontent in France, and the cause of some debates in the Chamber of Deputies. The tumult at Grenoble happened during the discussion of the budget; and the masquerade represented the budget and the two supplementary credits, which were the subject of long and tedious debates. In a constitutional government the annual budget is a matter which people look to with anxiety. Modern governments are continually increasing their expenses, for which they have always reasons to allege, more specious than true; and those who pay the taxes see little hope of checking a career which must some time be fatal to the tranquillity of society. The ordinary credits demanded for the government of July, in 1832, were above 950 millions; and the extraordinary credits above 141 millions: the whole amounting to 1 milliard, 97 millions, 708,012 francs, not including the civil list. It was less than the expenses of 1831 by about 74 millions; but the last budget of Charles X. was not much above 983 millions. The Restoration had been charged with a lavish expenditure of the public income; and it was a popular notion, it was generally supposed, that after the Revolution of July the government would enter on a course of economy, and cut down with a vigorous hand the table of expense. But it was just the reverse: the expenditure, instead of being diminished, was increased. The whole amount of the credits finally granted for 1832, including the civil list, was 1 milliard, 116 millions, 618,270 francs. It was Thiers who presented to the Chamber the result of the labours of the committee on the budget, and had to defend and explain the necessity of so large a demand.

The Chamber of Deputies had passed a law for re-establishing the faculty of divorce, but the law was rejected by the Chamber of Peers. The faculty of divorce had been abolished by a law of the 8th of May, 1816. Portalis contended that the power of separation (*séparation de corps*) which existed, attained the same object which it was proposed to attain by divorce, and that it was more conformable to the interests of

families and to those of the state. On the question of marriages between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, which was forbidden by the Code Civil (Art. 162), both the Chambers were agreed that a prohibition so contrary to the opinion of the French nation ought to be removed. It was modified in rather a singular way, by a new Article (164), which declared that it was permitted to the king, for grave causes, to remove the prohibitions contained in Article 162, against marriages between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and those contained in Article 163, against marriages between an uncle and a niece, and between an aunt and a nephew. On another matter the two Chambers were not agreed; the Chamber of Deputies wished to abrogate the solemn festival of the 21st of January; but the Chamber of Peers considered that such a measure would be an attack on royalty, and they adjourned the consideration of it. On the 21st of April, 1832, a royal proclamation declared that the session of 1831 was terminated.

In the month of March the cholera visited Paris, where it carried off a great number of people. It attacked the poor first, but the rich did not escape. Terror spread through Paris: most of the wealthy ran away; Deputies and Peers left their duties; but the king and his family remained. The calamity called forth the generous sympathies of many charitable persons, and the duc d'Orléans was one of the active benefactors of the poor. In the month of April alone it is said that above 12,000 persons died of the cholera, and that the whole number who died during the 189 days of the malady was above 18,000; and even this number, which is stated in an elaborate report, is supposed to be below the truth. The health of Casimir Périer had long been declining: the devouring atmosphere of a political life and an ardent temperament wore him out. He was not the man to bear the burden of power with impunity. On the same day (16th of May) on which the minister died, Georges Cuvier was buried, a man who left behind him a lasting name.

The party of Henry V. was still active, but it was divided. The duchess of Berri had left Holyrood for the continent, and fixed her residence at Massa, in the duchy of Massa. Charles X. gave her the duc de Blacas as her adviser; and though he conferred on the duchess the title of regent, the duc de Blacas was really invested with all the powers. But a king who had abdicated could not exercise power; and marshal Bourmont and the comte de Kergorlay, who were with the duchess at Massa, would not recognize the authority of Charles X. to confer the title of regent: they thought that the duchess should assume it as of right. The duc de Blacas was at last prevailed upon to return to Scotland, and to lay before Charles X. the opinions of the other advisers of the duchess. As soon as the duke was out of the way, the duchess and her partisans pushed on the communications with the South of France and La Vendée with great vigour: proclamations were prepared, and an ordonnance, signed by Marie-Caroline as regent of the kingdom, and dated from Massa, the 5th of February, 1832, established a provisional government at Paris. Though the royalists were divided in their councils, this did not prevent preparations for insurrection being made in the West, where men were armed, and only waiting for the signal to begin. About the close of April, 1832, the duchess of Berri, accompanied by a few friends, made her way by night to the coast, where she long waited in anxious expectation for the arrival of a steam-boat, which had been purchased for her. At last a light gleamed in the distance; and the duchess, who had wrapped herself up in a cloak and fallen asleep on the sand, was roused by her companions. She embarked with marshal Bourmont, Kergorlay, and a few other devoted adherents; and on the 28th of April, at two in the morning, the vessel was off the Phare de Planier, on the French coast, near which she was to land. The night was stormy and dark. A frail bark was in readiness to receive the duchess, who boldly left the steam-boat, and committed herself to the dangers of the sea. A landing was safely effected, and the lively regent clambered up the rocks to a small hut, which had been prepared for her. In the mean time the news of the landing spread about Marseille, and a rising was attempted, but it was a complete failure. The duchess, however, would not give up her enterprise, and she traversed France in a post-chaise, and reached the château of Plassac, near Saintes, without being detected. At Plassac was drawn up the order which fixed the rising for the 24th of May. On the 21st of May the duchess was at the métairie of Mesliers, where she had an interview with the chiefs, whom she summoned to meet her. But the failure of the rising in the South, which was a condition of La Vendée taking up arms, was urged by the chiefs as a reason for declining to take a part in a movement which promised no success. In vain the regent appealed to them by every motive: they remained fixed in their resolution. In the mean time M. Berryer was sent by the partisans of Henry V. at Paris, to entreat the duchess to withdraw from La Vendée, and she promised to go; but at last she positively refused. The order for the rising on the 24th of May was countermanded by the advice of Bourmont, who arrived at Nantes on the 19th of May; and a new order, concerted between the marshal and the princess, fixed it for the 3rd of June. But these wavering plans discouraged the insurgents; and some of the regent's partisans, who had not received notice of the countermand, and were already in motion, were crushed before they could receive assistance. The government acted with vigour, and the partial risings were put down with unsparing severity. The duchess now left her hiding-place at the Mesliers, and rambled through the woods and over the marshes, till she made her way to Nantes, dressed as a peasant. She chose this city for her hiding-place, because it was not favourable to her cause; and for this reason she thought that the government would not look for her there.

This was the end of the attempt of the legitimists in La Vendée: it was now the turn of the Republicans at Paris. In the month of May, Laffitte assembled at his house the opposition Deputies who were in Paris, and proposed that they should present an address to the king. This proposition was opposed by Garnier-Pagès, and it was resolved that the complaints of the opposition should be addressed to France in the form of a compte-rendu.* This document was drawn up and published, and it produced a great sensation. The first paragraph shows the general tenor of it: "The undersigned, convinced of the dangers of a system which removes the government further and further from the Revolution to which it owes its existence, consider it, in the present state of France, the most imperious of their duties to give an account to their constituents of their principles and of their votes: if it has not been in their power to bring back the government to those conditions on which its conservation depends, it is at least in their power to indicate the danger." At this time general Lamarque died, and his funeral was fixed for the 5th of June. This was a good opportunity for the enemies of the government to make a muster and to display their strength, while they were doing honour to the memory of a brave soldier and an eloquent defender of the popular cause. The republican party were ready for a rising, but there was wanting a centre of union, a man to guide and direct. The government, anticipating some disturbance, had above 24,000 men in Paris, and more than that number in the neighbourhood. The procession was conducted with tolerable order, till it came to the place where the funeral harangues were to be pronounced. Lafayette, marshal Clauzel, and others, made their address in sober, serious language; but they were followed by more violent speakers, who excited the audience. A collision between the citizens and the troops was generally expected, and both parties were prepared for it. How the fray began, may be hard to say; but it did begin, and it became an insurrection. Within three hours from the time when the contest began, one half of Paris was in the power of the insurgents. Before the close of the evening, it seemed as if the advantage must remain on the side of the insurrection, though the working class, taught by the experience of July, had not yet been roused in a mass. On the morning of the 6th, nobody had appeared to give to the movement a character and a direction: no man of note had lent his name. There were men who wished, but feared: there were many who hated the dynasty of July; but a man was wanting who should be bold enough to proclaim its overthrow. From this time the insurgents lost all chance: a few men fought with desperation against overwhelming numbers, but the hopelessness of their cause was now apparent. On the 6th a royal ordonnance declared Paris in a state of siege; and at mid-day the king reviewed the troops in the Place Louis XV. and in the Champs Elysées; and after going along the boulevards to the Bastille, he passed through the faubourg St. Antoine, and along the quais to the Louvre, by which he entered the Tuileries. Though the revolt was crushed, it was an act of courage in the king to expose himself to the risk of assassination. The ministers did not fail to make the most of their victory: several journals were seized, and Armand Carrel, the chief editor of the 'National,' was arrested. Three ordonnances severally declared the dissolution of the Polytechnic School, of the Veterinary School of Alfort, and of the artillery of the National Guard at Paris. The whole number of persons tried for taking part in the insurrection was only twenty-one; the greater part of whom were acquitted; and none were capitally punished.*

The defeat of the republicans seemed to secure the throne of Louis-Philippe; and another event removed a possible competitor. On the 22nd of July died, at Schoenbrunn, near Vienna, at the age of twenty-one, the duke of Reichstadt, the son of Napoleon and of Maria-Louisa of Austria, king of Rome in his cradle, and the sole legitimate representative of him who made and unmade kings. In the month of August, Louis-Philippe married his daughter Louisa to the new king of Belgium, at Compiègne, and thus commenced his family alliances with the crowned heads of Europe. The government now began its attacks on the St. Simonians, some of whom, since the schism between Enfantin and Bazard, had established themselves at Ménilmontant, under Enfantin, to practise a life of community. On the 27th of August, the Père Enfantin, Michel Chevalier, Barrault, Duveyrier, and Olinde Rodrigues, were brought before the cour d'assises, charged with violating Art. 291 of the Code Pénal, which forbids meetings of more than twenty persons, and with outraging public morality. The defence of the accused was singular, but ingenious, and it contained some striking truths. They were convicted: Enfantin, Duveyrier, and Chevalier, were condemned to one year's imprisonment and a fine of 100 francs each: Rodrigues and Barrault to pay a fine of 50 francs only. The society of the St. Simonians was declared to be dissolved; but their doctrines were not entirely lost, and the seeds were sown which germinated afterwards.

The session was approaching, and it was necessary for the king to strengthen his ministry. On the 11th of October an ordonnance in the 'Moniteur' declared that the duc de Broglie was minister of foreign affairs; Thiers, minister of the interior; Guizot, of public instruction; and Humann, of finance: Soult was retained as minister of war, with the title of president of the council; and Barthe was minister of justice. Sixty peers were created. One memorable act

* "28 Mai, 1832 - Compte-rendu des députés de l'opposition à nos commettans." It was signed by 135 Deputies.

* The history of this memorable insurrection is contained in the 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1832,' and in a well-written chapter in L. Blanc's 'Hist de Dix Ans,' vol. iii.

accompanied the accession of Guizot to power: in conformity to a report by him to the king, a royal ordonnance (26th of October) re-established the class of Moral and Political Sciences in the Institut of France. The first measure of the new ministry was to look after the regent, Marie-Caroline, who was hid in Nantes. The affairs of Belgium and Holland were still unsettled, and a fresh rising in the west of France might have had serious consequences, if the French should be engaged in a war on the northern frontier. The French and English governments had agreed to compel the Dutch king to accept the terms of the conference of London, and a combined French and English fleet commenced a blockade of the coast of Holland in November. A French army of 70,000 men crossed the Belgian frontier, under the command of marshal Gérard, who was accompanied by two of the king's sons, the duc d'Orléans and the duc de Nemours. The object was to take the citadel of Antwerp, which was still held for the king of Holland. While the two most powerful nations in Europe were falling with irresistible force upon the obstinate king of a petty state, to compel his submission to their terms, the French king carried on a campaign in the west, against his wife's niece. The duchess of Berri was arrested at Nantes on the 6th of November, through the treachery of a foreign Jew, who had turned Christian, and was admitted to the confidence of the duchess of Berri, from whom he had received many favours. The prisoner was immediately removed to the citadel of Blaye, on the right bank of the Gironde.

On the 19th of November the king went on horseback from the Tuileries to the Palais Bourbon, to open the session. Just at the moment when he reached the extremity of the Pont Royal, a pistol was discharged at him, but no person was hurt. The king displayed great presence of mind, and continued his course to the Palais Bourbon. In the midst of the confusion the assassin escaped, and none of the persons who had witnessed the attack could depose with precision to his person. Several men were arrested, but suspicion was strongest against a young man named Bergeron, though there was no positive proof. Bergeron's manner was singularly cool and collected: he admitted that he was one of the insurrectionists of June; and in reply to the question, "if he had not said that the king deserved to be shot," he answered, "I do not recollect having said it, but I think so." Notwithstanding this declaration, Bergeron was acquitted: he proved by several witnesses that he was not near the king when the pistol was fired. But the principle of assassination thus publicly avowed, disclosed the existence of a grievous political error and a depraved morality; for the condition of a nation does not depend on any one man's existence, and the crime of assassination cannot cure the evils of society. This perverse opinion was, however, not strange in a nation "where the memory of Brutus was the object of a classical worship." *

The debates on the speech from the throne gave the opposition in the Chamber of Deputies an opportunity for attacking the principles on which the government was administered; but the answer to the speech was carried in favour of the ministers by 233 votes to 119. In the mean time marshal Gérard was before the citadel of Antwerp: he opened his trenches on the 29th of November, and sent a message to inform general Chassé, the commandant of the citadel, that he was "sent by his government to demand the execution of the treaty of the 15th of November, 1831," and accordingly he hoped that the commandant would enter into negociations for the surrender of the citadel and the forts dependent on it. The commandant refused, and the siege commenced. The place was obstinately defended; and it was a heap of ruins when it surrendered on the 23rd of December, after a furious cannonade of twenty-four days and nights. The citadel of Antwerp was put in the hands of the Belgians, and the French army returned home.

The anxiety of the government was now centred in the prisoner of Blaye, whose health was said to be suffering from her confinement in a prison, which, according to one official report, was an unwholesome situation; and according to another official report, was wholesome. Thiers had shown wonderful activity in arresting the duchess; but when the minister had secured his captive, he did not know what to do with her. However, he was relieved from the more immediate responsibility in this affair, by a new arrangement in the cabinet, in consequence of which he took the department of public works, and M. d'Argout had the ministry of the interior. The liberals and republicans called for the trial of the duchess: they said that a great example should be made. The legitimists were loud in their expressions of devotion to the mother of Henri V. Petitions relative to the duchess flowed in to the Chamber of Deputies, and on the 5th of January, 1833, the ministers were called upon to explain what they intended to do with her.† The ministry insisted on the danger of bringing the duchess to trial, which was urged against them as an admission that the new government was not secure. If she was acquitted, there was danger; if she was condemned, there was embarrassment, for nobody could think of bringing her to the scaffold. The quarrel about the duchess grew warm out of doors between the republicans and the legitimists: challenges were sent, and a duel took place between Armand Carrel and Roux-Laboric, in which Carrel was wounded. The commandant of the citadel of Blaye, M. Chousseric, an officer of delicate feelings, was superseded; and general Bugeaud, a soldier of talent, but a rough and violent man, was appointed his successor. A rumour had already spread that the duchess was pregnant, and there was good reason for supposing

* L. Blanc, 'Hist. de Dix Ans,' iii. ch. 8.

† 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1833,' pp. 5, &c.

the rumour to be true; but the legitimists treated it as a calumny of the government. On the 22nd of February, 1833, she placed a paper in the hands of general Bugeaud, in which she declared that she had been privately married during her residence in Italy; and the declaration admitted, by implication, the fact of her pregnancy. The declaration of the 22nd was published in the 'Moniteur' of the 26th; and thus all Europe learned the secret of the niece of the king of the French. The advantage which the government hoped to gain over the legitimists by this disclosure was hardly compensated by the embarrassment which it caused. The legitimists still denied the fact of the pregnancy; but on the 9th of May the duchess gave birth to a female child in the citadel of Blaye; and the government took such precautions as to satisfy the most incredulous as to the fact of delivery. The declaration made on the birth of the child by M. Deneux, the accoucheur, in conformity to the instructions of the duchess, was to the effect "that the child was the daughter of the duchess of Berri, the lawful wife of count Hector Lucchesi-Palli, of the family of the princes of Campo-Franco, gentleman of the chamber to the king of the Two Sicilies, domiciliated at Palermo." On the 8th of June the duchess, now the countess Lucchesi-Palli, was released from her prison, and set sail for Palermo, where she was met by the count Lucchesi-Palli. After some difficulty she obtained permission to visit, at Naples, the king of Naples, her brother; from Naples she went to Rome, where she was well received by the pope. Charles X. and the duke of Bordeaux had left Scotland, and were now at Prague; and Marie-Caroline was impatient to see her two children. But Charles and his advisers did not wish her to come: they disapproved of her conduct, both as to the expedition of La Vendée and her marriage; and they wished to bring up the duc de Bourdeaux in their own way. In fact, Charles X. and his son had never shown at any time resolution enough to run all dangers, either before the Restoration or after; and they had some reason for disliking a woman who had displayed so much courage in supporting her son's claim. After many obstacles, Marie-Caroline finally obtained permission to enter the Austrian territory, but she was not allowed to go to Prague. Charles X. met her at Leoben, and the interview was cold and reserved. General Latour-Maubourg was appointed by common consent to direct the education of the duc de Bordeaux; and the political career of Marie-Caroline was terminated.

On the 1st of April, 1833, the journal called 'La Tribune,' said, "The Chamber is at present engaged with the question of the fortifications of Paris—not fortifications to protect the capital, but to serve in case of need as the means of governing it." The 'Tribune' affirmed that the Chamber would vote any money that was asked of them, and that it was a prostituted Chamber. This article, and a second which attacked several Deputies, were denounced to the Chamber, which, by a large majority, determined that the journal should be summoned to their bar. The journal appeared on the 16th of April, in the person of M. Lionne, the conductor, and two of the editors, MM. Armand Marrast and Godefroy Cavaignac, in the presence of an immense number of spectators. Cavaignac and Marrast defended the 'Tribune' with courage and ability. "Your intentions, gentlemen," said Marrast, "may be excellent, and yet you have voted in two years more secret-service money than the Restoration asked for in the last six years." The Chamber, which was both accuser, judge, and jury, condemned M. Lionne to three years' imprisonment, and a fine of 10,000 francs. The 'Tribune' was condemned, but not defeated. It affirmed that there were 122 Deputies, who received among them above two millions of francs in salaries; and some of them for duties which were not performed. The taxes levied on foreign iron and steel, articles of the first necessity to agriculture and every branch of commerce, produced in the last year 2,380,000 francs; and the 'Tribune' affirmed that this tax was only maintained because it was for the interest of twenty-six ministerial Deputies; not including in this number two ministers, partners of M. Decazes in the new iron-works of the department of Aveyron. The debates of the session were more loud than productive. The two Chambers at last agreed to abolish the anniversary of the 21st of January, by a law expressed in these terms: "The law of the 19th of January, 1816, relative to the anniversary of the dreadful and ever-to-be-deplored day of the 21st of January, 1793, is abrogated." Among the laws of the session were, one relative to the organization of the councils of departments and of arrondissemens; one on primary instruction, presented by M. Guizot; and one relative to the expropriation f private property for public purposes. The law on primary instruction comprehended schools for primary elementary instruction, and schools for primary superior instruction. The Convention had entertained the subject of primary education for the children of the poor, and had sketched a large and liberal plan; but the times were too stormy to allow the conception to come to birth. Bonaparte did nothing: the French were for him merely breeders of soldiers. The Restoration was narrow in its views, and bigoted: it remained for the Revolution of July to establish primary education on a proper basis. It is difficult to estimate the merit of Guizot's plan and the value of the means for securing its efficacy. The allowance which the law gave to the teachers was small.* The law on the "expropriation" provided that the indemnity to be given to a person whose property was taken away for purposes of public utility should be fixed by a jury, the composition of which was determined by the law. On the 26th of June the session terminated.

The anniversary of July was approaching, and Paris was in a state of ferment, on account of the govern-

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1833,' Appendice, p. 38; 'Lois sur l'instruction primaire.'

ment having taken measures for fortifying Paris though no law had yet been passed on the subject. But the 'Moniteur,' on the 23rd of July, formally announced that the government had suspended the works on the detached forts, and that nothing further would be done without a vote of the Chamber of Deputies. The anniversary of the Revolution of July passed off quietly: the government had prepared a theatrical exhibition, which secured the good-humour of the Parisians. As the crowd was thronging the Place Vendôme, a veil was suddenly withdrawn from the summit of the column, and again there appeared in its place the statue of the man whose name will never be forgotten. The troops which defiled past the base of the column, mingled the cries of "Vive l'empereur" with cries of "Vive le roi." But society was still agitated, heaving like a volcano ready to eject its fiery flood. Associations of workmen were formed all over the kingdom for the purpose of getting higher wages, or having diminished labour; and Paris as usual, took the lead. Shoemakers, tailors, bakers, whose work is hard and life short, all complained, and all attempted to get relief. Early in February, 1833, Charles Teste had published a plan of a constitution founded on two articles, which demolished the whole fabric of society: "All property, moveable and immoveable, contained within the limits of the national territory, or possessed elsewhere by the members of society, belongs to the people, who can alone regulate the division of it:" and "labour is a debt which every able-bodied citizen owes to society; idleness ought to be branded as theft, and as a never-failing spring of immorality." In this year also, the "Société des Droits de l'Homme" published a programme, in which they called for a central power, elective, temporary, responsible, invested with great force, and acting with unity—the sovereignty of the people expressed by universal suffrage—the emancipation of the working class by a better division of labour, a more equitable division of the products of labour, and association—with other things. This programme was followed by the Declarations of the Rights of Man, which Maximilien Robespierre presented to the Convention.* The resuscitation of the terrible name of Robespierre was an imprudent act, and damaged the society in opinion. The manifesto was received with various and opposite sentiments, equally passionate and violent. Though Robespierre's Declaration is open to many objections, the 6th article is not, for it simply states a fact: "Property is the right which every citizen has to enjoy as he pleases the portion of things (*bien*) which is secured to him by the law." This is nothing more than saying that the nature of property is determined solely by positive law, which is true. And yet this article was interpreted by the enemies of the Society, and even by some lawyers who ought to have known better, to be a declaration in favour of a division of property.† Some time after the publication of this manifesto, twenty-seven members of the Société des Droits de l'Homme were tried for a conspiracy against the State. Among them were the chemist, Raspail, and four pupils of the Polytechnic School. The advocate-general charged the accused, among other things, with "aiming at a division of property, an equal division, in fact an agrarian law;" on which one of the witnesses told him that he was a liar, for which insult to the court he was condemned to three years' imprisonment. The trial of the accused ended on the 21st of December: the jury acquitted them all.

In 1831 a treaty was formed between England and France for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade; and in March, 1833, a supplementary treaty was signed at Paris, by which the provisions of the former treaty were confirmed and extended. The first treaty gave, in certain specified cases, a mutual right of search of the merchant-vessels of each nation to a limited number of French and English cruisers, a provision which in its nature might lead to serious misunderstandings between the two nations; and this probability was increased by the 6th article of the supplementary treaty. This article enumerated the various things which, if found on board a merchant-vessel, should establish a presumption that it was engaged in the slave-trade: one of the things that was in itself sufficient to establish this presumption, was "a greater supply of water than the wants of the crew of a merchant-vessel required." On the 29th of September, Ferdinand VII., king of Spain, died, leaving to his young wife, Christina, the regency, and to his daughter, Isabella II., a child three years old, a disputed title. In 1830, Ferdinand, who had no male issue, abolished the Salic law in Spain by his own authority, in order to give the crown to his eldest daughter, to the prejudice of his brother, Don Carlos. It was a grave question whether the king of the French should recognize queen Isabella; but both the king and his ministers were fully agreed to acknowledge the Spanish queen; and a special envoy was sent to convey this important news to Madrid.

Carlo-Alberto, himself once a conspirator, was now king of Sardinia; but a man, when he becomes a king, becomes also a new person; and the former comrades of Carlo-Alberto soon learned that he was no longer their friend. An association was organized, called Young Italy, on principles religious and democratic. The founder and leader was Mazzini; and the object was, the independence and unity of Italy; the means were, the sword and the pen. In 1833, Mazzini was at Geneva, where he organized an expedition which was to invade Italy by way of Savoy. The attempt was made in February, 1834, but it was a most miserable failure. The French king had at present nothing to fear from republican movements out of France.

* This Declaration is not generally known. It is printed in a note in L. Blanc's 'Hist. de Dix Ans,' vol. iv., ch. 3.

† The definition of property was not Robespierre's, after all: it was made by Mirabeau, or rather enunciated by him.

The session of 1834 opened on the 23rd of December, 1833. A deplorable event showed the exasperation of parties. On the 26th of January, M. Larabit denounced the arbitrary conduct of marshal Soult, as shown by the terms of a letter addressed to some officers. General Bugeaud observed, that soldier's first duty was to obey. "Must a man obey so far as to make himself a jailor?" said M. Dulong. These words led to a duel between Bugeaud and Dulong, in which Dulong was shot. He was a man much esteemed, and his funeral was attended by an immense body of people. The government took precautions against an insurrection, warned by the example of Lamarque's funeral; for the circumstances of the quarrel and the death of Dulong made this a political affair. The effect was heightened by M. Dupont (de l'Eure), a kinsman and friend of Dulong sending in his resignation of his seat as a deputy; the immediate cause of which, he said, was the death of his friend; but he had long meditated doing so in consequence of the conduct of the government and of the Chambers: he declared that the government had not the will, nor the Chamber the power, to control the dangers that threatened France. In February 1834, a law was passed, which declared that no person could publicly cry, sell, or distribute printed papers printed drawings or devices, or lithographed, without the previous license of the municipal authority: the prohibition also applied to singers in the public streets Many of the printed papers cried in the streets were in fact incentives to insurrection, or scandalous libels. The enforcement of the law caused some disturbances in Paris, at the Place de la Bourse, where a general distribution of the forbidden prints was to take place on the 25th of February; and the police, who fell upon the people with cudgels, are said to have maltreated all who came in their way. A projet de loi against all associations, a measure which was to increase the severity of the notorious Article 291 of the Code Pénal, made under the despotism of the Empire, gave rise to a violent discussion,* in which strong personalities were exchanged. Garnier Pagès observed, that three of the present ministers had, at a former time, acted in flagrant violation of Article 291; the duc de Broglie, by founding the "Society of the Friends of Liberty and of the Press;" M. Guizot, by being a director of the "Société Aide-toi;" and M. Barthe, by belonging to the association of the Carbonari. The law (10th April) declared, that the provisions of Article 291 of the Code Pénal were applicable to associations of more than twenty persons, even if the associations should be divided into sections of a smaller number; and if they should not meet daily, or on fixed days: any person who was a member of an association not authorized by the government, was punishable with imprisonment varying from two months to a year, and by fine varying from 50 to 1000 francs. The law against public criers, and that against associations, were followed up (4th of May) by a law against the makers, sellers, distributors, and holders of arms and of munitions of war. These severe measures were necessary, if the government was to exist; but at the same time they were the signal for open war against it. Lamartine, a new deputy, voted for the law against associations, but only because he thought it an urgent measure at the time.

In this session large sums were asked for the extraordinary credits of the year 1834; and one sum of 25 millions was a very particular demand. The United States of North America had long claimed from the French government indemnities to her citizens for the losses which they had sustained by the execution of the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon. These claims were not settled in the time of Napoleon: the Restoration always eluded them; but the government of July, anxious to keep on good terms with the Americans, agreed, by a treaty signed the 4th of July, 1831, to pay them 25 millions of francs. This treaty required to be ratified by a law, which was proposed to the Chamber of Deputies, and rejected by a majority of eight votes. The duc de Broglie immediately resigned; and this resignation was followed by the retirement of MM. Barthe and D'Argout. Thiers returned to the ministry of the interior, and retained the department of public works; M. Persil took the place of Barthe; Duchâtel was minister of commerce; and admiral Jacob had the marine.

The law against Associations roused the energy of all the societies; but though there were men all over France ready for a combat with the government, there was neither unity of opinion nor of action. The coolest heads saw the hazard of the contest, and checked the ardour of the less reflecting and more impetuous. Lyon, however, that ill-fated city, again tried its strength against the arm of power. Since the insurrection, the government had filled this city and all the neighbouring towns with troops, and had made formidable preparations to resist any outbreak. In 1834, mutuellisme, which had subsisted at Lyon since 1828, became a political element, though in its origin it was purely an industrial association among the silk-workers.* Early in 1834, the silk manufacture of Lyon was suffering, and some of the workmen, whose wages were already low, had to submit to a further reduction. The mutuellistes, appealed to by their suffering brethren, debated on the question of a general strike, which was carried by a majority; and those who did not belong to the Association were compelled by threats to desist from working. On the 12th of February, 1834, the looms of Lyon were all silent. Many of the workmen soon felt the effects of the strike: there was disunion among them, and some wished to return to their work in order to get bread for their starving families. The strike was short: the

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1834,' p. 101.

* See 'Règlement du Mutuellisme,' dated 30th October, 1831, printed among the 'Documents Historiques,' No. 7, in L. Blanc's 'Hist. de Dix Ans,' vol. iv.

time was not come for the republicans; and at their suggestion the workmen of Lyon returned to their labours before the end of February. But the tranquillity of Lyon was soon disturbed again by the law against Associations, which extended to industrial as well as to political societies. The mutuellistes declared, in the 'Echo de la Fabrique,' by the signatures of more than 2,500 members, that "they would never bow their head beneath so brutalizing a yoke: they declared that their meetings should not be suspended." After the resumption of work, six mutuellistes were arrested, and brought to trial on the 5th of April, when there was some disturbance. The troops were so disposed in Lyon as to cut off the communications of the insurgents, if a rising should be attempted; and on the 9th of April, the day to which the trial of the mutuellistes was adjourned, the city of Lyon became a battle-field. The rising was an insurrection; proclamations of the king's dethronement were spread about; black and red flags were raised, the tocsin summoned the people to arms, and the insurgents began a terrible combat. The military, under general Aymard, displayed a vigorous resistance: the artillery swept the streets, the places, and the narrow lanes with grape; cannon-balls levelled houses to the ground, and petards set them in flames. For five days the battle raged: quiet citizens, women, and children, perished; and some of the soldiers, heated by the protracted struggle, were guilty of great excesses. The insurgents were reduced to a small number: a committee of the Droits de l'Homme, which was sitting at Lyon, and had rather been carried along by the insurrection, than acted as a director, was dispersed: the insurrection was vanquished, energetically and mercilessly. The attempts at rising which were made in different parts of France only showed that the republican party was still incompletely organized. The news of the revolt of Lyon excited the sympathies of the republicans of Paris; but at the critical moment there was want of concert and vigorous action among the members of the Société des Droits de l'Homme, and perhaps those who could have been urged to the contest were not a great number. On the 12th of April there was some disturbance the evening of the 13th the streets were unpaved, barricades constructed, and shots were exchanged. Most of the members of the committee of the Société des Droits de l'Homme were already in prison; and on the 14th the insurrection was easily put down. The victory of the government was disgraced by a bloody massacre in a house in the Rue Transnonain, in which unoffending men and women were piteously slaughtered. It is said that the soldiers believed that a shot had been fired from a window of this house. The two Chambers went to the Tuileries to congratulate the king on the suppression of the insurrection of Lyon, the news of which had reached Paris. Many persons were arrested; and by virtue of Article 28 of the Charter, a royal ordonnance constituted the Chamber of Peers a court of justice for the trial of the numerous prisoners. On the same day was proposed the law already mentioned, against the makers, &c., of arms. An additional credit of 14 millions was demanded, to place the army on the footing of 1832; and a levy of 80,000 men was made, which raised the regular army to 360,000 men. At this date the annual expenses of the occupation of the regency of Algiers by France, were 30 millions; and the revenue derived from it hardly a million and a half. On the 20th of May the republican party lost the support of a name, which was associated with the recollections of '89. General Lafayette died, and his funeral was attended by an immense concourse of people; but there was no tumult. The session closed on the 24th of May; and on the next day appeared a royal ordonnance, which dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, and summoned the electoral colleges for the 21st of June. Among the important events of the first part of this year was the formation of the Quadruple Alliance (22nd April, 1834), between Portugal, Spain, England, and France; the professed and direct object of which was to expel from Portugal, by force of arms, don Carlos, the claimant of the throne of Spain, who was receiving the support of don Miguel, the usurper of the throne of Portugal.

The elections were in favour of the ministry, and a majority was secured. On the 18th of July the resignation of marshal Soult was announced; and he was succeeded as minister of war and president of the council by marshal Gérard. Various causes were assigned by the journals for Soult's resignation; but it is affirmed that it was chiefly owing to Guizot's hostility to him. On the 31st of July the session commenced, and the usual preliminary business was transacted; after which the Chamber was prorogued to the 29th of December following. The government had resolved to try the insurrectionists of April; 2,000 persons, it is said, were apprehended; 4,000 witnesses had been examined; and 17,000 documents had been examined preparatory to the trials. The difficulty and the impolicy of such a legal process vere manifest, and marshal Gérard urged the council to grant an amnesty; but he was overruled, and he immediately resigned. His resignation was announced in the 'Moniteur' of the 29th of October. The resignation of marshal Gérard disorganized the ministry, and after several attempts to re-construct the cabinet, it broke in pieces altogether. Persil, the minister of justice, had shown himself very unwilling to resign; and he was asked by the king to assist in the formation of a new ministry, in which he was to keep his place. The 'Moniteur' of the 10th of November announced a new cabinet, with the duke of Bassano as president of the council and minister of the interior; and on the same day the Chambers were summoned for the 1st of December, instead of the 29th. On the 13th of November the new cabinet was in a mortal agony; and on the 14th it expired, leaving behind it, as the only monument of its existence, the name of the Ministry of the Three Days. Its announcement

was received with surprise and ridicule, and the first meeting of the council disclosed to all the members of the new cabinet its want of vitality. The old cabinet was re-constructed, with marshal Mortier as president of the council and minister of war; and admiral Duperré as minister of marine.

The arrests that followed the revolt of Lyon filled the prisons; and many of the prisoners, it is said, were treated by the inferior officers of the prisons in a brutal manner: but the single circumstance of so many men having been so long in confinement previous to their trial, is enough to show what they and their suffering families must have endured. The 'Tribune' had been suppressed immediately after the events of April, but the 'National' still existed, though four of the conductors, and Armand Carrel among them, had been arrested. On the 10th of December appeared in the 'National' a violent article on the competence of the Chamber of Peers to sit in judgment on the prisoners of April. The article was abusive in the extreme. The Peers summoned to their bar M. Rouen, the conductor of the journal, and Armand Carrel obtained permission to leave his prison to assist in the defence. Armand Carrel's defence of the 'National' was a violent attack on the Peers. He reminded them that M. Thiers, one of the former collaborateurs of the 'National,' and now a minister, had said of the Chamber of Peers, in 1830, "The Peers have evidently no other care than to watch fortune, to see on which side it is going to incline.—We must deal vigorously with all these poltroons." The Chamber of Peers, by a very large majority, condemned M. Rouen to pay a fine of 10,000 francs, and to two years' imprisonment.

The king, it is said, was not fond of Guizot and Thiers, who thought that the ministers ought to govern, and the king ought to reign; which was the true principle of a constitutional monarchy, according to the interpretation of one party. The opposing party, which was the party of the court, thought that the king should be something more than a name and the symbol of power, something else besides a machine for signing ordonnances. In March a majority of the Deputies informed the minister of the interior that the Chamber would support the duc de Broglie, if he were made president of the council; and this move compelled the minister to forego his opposition to the duke. The duc de Broglie (12th March) became president of the council, and had the department of foreign affairs; Humann, Thiers, Guizot, Duperré, Persil, and Duchâtel, kept their places. The return of the duc de Broglie to power brought with it the fresh discussion of the American indemnity; but the question had been complicated in the mean time, by the message of President Jackson to the American Congress (2nd December, 1834), which urged the demand for payment in terms which were insulting to the French nation. Notwithstanding the President's menaces, the Chamber voted the money by a majority of 289 to 137 votes; and the Chamber of Peers also voted for the confirmation of the treaty of the 4th of July, 1831, with the addition of a clause to the effect that the money should not be paid until the government should receive satisfactory explanations as to the message of the President.

An ordonnance of the king had constituted the Chamber of Peers a court of justice for the trial of the accused of Lyon, Paris, and other places, which, it is alleged, was a violation of the Charter; for the Charter said that no man can be tried otherwise than by his natural judges. The competence of the Chamber of Peers was founded on Article 28 of the Charter, which declared, that "the Chamber of Peers has cognizance of the crimes of high treason, and of offences against the safety of the State, which shall be determined by the law;" but no law had yet been made to define the crimes of which the Chamber should have cognizance. Only five members of the Chamber voted against its competence to try the offenders. The accused of Lyon had been transferred to Paris, and lodged in the Conciergerie; those from Lunéville were placed in the Abbaye; and the accused of Paris in the prison of Sainte Pelagie. The acte d'accusation was read on the 9th of May, and judgment was not pronounced until the 13th of August on the accused of Lyon. Fifty were found guilty: seven were condemned to deportation; two to twenty years' imprisonment; and the rest to various shorter terms of imprisonment. The sentences on the accused of Lunéville, of St. Etienne, Grenoble, Marseille, Arbois, and Besançon, and of Paris, were pronounced later.* Twenty-eight of the prisoners of Sainte Pelagie escaped from their dungeon in the month of July, one of whom was Armand Marrast. This long and memorable trial was a defeat for the republican party, which owed its birth to the Revolution of July; but the party, though defeated, was not destroyed.†

The king's life was now the object of fanatical designs, and various plots for assassinating him were detected. The 28th of July was fixed for a solemn procession, in which the king was to appear and review the troops. He left the Tuileries at ten o'clock, on horseback, accompanied by his sons, the dukes of Orléans and Nemours, and the prince de Joinville, marshal Mortier, and other officers and functionaries. He passed through the long line of people and soldiers, received in silence, except with such cheers as the soldiers were in duty bound to give. It was about twelve o'clock when the king reached the Boulevard du Temple, and all at once a loud explosion was heard, and a volume of smoke came out of the window of the third floor of a house. Marshal Mortier and general Lachasse de Verigny were stretched on the ground, weltering in their blood; the duc d'Orléans received a slight contusion on the thigh; and the king had his forehead grazed. The ground was covered

* A list of all the persons is given in L. Blanc's 'Hist. de Dix Ans,' iv., chap. 10.

† 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1835.'

with the dead and dying, and with wounded horses. Besides marshal Mortier, six generals, two colonels, nine officers and grenadiers, or others who belonged to the National Guard, a staff-officer, and men, women, and children, were wounded more or less. Forty persons were struck by the discharge from this infernal machine; eleven fell dead, and seven others only lived a short time. The king, who showed his usual coolness and courage on this trying occasion, continued his course in the midst of the acclamations of the people, and reviewed the troops. The house from which the discharge came was surrounded immediately after the explosion; and the assassin, who had let himself down from a window by a cord into a court-yard, was seized. He was covered with blood, and horribly mutilated, owing to the explosion of five of the twenty-four or twenty-five barrels of the murderous machine, which was found in the apartment from which the smoke issued. The assassin's name was Fieschi, Corsica was his native country, and he had served as a soldier under Murat; he had been guilty of theft, and frauds of various kinds, and was an abandoned fellow. The victims of his atrocious crime were interred (5th of August) with great solemnity in the church of the Invalides.

One villain had spread mourning through Paris; a man with an accomplice or two in his crime. The president of the council, in his address to the Chamber of Deputies, on the 4th of August, said, that in the name of France he came to propose measures which seemed to the ministry the only measures adapted to secure the person of the king and the constitution of the State. Three laws were proposed, which essentially modified the legislation on the press, on the jury, and on the cours d'assises. The law on the crimes, &c., of the press, was a law of tyranny, not justified because of the crime of Fieschi.* The 4th Article declared, that if any person should throw on the king the blame or the responsibility of the acts of his government, he should be punishable with imprisonment varying from a month to a year, or by fine varying from 500 to 5,000 francs. To take the name of Republican, or any other name incompatible with the Charter of 1830, to express a wish, a hope, or a threat, as to the destruction of the constitutional monarchical settlement, or as to the restoration of the fallen dynasty, was severely punished. The cautionnement, or security, which the proprietors of every journal or periodical publication were required to give, was to be paid into the treasury in cash; and if the journal or other periodical appeared more than twice a week, the cautionnement was to be 100,000 francs. Article 20 declared that no design, engraving, lithograph, medal, print, &c., could be published, exposed, or offered for sale, without the previous authorization of the minister of the interior at Paris, and of the préfets in the departments. The law as to the jury made the voting secret, a bare majority, that is seven, sufficient for conviction, and fixed more particularly the penalty of deportation. The law as to the cours d'assises empowered the minister of justice, in the case of persons accused of rebellion, to establish as many sections of the courts as circumstances should require, and the procureur-général to shorten the formalities of bringing the accused to trial. The session closed on the 11th of September. These were the Laws of September, which were graven under this name in the memory of the people. They falsified the institution of the jury, re-established the censorship, and put the theatres entirely under the control of the minister of the interior and the préfets in the departments. "The second part of the session of 1835," observes the 'Annuaire Historique,' "forms a remarkable epoch: it was the date, if not of a change in the public system, at least of a more rigorous application of the existing system." —"It was no longer permitted for a man to call himself a republican in a country in which a man might call himself an atheist: to discuss God remained a right: to discuss the king became a crime." (L. Blanc.) These laws were the work of Thiers, who owed all that he had to the people, and of the duc de Broglie, and Guizot, both ardent defenders, in former days, of the freedom of writing and of thinking.

The legislative session was opened on the 29th of December, 1835. On the 14th of January, 1836, Humann, the minister of finance, in presenting the budget for 1837, spoke of the reduction of the interest on the debt, a measure which had been talked of for some years; and he said that the present was a favourable time. Humann's colleagues were much displeased with this expression of opinion, and the minister of finance resigned. On the 18th of January a royal ordonnance provided a successor for Humann in the comte d'Argout; and on the same day, M. Humann, in his character of deputy, stated to the Chamber, that when he became a minister it was his design, by legitimate means, to reduce the interest of the debt, and to re-establish by economy an equilibrium between the expenditure and the income of the State: he did not suppose that this measure would meet with any objection on the part of his colleagues, who, he thought, were prepared for it, on the term of a year's delay; and his object also in making the announcement, was to give speculators timely warning. The president of the council replied, that the question of the reduction of the interest had never been brought before the council; that M. Humann had never invited any discussion upon it; and that the ministry had met the Chambers with the certainty that nothing of the kind would be proposed: he added, that the ministers were much surprised at what M. Humann had said, and were no more prepared for it than the rest of the Chamber. Humann's explanation was far from being satisfactory; it seemed as if he had acted on some other prompting than his own suggestion. To settle the matter, the president declared that the ministry had no present intention to reduce the interest. But

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1835,' Appendice, p. 18, &c.

on the 4th of February, 1836, M. Gouin made a motion, in formal terms, for the reduction of the 5 per cents.; and on the question, that the consideration of the motion be adjourned, there was a majority of two against the adjournment. The ministers resigned; and on the next day the Chamber, by a considerable majority, voted the affirmative question, the consideration of the motion for the reduction of the 5 per cents. While a new ministry was forming, the trial of Fieschi was going on before the Chamber of Peers. Several persons were tried as his accomplices, one of whom, Morey, an old man, displayed a singular degree of coolness and self-possession. The conduct of Fieschi after his arrest and during his trial, revealed the character of the man, a mixture of daring, cunning, impudence, and flattery; but vanity was the predominant feature of his mind. He seems to have had hopes that he should not be brought to the scaffold, though he acknowledged his criminality. Fieschi, Morey, and a man named Pepin, were condemned to die; and another accused, named Boireau, was condemned to twenty years' imprisonment. Fieschi died like a man who is acting a part: the other two with calmness and indifference; Pepin protesting that he was innocent, and the victim of infamous machinations.

The birth of a new ministry was difficult. It was not until the 22nd of February that various ordonnances announced M. Thiers president of the council and minister for foreign affairs; M. Sauzet, minister of justice; the comte de Montalivet, minister of the interior; Passy, minister of commerce and public works; Pelet (de la Lozère), minister of public instruction in place of Guizot. Marshal Maison, Duperré, and d'Argout, kept their places. That which mainly distinguished this administration from the preceding was the absence of the men called doctrinaires, of whom Guizot was the type. He and Thiers were no longer friends. A mere question of finance had broken up the cabinet, but its re-construction showed that other accidents might soon have dissolved it. The new ministry entered on office under favourable circumstances: France was quiet for a time, and the press was chained. But the duc de Broglie received notice early in February, just as he was retiring from office, that the cabinets of Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna, intended to occupy the republic of Cracow, on the ground that it was the resort of dangerous refugees, Poles and others. The republic of Cracow was one of the creations of the Congress of Vienna, the last fragment of Poland, and the only remaining representative of its nationality. Some slight tumults in Cracow, on the occasion of the fête of the emperor Nicholas, were the pretext for an order from the three powers to the president of the Senate of Cracow to drive away all Polish refugees and other dangerous individuals. The demand was founded on the 9th Article of the Act of the Congress of Vienna, on the 6th Article of the Treaty of the 3rd of May, 1815, and on the new constitution of Cracow (30th May, 1833). The president of the Senate asked for a little time for those who had formed marriage connections or business engagements in Cracow, in order to settle their affairs; but the order was imperative; in eight days all the refugees must leave wives, children, goods, and all they had, or the soldiers of the three powers would enter the place. The conditions were impossible; and on the 17th of February came the Austrians, then the Russians, and next day the Prussians came. They purged the territory of all the persons whom they considered dangerous; and the republic of Cracow was compelled to conform to such orders as were given to it.* The new president of the council took no notice of this occupation of Cracow, which seemed to all people to be an infraction of the Treaty of Vienna. Nor did the English ministry take any vigorous measures on the occasion, though public opinion condemned the occupation of Cracow. But if the occupation of Cracow was an infraction of the Treaty of Vienna, it was not the first. The condition of Spain at this time seemed to call for the application of the terms of the quadruple alliance, for the Carlist insurrection threatened the safety of Isabella's throne. The English cabinet requested the armed co-operation of the new French cabinet in the affairs of Spain, but the application was refused by a note (18th of March) addressed to general Sebastiani, who had succeeded Talleyrand as ambassador at London. The 'Moniteur' of the 24th of April produced a sensation, by the announcement that the dukes of Orléans and Nemours were going to pay a visit to Berlin and Vienna. This was an indication that the old dynasties of Germany were reconciled to the new dynasty of July. The princes were well received at Berlin and Vienna; but the suit of the duke of Orléans for the hand of an Austrian princess was refused.† The king's sons crossed the Alps, and arrived at Milan on the 25th of June; but their travels in Italy were stopped by the news of a fresh attempt on their father's life. On the evening of the 25th of June, as the king was going in his carriage from the Tuileries to Neuilly, with the queen and madame Adelaide, a shot was discharged on the Pont Royal, which passed just above the king's head. The assassin was immediately seized, a young man of prepossessing appearance, who had come from Perpignan to Paris to kill the king. He was poor, and had suffered: he was weary of life, but he thought that he could do some good before he died, by ridding France of the man who was the cause of all her sufferings. When examined, he said that he had formed the project ever since the king had put Paris in a state of siege, and designed to govern instead of reigning—"His reign is a reign of blood, an infamous reign: I intended to kill the king." In his defence he said, "I had the same right with respect to Philippe I. that Brutus had against Cæsar." These few words characterize the man and his crime. There was no trace

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1836,' p. 315.

† L. Blanc, 'Histoire de Dix Ans,' v., 2.

of any accomplices. The court, which was the Chamber of Peers, condemned him to death, and he was guillotined. He died, as a fanatic always can die, with courage. On the 22nd of the month a duel, arising out of a trivial matter, took place between Armand Carrel, the chief editor of the 'National,' and Emile Girardin, director of the 'Presse,' in which Carrel received a mortal wound. His abilities and character had procured him general respect, and his death was sincerely lamented by the public. An immense crowd accompanied the body to the tomb, and among those who came to do honour to the dead were Châteaubriand and Béranger.

The political refugees in Switzerland had for some time been a cause of uneasiness to the general government; and on the 22nd of June the Vorort then seated at Bern, addressed a note to the duc de Montebello, the representative of France to the Helvetic Confederation, in which he was requested to urge the French government to receive within their territory such refugees as Switzerland should send away: these men were persons who had been expelled from Switzerland for having taken part in the attack on Savoy in 1831, and others who had formed designs against Baden. The answer of the French ambassador, which was the answer of the French government, expressed satisfaction at the measures of the Vorort, and promised to give the expelled refugees pecuniary assistance for a certain time from the day of their embarkation in one of the ports of the kingdom. The intentions of the Diet with respect to the refugees were highly commended; but they were told that if they did not expel the refugees, the powers which were interested in the question would themselves do justice on these men. On the 6th of August the duc de Montebello, after receiving a despatch from Thiers, told the president of the Vorort that if the Diet did not take proper measures against the refugees, Switzerland would be immediately blockaded. The next day the ministers of Prussia, Baden, and Austria, supported the demand of the French ambassador, and added, that if they were compelled to use coercive measures, the Confederation should bear the expense of them. The affair of the refugees caused great excitement in Switzerland: the intervention of the foreign powers was an attack on the independence of Switzerland, but the Diet was alarmed. On the 8th of August the Diet received the report of a committee on the affair of the refugees: the report stated that there were associations in Switzerland, called Young Germany, Young Italy, Young Poland, and Young France, all forming portions of Young Europe, and receiving their impulse from a central committee at Paris; that their object was the overthrow of all monarchical constitutions and the establishment of republics conformably to the principles of the Society of the Rights of Man: the report recommended that foreigners who had compromised the safety, or the internal tranquillity, or the neutrality of Switzerland, should be expelled from the territory of the Confederation; and that the cantons in their several territories should provide for the execution of this order. The recommendation was adopted, with a slight modification, by thirteen cantons and a half: on the 23rd of August it became an obligatory conclusum for the whole Confederation, and it was immediately put into effect.*

The next trouble was with Spain, where the civil war still raged. In March, 1836, M. Thiers rejected the proposal of England to interfere in the affairs of Spain. Two months afterwards, Mendizabel,† who governed Spain in the beginning of 1836, fell from power, and was succeeded by Isturitz; an event which seemed to M. Thiers to present a favourable opportunity for intervention, and thus renewing the English alliance which he had broken himself. His plan was to crush the partisans of don Carlos in Navarre; the king consented after some resistance, and preparations were made. In July a new revolution broke out in Spain, and the Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed. This event complicated affairs, for it seemed imprudent to send assistance to a government which had just had its birth in a revolution. The president of the council was of opinion that the forces which were prepared should not enter Spain at present, but he would not consent to disband them: he would keep them in readiness to act, if the prospect should become clearer. This was the opinion of all the members of the cabinet except Montalivet, and the king was of the opinion of this minority of one. The cabinet was dissolved on this question; and M. Thiers relieved himself from the fatigues of office by a tour in Italy.

Since the rupture of Thiers and Guizot, the king could play off one against the other. On the 6th of September the king signed the ordonnances which constituted the new cabinet: Molé was president of the council and minister for foreign affairs; Persil, of justice and worship; Gasparin, of the interior; Rosamel, of marine; Duchâtel, of finance; and Guizot, of public instruction. A few days after, general Bernard was named minister of war, and M. Martin (du Nord), minister of commerce and public works. Guizot entered the cabinet without his friend the duc de Broglie; and Montalivet, whose dissent had brought about the dissolution of the late ministry, got nothing for his pains. M. Thiers left Molé some trouble with the Swiss question; but the further history of this affair is a matter which would require more space than it merits.‡

Charles X., the duke and duchess of Angoulême, with the duke of Bordeaux and his sister, left Prague about the middle of this year, and reached Goritz in Styria about the end of October. The king, though

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1836,' p. 356. It is a confused and complicated affair, this of the refugees; but the action of France and the result are clear enough.

† To his administration belongs the measure of the suppression of monasteries, convents, &c., and other important changes.

‡ L. Blanc, Hist. de Dix Ans,' v.. ch. 5; and 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1836,' p. 356, &c.

in advanced age, was still very active, and used to take long walks on foot. All at once the winter set in with severity; the snow was on the mountains, and the king had a slight intestinal attack on the 1st of November, which, however, was not enough to make him change his habitual mode of living. On the 4th he was worse; his voice was feeble, his countenance was altered; vomiting and cramps came on: it was the messenger of death, the cholera. He died calmly and with resignation on the 6th of November, in the 80th year of his age,—a longer term than any of his predecessors on the throne of France had reached, after a life of strange vicissitudes. He was buried in a vault of the Franciscan convent near Goritz, followed to the grave by his son and grandson on foot, dressed in plain black. The royal families of Europe put on mourning, according to custom, for the deceased king; all except one, the family of Orléans. The official reason for this was, that kings do not go into mourning unless they receive official notice of the decease of a member of a reigning family; and the king of the French could not receive such a notification, even if it had been sent, for neither the duc d'Angoulême nor the duc de Bordeaux would send him a notice which acknowledged his royal title; and he could accept no other.

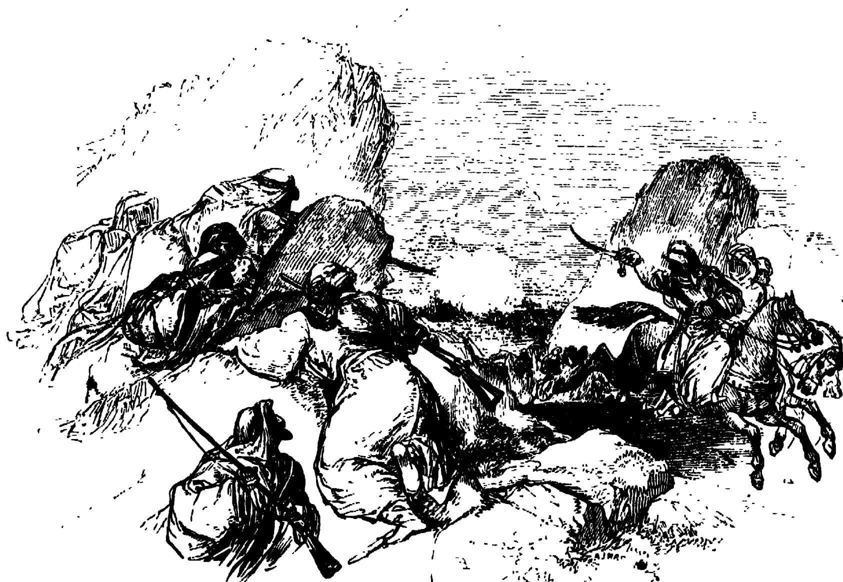
Louis, king of Holland, the brother of the emperor Napoleon, had two sons. Exiles from France, they fixed their residence in Switzerland, near the frontier, ready to take advantage of any opportunity that might seem favourable to their ambitious designs. The Revolution of July was followed by convulsions in Italy, and the two brothers threw themselves into the midst of the movement. The elder perished; and the younger, Napoleon Louis Bonaparte, returned to the residence of his mother, to recruit his health and strength. He employed his leisure in writing: he published 'Rêveries Politiques,' with a draft of a constitution; a kind of thing which is easy to construct on paper, but in no other way. His constitution was democratic; but there was to be an emperor, and the Imperial Guard was to be re-established. He wrote other pamphlets; among them a 'Manuel d'Artillerie.' The house of Orléans did not seem too firmly fixed to be shaken, and he resolved to try against its fortunes the power of an immortal name. He had, however, done nothing himself; his own name, and even his existence, were hardly known beyond the limits of his own circle. It was at Baden-Baden that he began to put his plans into form; and he gained over colonel Vaudrey, who commanded the fourth regiment of artillery at Strassburg. This aid secured, his plan was to bring over the garrison of Strassburg by the cry of "Vive l'empereur;" to intrust the fortifications to the National Guard; to march upon Paris at the head of the soldiers, in the hope that the eagle might fly from steeple to steeple, till it alighted on the towers of Notre Dame, and that his march might be a repetition of his uncle's triumphant progress. The scheme seems to have rested on less foundations of hope than would have satisfied a reflecting man; but if it had succeeded, the defects of the plot would have been forgotten. He arrived at Strassburg on the 28th of October. Very early on the morning of the 30th, the weather gloomy, and the house-roofs covered with snow, and all the town asleep, the attempt was made. Napoleon Louis Bonaparte, in the dress of an artillery officer, in a costume intended to revive the recollection of the emperor, appeared before the quarters of the fourth regiment of artillery, attended by his accomplices. The regiment was informed by colonel Vaudrey, that a revolution had broken out in France, that Louis-Philippe was no longer on the throne, and that Napoleon II., emperor of the French, was come to take the reins of government. The troops responded by "Vive l'empereur;" and the new emperor, Napoleon II., made them a short address. The people of Strassburg in the mean time were abed: they knew not that they had got a new emperor. The conspirators now went on their several missions: one to a printer's, to get the imperial proclamations ready. The emperor, with the main body of his troops, advanced to the quarter-general of the fifth division, where he halted. Followed by several attendants, he reached the apartment of lieutenant-general Voirol, and advanced towards him, saying, "Brave general, let me embrace you; recognize in me Napoleon II."* But the general did not recognize him: he gave him a very rough reception, and the new emperor retired, leaving Voirol under guard. He next tried the quarters of the 46th regiment of the line, but without success. The soldiers resisted all the imperial seductions. There was a scuffle, in which the emperor's uniform was torn, and his reign ended by his being shut up a prisoner in a room in the barracks. The government did not bring Napoleon II. to trial. They sent him off in a ship of war, and landed him in the United States of North America. On the same day on which Napoleon II. appeared at Strassburg, a conspiracy at Vendôme was crushed. It was the affair of a few soldiers, whose magic word was the 'Republic;' a plot without sense or meaning, and entirely unconnected with the imperial essay at Strassburg.

The history of Algiers, since the French occupation in 1830, would require a volume.† An event happened near the close of this year, which was a signal disaster to the French arms. After the defeat of the Dey in 1830, it was necessary either to abandon the territory of Algiers, or completely to subjugate it; but the subjugation presented great difficulties, owing both to the nature of the country and the character of the people; and the frequent change of commanders, the inefficiency of the means at their disposal, and the apparent want of any distinct views on the part of

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1836,' p. 245. The object of the writer was to make the story ridiculous; but it may be true.

† There is a sketch of this history in L. Blanc's 'Hist. de Dix Ans,' v., ch. 6; and of the affair of Constantina in the 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1836.'

the government at home, retarded the pacification of the country which France affected to claim. Marshal Clauzel, on landing in Africa, declared that France succeeded to all the possessions of the Dey, whom she had conquered and deposed. But the Arab population of the regency of Algiers were not a people to be subdued solely by European tactics. These formidable horsemen used their long muskets as freely as if they were standing on the ground, and they also carried pistols, and a sword or yatagan. Their attack was sudden and violent; they dispersed, they disappeared, and came again: it was a kind of warfare most annoying to European troops on march. The most dangerous enemy of the French sprung up in the province of Oran, the son of a marabout; and his name Abd-el-Kader. He was both a soldier and a prophet or priest; and such were his power and influence, that the French general, Desmichel, signed a treaty with him on the 26th of February, 1834, in which nothing was said of the sovereignty of France, nor of territorial limitations: the French treated with the emir, Abd-el-Kader, on a footing of equality. The emir did not keep the peace long; and on the 26th of June, 1835, general Trézel had to sustain a bloody contest with him on the banks of the Macta, in the province of Oran, in which the French suffered great loss, and the Arabs had the heads of the enemy for their trophies. This African war was conducted with barbarity on both sides from its commencement, and the French soldiers became accustomed to a cruel and inhuman system of warfare. Marshal Clauzel, who had been recalled early in 1831, was sent again to Algiers in 1835, to destroy Abd-el-Kader, and the duke of Orléans accompanied him. The marshal resolved to advance to Mascara; but on arriving there, he found it deserted. Abd-el-Kader had quitted the place; and as the French could not keep it, they set it on fire. After returning to Oran, marshal Clauzel set out again in January, 1836, and took Tlemsen, in which he left a garrison of 500 men, under the command of Cavaignac. Clauzel was of opinion that the pacification of Algiers should be undertaken with a force sufficient to insure success; and he went to Paris to induce the government to adopt his views. It was essential, as he thought, to get possession of Constantina, which was held by Ahmed-Bey, the representative of the Turkish power in the eastern part of Algiers, as Abd-el-Kader was of the Arab power in the west. For this purpose he required 30,000 men, besides a corps of native infantry and 4,000 auxiliary cavalry. He returned to Africa after bringing over the ministry to his views; but the cabinet of M. Thiers was in the mean time dissolved, and the formation of M. Molé's cabinet deprived him of the support that he had in M. Thiers. The winter was coming on, and his effective force had not been raised to more than 23,000 men. General Bernard, the new minister of war, in a letter of the 22nd of October, 1836, approved of the expedition to Constantina, and told Clauzel that he entrusted the king's son, the duc de Nemours, to



ALGIERS.—ARABS.

his care. It was the month of November, the weather was rainy and cold; but the marshal was resolved to take Constantina, and he set out on the 11th of November, 1836, from Bona, with about 7,000 men. On the 15th he reached Ghelma, where the Romans have left memorials of their occupation of the country. The road was exceedingly difficult. On the night of the 19th, rain, hail, and snow fell upon the army, which was without shelter, and had to make its way over a soil soaked with wet, through a thick, tenacious clay. It was a Russian winter in the midst of Africa. The soldiers suffered greatly, and in the morning some were found dead of cold. On the 21st the French came in sight of the antient city of Jugurtha, a position of wonderful strength on all sides except one. A deep and wide ravine, at the bottom of which flows a stream nearly surrounding the town, presented, in the place of scarp and counterscarp, the face of a precipitous rock. On the side by which the army approached, a narrow stone bridge, bestriding the ravine, led to a double gate well defended; and there was another gate, the approach to which was no less difficult. The marshal had not force enough to invest the place; and he ordered an assault on the two gates. On the 22nd and 23rd, the French attempted to force their way into the town in the midst of a snow-storm and a driving cold north wind. On the 24th they commenced their retreat, followed by the Arab cavalry. Changarnier distinguished himself at a perilous moment, when he was nearly surrounded by these savage horsemen. He formed his battalion in a square, and the fire of his musketry strewed the ground with men and horses. The army reached Bona on the 1st of December. The retreat was accomplished with great ability, and the loss was much less than might have been expected. But the news of the failure caused a painful sensation in France, and it aggravated the political animosities which originated in the formation of the cabinet of the 6th of September. On the 27th of December, as the king was going in a carriage with three of his sons to the Chamber of Deputies, to open the session, a pistol was discharged at him. The ball broke the glass, and entered the carriage; but the king and his sons again escaped. The assassin was seized, and the Chamber of Peers had another criminal to try.

The accession of the Molé ministry produced the release of the prisoners of Ham. In October, 1836, Peyronnet and Chantelauze were allowed to reside severally in the departments of the Gironde and the Loire; and on the 23rd of November a royal ordonnance commuted Polignac's sentence to twenty years' banishment from the kingdom; and Guernon-Ranville was permitted to reside in the department of Calvados. The trial of the accomplices of Napoleon-Louis Bonaparte took place at Strassburg, on the 6th of January, 1836, before the cour d'assises. The guilt of the accused was manifest, and yet the jury acquitted them all. The acquittal was followed by a splendid banquet to the accused, to their advocate, and to the foreman of the jury. The ministry, alarmed at this encouragement to revolt, presented, on the 24th and 25th of January, three bills to the Chamber of Deputies: the first was to the effect, that as to crimes and misdemeanours provided for by the first chapter of the Code Pénal, by the military code, and the laws of the 18th of April and 24th of May, 1834, when soldiers and civilians should be implicated in the same offences, they should be the subject of separate indictments and trials; that soldiers, and others on the footing of soldiers, should be tried by courts martial, and civilians by the ordinary tribunals: the second bill provided that the Isle of Bourbon should be made a place of deportation; the third punished with imprisonment any person who should know of plots against the life of the king and should not inform. The first law, called "La loi de disjonction," proposed to try before different tribunals, and by a different process, persons who were charged with one and the same offence. This measure, which was inconsistent with a fundamental principle of law, was firmly resisted, and rejected on the 7th of March, by 211 votes to 209, amidst shouts of applause. There was great distress in France in the early part of 1837. At Rouen many of the workmen were without employment; some departments swarmed with beggars; the poor were withdrawing their savings from the banks. The ministers came to ask for money. The domaine and dependencies of Rambouillet, and some other property belonging to the State, it was proposed, should be made an apanage for the duc de Nemours; and a million francs was demanded for the marriage-portion of the queen of the Belgians; both which propositions were very ill-received. M. Cormenin published one of his biting pamphlets, in which he overwhelmed the royal family with his bitter sarcasm and his bitterer facts. The pamphlet had a prodigious success: it went through twenty-four editions, penetrated to every part of France, and it hastened a ministerial crisis. This crisis lasted near a month: and it ended (16th of April) in a modification of the cabinet, from which was excluded the doctrinaire party, in the persons of Guizot, Gasparin, and Duchâtel.* Barthe had the department of justice; Montalivet, the interior; Salvandy, public instruction; Lacave-Laplagne, finance. On the 18th of April, Molé, still president of the council, announced the marriage-contract of the duke of Orléans with a Protestant, the princess Helena of Mecklenburg-Schwerin; and the next thing was a demand of money, an additional million francs a year for the duke, a million francs for the expense of the marriage, and if the prince died before his accession to the throne, an allowance of 300,000 francs annually to his widow. The demand was accompanied with notice that the king adjourned the claim made on behalf of the duc de Nemours. The Chamber made these grants to the

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1837,' ch. 5; and L. Blanc, 'Hist. de Dix Ans,' v., ch. 7.

duke of Orléans and his intended wife (7th May, 1837). On the question of the marriage-portion of the queen of the Belgians, there was some opposition. The law for the settlement of the civil-list declared that the dotation of the sons and daughters of the king was to be made out of the treasury, in case the king's private domain was insufficient; and the members who were opposed to the grant called for evidence of the insufficiency. The grant was made by the Chamber of Deputies, by a majority of 239 to 140. The man who made an attempt on the king's life in December, 1836, named Meunier, confessed his guilt, and was condemned to die; but the king commuted his sentence into deportation to the United States. This clemency was followed by a general amnesty to all individuals confined in the state prisons in consequence of political crimes and misdemeanours; a measure which was adopted by the Molé cabinet, now that Guizot was no longer among them; and though the measure was prudent and generous, it may have been partly prompted by the motive of increasing the unpopularity of the former minister. On the 29th of May the princess Helena arrived at Fontainebleau, conducted by the duc de Broglie; and on the 30th she was married to the duke of Orléans. On the 4th of June the royal family left Fontainebleau for Paris, where the duchess of Orléans was received with the acclamations of an immense concourse of people. Since 1832 the king had been employed in restoring the palace of Versailles, and making it a national monument.* The history of France was represented in the spacious galleries of this long-deserted palace: a series of pictures, portraits, and statues, revived the splendours of the reign of Louis XIV., the exaltation of the Republic, the pomp and victories of the empire. The king had accomplished this in a few years at great cost, out of savings on the civil list, and out of his private domain. On the 10th of June the peers of France, the deputies, marshals, and other persons, were invited to be present at the opening of this national museum: the king and his family were present. On the 14th of June there were rejoicings at Paris; and in the evening the people were amused with a representation of the capture of the citadel of Antwerp, in the Champ-de-Mars. Unfortunately, as the crowd was dispersing, the pressure was so great that many persons were stifled and trampled under foot.

Marshal Clauzel was succeeded, in February, 1837, as governor of Algiers, by the comte de Danrémont; and general Bugeaud had authority in Oran, almost independent of the governor. Bugeaud's commission was to conclude a peace with Abd-el-Kader, or to prosecute the war against him vigorously. He had an interview with the emir in the valley of the Tafna, and concluded a treaty of peace with him, the terms of which caused great dissatisfaction in France. The governor-general was in the mean time preparing for a fresh attack on Constantina. He set out on the 1st of October, accompanied by the duc de Nemours, with about 13,000 men, well provided with ammunition and provisions. The army was before Constantina on the 6th, and on the 12th they were ready for the assault. On this day general Danrémont was killed by a cannon-ball, and general Valée took his place. The city was defended with obstinate courage, but it was taken by storm. Men, women, and children, in their hurry to escape or to fly from the vengeance of the soldiers, were precipitated over the ramparts into the depths below. A garrison was left in Constantina, and general Valée was rewarded with the dignity of a marshal of France, and made governor-general of Algiers.

While the army was engaged in the expedition of Constantina, the king married one of his daughters to a Protestant prince, Frederick of Würtemberg, the son of a princess of Saxe-Coburg, cousin of the king of Würtemberg, and of Victoria, queen of England. The ministers, harassed by the Chamber of Deputies, determined to appeal to the electors; and a royal ordonnance of the 3rd of October dissolved the Chamber. A series of ordonnances of the same date created fifty new Peers of France, twenty-three of whom were Deputies. It had been usual, since the Restoration, to form a central committee, for the purpose of directing the elections in opposition to the ministerial candidates. On this occasion the central committee consisted of men of more decided opinions than usual, men hostile to the government, and some of them republicans. Among the members were, Dupont (de l'Eure), Arago, Laffitte, Cormenin, Garnier-Pagès, Louis Blanc, Ledru Rollin, Goudchaux, and others. Cormenin and Garnier-Pagès were charged with the correspondence of the committee. Odilon-Barrot, the leader of the constitutional opposition, was not a member of the committee: he said, in a printed note, "that he could not co-operate in the formation of a mixed committee, in which the Republican party did not come to mingle itself, but into which it entered with flying colours, maintaining its extra-legal pretensions, protesting against our principles." The effect of the central committee did not extend further than to maintain the position of the radical party. The government was charged with employing all the means of electoral corruption, and also menaces. The number of registered electors was about 199,000; and about 151,000 voted, which was a greater number than voted at previous elections. Out of 459 deputies to be elected, 310 members of the old Chamber were returned; and about two-fifths of them belonged to the opposition.

On the 12th of March was discussed in the Chamber of Deputies the question of the secret-service money; a test of the strength of the ministry. The minority were not willing to grant the ministry a larger sum than had been granted in former years; but the Chamber voted what Molé asked for. Few of the men of the Revolution were now left; but one of them

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1837,' p. 271.



DEATH OF TALLEYRAND.

still lingered at the age of more than fourscore years, Talleyrand, once a bishop, now a prince. Though he affected contempt for men, and indifference as to all religious truth, his old age was not happy: the retrospect of his life was not sweet. He finally yielded to his fears, made a declaration of his faith, and was reconciled to the Catholic church; a great scandal to those who had admired in him a worthy disciple of Voltaire. The king visited him on his death-bed, and the dying man was deeply sensible of the honour. He breathed his last on the 17th of May, surrounded by the ceremonial, and supported by the prayers of a church which he had deserted. People have pronounced very different judgments on the intellectual capacity of Talleyrand: as to his character, there is not so much difference of opinion.*

The legislative labours of 1838 were more important for the matters which were discussed, than for the results. The question of the conversion des rentes caused a long discussion, which commenced on the 17th of April. There were some who denied the justice, or, as they ill-expressed themselves, even the legality of the conversion. The question in principle presented no difficulty. If the State was able to pay the public creditor, all that it had to do was to offer to those who received 5 per cent. 100 francs, which was the principal sum due. The occasion was supposed to be favourable for repaying, for the interest of money was below 5 per cent.; and if the State could borrow money at 4 per cent., it could pay off the holders of the 5 per cents. with the borrowed money, and thus save 1 per cent. on the interest of the debt. Those who did not choose to accept their capital, might convert their stock into 4 per cents. The debate mainly turned on the mode of effecting the conversion; one measure would have the result of diminishing the interest without increasing the capital sum of the debt; the other would increase the capital sum, but diminish the sum-total of the interest annually payable. The law, as passed by the Chamber, was neither one thing nor the other; and the Chamber of Peers rejected it, and thus declared itself against the reduction of the interest. The question of a grand system of railroads, to be constructed by the State, was brought before the Chamber of Deputies by the minister; and a report on a proposed law as to railroads was made to the Chamber by M. Arago on the 24th of April, which recommended that the law should for the present be withdrawn, on the ground, among other grounds, that the resources of the State were insufficient for the great undertakings which were proposed. The question of railroads gave rise to the discussion of the question whether railroads should be constructed by the State or by companies; and the democratic part of the journals maintained the cause of the State against the companies. The question presented great difficulties; and experience has proved that many of the objections made to the formation of railroads by joint-stock companies were well-founded.

The year 1838 had its trials of conspirators. A man named Hubert, and several of his alleged accomplices, one of whom was a lady, Laure Grouvelle, were brought to trial in May. Some of the conspirators were acquitted; the jury found that Hubert was guilty of a design to destroy or to change the government, and that the design was followed by acts done with the view of executing the design. Hubert was condemned to deportation. Laure Grouvelle and some others were found guilty of the same design as Hubert, but not guilty of any act done with a view to its execution; but Laure Grouvelle was condemned to five years' imprisonment.

The coronation of queen Victoria was announced, and the cabinet of the Tuileries sent an ambassador extraordinary to London on the occasion (28th July, 1838). The man selected was a veteran soldier of fortune and of ability, marshal Soult, who appeared in an equipage which in splendour surpassed all the rest. In the month of July, lieutenant Laity was brought before the court of Peers, instead of being tried by a jury, for writing a pamphlet, entitled 'An Historical Account of the Events of the 30th of October, 1836, the prince Napoleon at Strassburg.' He was tried and convicted for writing an account of events, the actors in which had been acquitted by a jury; and the principal personage had not been tried at all. His sentence was five years' imprisonment, and a fine of 10,000 francs. This was the last act of the session, which terminated on the 12th of July.

Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte had left America, and got back to Switzerland to see his dying mother. His residence was at Arenenberg, in the canton of Thurgau. The government, which affected to treat the affair of Strassburg as a puerile matter, required his expulsion from a country which had given shelter to Louis-Philippe. It is true that Louis Bonaparte was a pretender to the throne of France, but as long as he remained quiet he was entitled to hospitality. The grand-council of Thurgau declared that Louis-Napoleon was a citizen of their canton. The matter was referred to the Diet: the affair was adjourned from time to time; and at last the hostile movements of the French army towards Switzerland settled the question. Louis Bonaparte left Switzerland for England (14th of October). During this dispute with Switzerland, the duchess of Orléans gave birth to a male child (24th of August), on whom his grandfather conferred the title of comte de Paris. The occupation of Ancona by the French still continued, and the Holy Father wished to get rid of his uninvited guests. The ground of this occupation was the pope's refusal to comply with the recommendation of the principal powers of Europe contained in their note of 1831, and the intervention of Austria. In 1832, Casimir Périer promised that the French should

* There is an interesting account of Talleyrand's death in L. Blanc's 'Hist. de Dix Ans,' v., ch. 10. See also 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1838,' p. 181. His 'Mémoires,' it is said, are deposited in England, and are not to be published until thirty years after his death.

evacuate Ancona as soon as the Austrians quitted th papal states; and as the Austrians wished the Frenc to retire, they concerted the matter with the pope whose representative, Capaccini, immediately informe Molé of the Austrian evacuation, and claimed the performance of Casimir Périer's engagement. The Frenc quitted Ancona on the 25th of October, 1838, withou accomplishing the purpose for which they came. Th pope had not complied with the terms of the not of 1831.

The session of 1839 opened on the 17th of December, 1838, and the ministers were threatened with a formidable opposition from a coalition in which Guizot and Thiers fought side by side, united for thei overthrow. The address in answer to the king's speech was the occasion on which the strength of th ministry was tried in the Chamber of Deputies. O the nine members of the committee appointed to draw up the address, only three were supporters of the ministry: among the other six were Guizot and Thiers. The projet d'addresse was in terms more directly aggressive against the policy of the government than any which had been proposed since the famous address of the 221. The ministers hoped to derive some credit and support from the news just arrived of the capture of the Mexican fort of San Juan d'Ulloa, which admiral Baudin bombarded 27th November, 1838, after being unable to obtain from the Mexican government satisfaction for certain demands of the French cabinet. After a long debate the ministers succeeded in modifying the address by a majority of 221 against 208; a majority so small, as to show that their existence was in danger. On the 31st of January the Chambers were dissolved, and the ministers appealed to the electors. The ministers employed all the means at their disposal to secure the return of their candidates, but the result was against them; and on the 8th of March, 1839, the ministers resigned. The coalition had been formed by a temporary union of the doctrinaires, of the centre gauche and of the gauche; and the three leaders were, Guizot, Thiers, and Odilon-Barrot. It was now the time to divide the booty which had been won, to distribute the places. But the difficulty was great; and the men could not agree. An attempt was made to construct a cabinet of the centre gauche, but it failed. It was not until the 1st of April that a new cabinet was announced; and the announcement of the names caused no small surprise. They were, the duc de Montebello, Gasparin, Girod (de l'Ain), general Cubières, Tupinier, Gauthier, and Parant. This ministry was merely provisional, and negotiations still went on for the formation of a permanent cabinet. Six attempts in all were made after the dissolution of the Molé cabinet; and the sixth, like the rest, was an abortion. This uncertain state of affairs seemed likely to be prolonged; but an insurrection exploded, and the atmosphere was cleared. There was a secret society at Paris, which had existed since 1834. In April, 1839, about a thousand persons belonged to it. Its leaders were, Armand-Barbès, Martin Bernard, Blanqui, and a few others. The conspirators were impatient for action; the time seemed to be come, and the plan was well considered and settled. On the 12th of May, in the afternoon, the insurrection broke out. The insurgents plundered some gunsmiths' shops, and attacked the posts of the Châtelet, the Palais de Justice, and the Hôtel de Ville. The officer who commanded the post of the Palais de Justice was shot. They got possession of the Hôtel de Ville, where Barbès read a proclamation which was prepared. But the cry to arms did not rouse the Parisians, and the city was filling with soldiers. Before the 12th of May was over the insurrection was hopeless: on the next day the last embers were extinguished, and Barbès was a prisoner. The death of the insurrection was followed by the birth of a cabinet, in which marshal Soult had the presidence of the council and the ministry of foreign affairs. The other members were, Teste, Schneider, Duperré, Duchâtel, Cunin-Gridaine, Dufaure, Passy, and Villemain for public instruction.

On the 27th of June some of the prisoners were brought before the Chamber of Peers—Barbès, Bernard, and sixteen others; but these were only a part of the prisoners. Barbès avowed himself the chief and leader of the insurrection, but he strongly protested his innocence of the death of the officer who was shot at the Palais de Justice, and his disapprobation of the deed. The guilt of most of the accused was manifest, and could not be denied. A few were acquitted, but Barbès was condemned to death, and Bernard to deportation. The sentence of Barbès was commuted into deportation. The rest of the prisoners were not tried until six months later. Blanqui was ondemned to death; a sentence which was afterwards ommuted; and other criminals were sentenced to arious terms of imprisonment. This insurrection was ot responded to by the Parisians: it announced itself ike a sudden clap of thunder, and there was no feeling eady to re-echo the signal.

The question of Turkey and Egypt occupied the ttention of the cabinets of Europe. Sultan Mahmoud nd the viceroy of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, were at war, and the vassal threatened the existence of the mpire of his master. Ibrahim, the son of Mehemet li, defeated the army of the sultan at Nezib, on the 4th of June, 1839; but Mahmoud died on the 30th f June, before he heard the news of his disaster, and as succeeded by his son, a youth, named Ab-el-Medjid. The Porte must have submitted to humiliating terms, if the five powers, Russia, Prussia, Austria, ngland, and France, had not intervened, and reuested the sultan, by a note signed the 27th of July y their respective ambassadors at Constantinople, to ome to no final terms until the effect of their interven-on should be ascertained. The question of the East, o far belongs to the history of parties in France, as it ave rise to warm debates in the Chamber of Deputies,*

* 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1839,' p. 183, &c.

and the grant of a credit of 10 millions to augment the naval force of France in the Levant. It is a consequence of the present European system that the people of Europe are taxed for the purpose of paying the cost of occasional intervention in the affairs of one another, and even in the affairs of countries which are beyond the limits of Europe. The session closed on the 6th of August; and the Chamber recommenced its sittings on the 23rd of December, 1839. The king had enough to do to maintain tranquillity in France, and to command respect abroad, without troubling the nation with his personal concerns; but he had once asked for a dotation for the duc de Nemours, and he made a second demand. The demand was responded to by a universal outcry against it; and the Chamber of Deputies rejected the proposal by a majority of twenty-six; there being 226 black balls, and 200 white. No cabinet had received such a check since 1830: the ministers felt it, and retired.*

On the 1st of March, 1840, appeared an ordonnance of the king, by which Thiers was made president of the council and minister for foreign affairs, the great object of his ambition. Guizot was sent ambassador to England. The first demand of the new minister of the interior, M. de Rémusat, was an extraordinary credit of one million in aid of the secret-service money for 1840. He urged this demand, on the ground of the necessity of providing for the public tranquillity; and he promised, as the late ministry had done, that there should be no money given to the press. A considerable majority voted the money, and this secured the present existence of the cabinet. The Peers also voted for the money, by a large majority. The question of the repayment or the conversion of the 5 per cents., for the proposal involved both measures, was again brought before the Chamber of Deputies, and carried; and again was rejected by the Peers. Among the supplementary credits voted in this session (10th June) was a sum of one million francs "for the removal of the mortal remains of the emperor Napoleon" from St. Helena to the church of the Invalides. On the 15th of July the session terminated. With the centre gauche in power, and the gauche itself in prospect of it, there seemed to be a hope of electoral reform; and numerous petitions for it, showing a great diversity of opinion, had been addressed to the Chambers. The want of unity of opinion was a sufficient ground for the ministers to reject what they did not wish to grant; and the president of the council declared that he was altogether opposed to electoral reform.

On the 7th of July died, at Viterbo, the prince of Canino, better known under the name of Lucien Bonaparte, and as a younger brother of the emperor Napoleon. One Bonaparte was scarcely dead, when another made his appearance. Louis Bonaparte landed near Boulogne, on the 6th of August, with a few companions in uniform, and armed. He had hired a steam-boat in London to carry over this mimic army, his munitions of war, his baggage, his horses, and his carriages. The invaders entered Boulogne to the cries of "Vive l'empereur," with the tricolour flag surmounted by the imperial eagle. It was the affair of Strassburg over again; a miserable failure, which would have been called a bold adventure, if it had succeeded. The soldiers remained faithful to their duty; the people of Boulogne joined them in resistance; and Napoleon II. and his followers were again made prisoners. The conspirators were tried before the Chamber of Peers (28th September), and judgment was pronounced on the 6th of October. Louis Napoleon was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in some fortress, and he was conveyed to Ham, the former prison of Polignac. The rest of the prisoners were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.* On the 16th of this month a fresh attempt was made on the life of the king, by a man named Darmès, who discharged a musket at the royal carriage on the Quai des Tuileries, as the king was on his way to St. Cloud, accompanied by the queen and his sister. The shot did no harm; and the assassin, who made no attempt to escape, was arrested on the spot, tried by the Chamber of Peers, condemned, and executed.

The note of the 27th of July, 1839, was proposed by France to the other allied powers. At first it was disapproved of at St. Petersburg, but the Russian cabinet soon agreed with the views of the English cabinet, as to checking the progress of Mehemet-Ali, and depriving him of the fruits of his victories. On the 13th of September, 1839, the French ministry recalled admiral Roussin from Constantinople, and sent M. de Pontois in his place; and on the 21st of December they made their views known to all Europe: they wished to give Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, to Mehemet-Ali. But it was too late: the other four powers were agreed on another arrangement. The ministry of the 1st of March, 1840, found affairs in this state when they accepted office. On the 15th of July the ministers of the four powers signed, at London, a convention made between them of the one part, and the Sublime Porte on the other, for the pacification of the Levant. France was no party to it, and knew nothing of it. The four powers agreed to maintain the integrity and the independence of the Ottoman empire, and to compel Mehemet-Ali to accept their terms.† The French

* Here the 'Histoire de Dix Ans,' by Louis Blanc, ends; a work from which instruction may be derived by those who do not adopt all the opinions of the author. With some defects, it is a work of merit; and this is said without respect to the social doctrines which the author inculcates. For the years from 1830 to 1835, the reader may consult 'Le Gouvernement de Juillet, les partis et les hommes politiques,' par Capefigue; a writer clear and precise in his views, but whose opinions are struck with the sterility which characterises modern statesmanship and diplomacy.

* The trial is given in the 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1840,' Appendice, p. 268, &c.

† See Guizot's Memorandum addressed to lord Palmerston, 24th July, 1840, on the treaty of the 15th July; and the Memorandum of Thiers, of the 8th of October, to Guizot, French ambassador at London.

ministry were preparing the forces of France, while the viceroy, whom they wished to support, was yielding to a force which he could not resist. A French fleet was at the Isle d'Hières, ready to sail to the theatre of war, when a royal ordonnance appeared on the 29th of October, which appointed Soult minister of war and president of the council; Guizot, minister for foreign affairs; and Villemain, for public instruction. The new cabinet did not contain a single member of the cabinet of the 1st of March.*

The session opened on the 6th of November. The most important part of the king's speech related to the measures of the four powers in relation to the sultan and the viceroy. The king said that he had the dignity of the country at heart, as well as its safety and repose: he still continued to hope that the general peace would not be disturbed. In the debate on the address, it appeared, from the statement of Thiers, that the king was not so ready for active intervention in favour of the viceroy as his minister; and this led to the breaking up of the cabinet. The long debate on the address made of it a question of peace or of war, but the ministers carried an address, which said nothing further on the question of war than the king's speech. Thiers observed, that as to the hope of peace, which the king's speech expressed, peace was certain; and the nomination of the cabinet of the 29th of October was the proof of it: "Whatever is done in Egypt, even if Egypt is taken from the pasha, we shall allow it: as I said at the commencement of this debate, the question is resolved."

On the 9th of November the duchess of Orléans gave birth to a second male child; on whom the king conferred the title of duc de Chartres. In the month of December the remains of the emperor Napoleon arrived at Paris, and were deposited (15th) with all the pomp of imperial obsequies, in the church of the Invalides; from which they were afterwards removed to the chapelle St. Jerôme.* The year closed in the Chamber of Deputies with the acknowledgment of a considerable deficit; and the minister of war proposed to fortify Paris; a measure of which the ministry of the 1st of March had dared to undertake the responsibility without consulting the Chamber. France was at peace at the end of 1840, but armed and ready for war. The government closed the year with the prosecution of Lamennais for publishing a pamphlet, entitled 'Le Pays et le Gouvernement.' He was charged with representing the country and the government as in a state of complete antagonism, and proclaiming the necessity of a complete and radical reform, which should reach even to the foundations of society. The jury convicted the author; who was condemned to a year's imprisonment, and to pay a fine of 2,000 francs.

A committee was instructed to report upon the proposal to fortify Paris; and the report drawn up by Thiers was presented to the Chambers on the 13th of January, 1841. The reporter supported the measure by the authority of two great names, Vauban and Napoleon, and he examined the whole question in a clear and comprehensive manner. As to the danger to liberty, from the circumstance of Paris being fortified, he treated it as an absurd supposition. The proposal met with no serious opposition, and a law was passed, by which 140 millions of francs were appropriated for making the fortifications of Paris. The present ministry asked for a million of francs to make up the expenses in the secret-service department for 1841. A great majority gave the money; and an amendment, which would have obliged the ministers to account for the employment of it, was rejected. The finances were as usual a field for debate. Credits supplementary, extraordinary, and complementary, were become the order of the day. Thiers said that he was convinced, and had never ceased to affirm, that an effective force of 329,000 men placed "France in a condition far below the habitual wants of France and the particular state of Europe." The treaty of the 15th of July produced ordonnances relating to the public works, the army and the navy, which involved a large expenditure, which was now to be sanctioned. The Chambers voted the supplementary and extraordinary credits for 1840, and the legislature confirmed the royal ordonnances which were intended to put France in a position to resist the war which was conjured up in the East. The budget of expenditure for 1842 was fixed at 1,276,338,078. But there were arrears on the years 1840 and 1841, and there were expenses for public works and other matters; so that there was a deficit on the estimated receipts of 1842,

* Table of ministerial existences from 1830 to the 29th of October, 1840:

Names of Presidents.	Dates of Formation.	Duration.
Provisional	11 August, 1830	82 days.
Laffitte	2 November, 1830	55 —
Laffitte	27 December, 1830	76 —
C. Périer	13 March, 1831	577 —
Soult—Guizot	11 October, 1832	75 —
Soult—Broglie	25 December, 1832	459 —
Soult—Thiers	4 April, 1834	105 —
Gérard	18 July, 1834	124 —
Bassano	10 November, 1834	8 —
Mortier	18 November, 1834	123 —
Broglie—Humann	12 March, 1835	330 —
Broglie—d'Argout	5 February, 1836	16 —
Thiers	22 February, 1836	195 —
Molé—Guizot	6 September, 1836	221 —
Molé—Salvandy	15 April, 1837	715 —
Provisional	31 March, 1839	42 —
Soult—Teste	12 May, 1839	285 —
Thiers—Rémusat	1 March, 1840	240 —
Guizot—Soult	29 October, 1840	

Nineteen ministries in eleven years and four months; or, taking a mean, a ministry every 215 days. ('Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1841,' App., p. 219.)

* The prince de Joinville brought the body of the emperor from St. Helena in the frigate *La Belle-Poule*. The particulars of the exhumation, and of the funeral ceremony, are minutely told in the 'Annuaire Historique, &c., pour 1840,' App., p. 304, &c.

which was to be supplied by a loan of 450 millions. A law was passed during this session on the employment of children in manufactures, mines, or workshops. The law limited the age at which children could be employed, fixed the hours of labour, and provided for their protection against ill-treatment, for their education, and other matters. On the 8th of July the session ended.

The government had no foreign war, though they had spent money in anticipation of it; but the campaign was carried on at home, as usual, against the press. The 'Gazette de France' published some letters, said to have been written by the king when he was an exile, in which he expressed entire devotion to the interests of England. Another journal, 'La France,' announced new revelations, and published fragments of a correspondence which had taken place since the king had ascended the throne, and expressed his intention to keep the engagements of his family as to Algiers. Guizot distinctly denied, before the Chamber of Deputies, that the king's government had ever made any engagement for the complete or partial abandonment of the African conquests. 'La France' was tried for forgery, and for offence against the person of the king, but was acquitted. M. Thoré was convicted of writing a pamphlet, which contained attacks on property, and other dangerous matter: he was condemned to a year's imprisonment, and to pay a fine of 1000 francs. M. Alphonse Esquiros, for writing a book called 'The Gospel of the People,' was condemned to a year's imprisonment, and to pay a fine of 500 francs. The 'National' had spoken in contemptuous terms of the Chamber of Peers; but the language, though insulting and disagreeable to the Peers, the more so because it was true, did not go beyond the limits of political criticism; and no individual was attacked. However, the manager of the 'National' was summoned to the bar of the Peers, and condemned to a month's imprisonment, and a fine of 10,000 francs. The Peers showed that if they had no political independence, as the 'National' said, they had the power of avenging an insult. Garnier-Pagès died at Paris on the 23rd of June, 1841, and above ten thousand persons followed him to the tomb. Ledru-Rollin, an advocate in the Cour de Cassation, who was elected for the department of Sarthe, in place of Garnier-Pagès, published a speech which contained his political creed, and subjected him to a prosecution. He was charged with attacking the principles and the form of government established by the Charter of 1830, and other like matter. He was convicted, not for his speech, but for allowing the publication of it: his sentence was four months' imprisonment, and a fine of 3,000 francs. M. Hauréau was condemned to three months' imprisonment, and to pay 2,000 francs, for publishing the new deputy's speech.

The session opened on the 27th of December, 1841, under favourable circumstances; the kingdom was quiet, peace abroad was no longer threatened, and France and other countries of Europe were increasing their material wealth, and extending or commencing a system of improved communication by railways. The king's speech announced that he had concluded a convention with the four great powers and the sultan, the object of which was, to maintain the peace of Europe, and to consolidate the repose of the Ottoman empire. The question of parliamentary reform was brought forward under two aspects: one proposition (*pour l'extension du cercle des incompatibilités*) had for its object to keep many salaried functionaries out of the Chamber of Deputies, or to prevent their promotion while they were members; the other proposal was for increasing the number of electors (*pour l'admission des capacités*). The motion for considering the first proposition was rejected by a majority of eight only. The second was rejected by a much larger majority. A million francs were voted for the secret-service money without any opposition; and this vote of confidence secured the existence of the ministry for the present. There was a long discussion on railways, which resulted in a law (11th June, 1842) for the establishment of a system of railways branching out from Paris. The execution of this great undertaking was to be effected by the concurrence of the State, the departments crossed by the lines, and the communes which were interested, and by the co-operation of individuals. The supplementary credits and the budget were as usual a debateable ground: the receipts did not balance the expenditure; but the ministers got what they asked for. The Deputies voted above 1,300 millions of money for the expenses of the year, and separated before the Peers had discussed the matter. "The other Chamber regard our vote," said a member of the Chamber of Peers, "as a simple formality." On the 11th of June the session closed; and two days after the ministry dissolved the Chamber, not being satisfied with the doubtful support of a doubtful majority.

On the 8th of May, during the discussion on the railroads, a dreadful calamity happened on the Versailles line. A train, which was full of people, was thrown over, crushed, and set on fire by its two locomotives. Near fifty persons lost their lives; among whom was admiral Dumont d'Urville, a distinguished naval officer. The elections produced a Chamber in which the conservative party had a majority; but the opposition, if they should ever unite, presented a formidable array. The excitement of party was for a moment suspended by the unfortunate death of the duke of Orléans. He was going to Neuilly on the 13th of July, when the horses of the carriage took fright, and the prince, thinking that the driver would not be able to manage them, jumped out, and fell with his head on the ground. He died a few hours after, at the age of thirty-two. The grief of his family was responded to by the public, with whom the duke was a favourite. An extraordinary session of the legislature was opened on the 26th of July. The only subject which the king's speech submitted to the consideration of the Chambers was a law on a regency during the minority of his grandson, the comte de Paris. The

law on the regency, which was very short and precise, fixed the majority of the king at eighteen; and it gave the regency, during the minority, to the prince who was of the full age of twenty-one and nearest to the throne in the order of succession, established by the Declaration and the Charter of 1830.

The king's speech at the opening of the session on the 9th of January, 1843, announced an improving revenue, and the settlement of the Eastern question: there were still troubles in Spain, which the king deplored; he had no other view in his relations towards Spain, than to respect the legitimate interests of France, and to maintain a faithful friendship to queen Isabella II. The speech also announced that the French had taken possession of the Marquesas islands. The Chamber of Deputies, in their answer, said to the king, "Rely, sire, on the devotion of the country during the many years which we pray Providence to grant you." The ministers asked for an extraordinary credit of one million francs, as a complement to the secret-service money of 1843. The question was not so much a question of money as a question of confidence. Ledru-Rollin attacked the ministry: he said that the liberties of France were undermined in their four principal foundations, the jury, the press, the elections, and the National Guard, which "had been suspended, disarmed, almost disorganized, in spite of the law." Lamartine, who had passed over to the opposition, attacked not the ministers, but the system: "It is time," he said, "that this game came to an end; France must either cease to be France, or you must cease to govern." The ministers, however, got the money. The consideration of a proposal of Duvergier de Hauranne, to make the voting in the Chamber open instead of secret, was rejected by a very small majority. The annual question *des incompatibilités* was brought on by de Sade: it was, in brief, that Deputies could not be promoted to salaried public places, or obtain promotion during the legislature to which they belonged, and for a year after the expiration of their powers: some exceptions to the general rule were proposed. Lamartine attacked the proposal, as he had done before: he did not deny the existence of defects in the representation and in the government, but he would remedy it in other ways, by the extension of the suffrage: he did not even object to universal suffrage. The consideration of the question was rejected, but only by a majority of sixteen. The question between the beet-root sugar of France, which owed its origin to the system of Napoleon in January, 1812, and the sugar of the colonies, had often been before the Chamber since 1832: two interests were in opposition, which it was urgent to reconcile, if possible. The law that was passed provided for the progressive equalization of the duties on colonial sugar and beet sugar. During the session, the negotiations for a commercial treaty between France and Great Britain, which, after interruptions, had been resumed, seemed to be terminated; and the British ministry were congratulating themselves on the result, when public opinion and the Chambers declared against the treaty, and the French ministry yielded to the opposition. A postal convention was, however, signed between France and England (3rd of April), for regulating the charges on letters from one country to the other; and another convention was made (13th February, 1843), for the mutual surrender, in certain cases, of persons who were under criminal charges in either of the two countries, and had made their escape to the other.

The French king also extended his personal alliances this year. He married his daughter Clémentine to the prince Augustus of Saxe-Coburg; and the prince de Joinville married a daughter of Don Pedro, late emperor of Brazil. The temporary alienation of France and England, produced by the Eastern question, and other matters, seemed to be cured; and the visit of queen Victoria to Louis-Philippe at the château d'Eu, in the month of September, was considered evidence of the good understanding between the respective representatives of power in the two countries. The duc de Bordeaux, who came to London near the close of the year, did not visit the English court, which could not indeed receive a prince who claimed a crown by a title which England did not acknowledge. The ducs de Nemours and de Montpensier made a tour through the south and west of France, where they were received with acclamations,—a pleasing but doubtful evidence of the attachment of the people,—as Napoleon and Charles X. had found by experience. The mayor of Mans alone disturbed the pleasure of the tour: he read the duc de Nemours a long political lecture, in the form of an address; a discourse certainly ill-timed, but plain-spoken and true. The duke made a reply judicious enough; and the government ended the matter by depriving the mayor of his office.

In the speech on the opening of the session (December 27, 1843), after expressing his confidence in a favourable issue to the affairs of Greece and Spain, the king said: "The sincere friendship which unites me to the queen of Great Britain, and the cordial understanding (*la cordiale entente*) which exists between my government and hers, confirm me in this confidence." The speech spoke of the ameliorated condition of all classes of the people, and of improvement in the finances. The answer of the Peers was adulatory: "We thank the king for the prosperity of the country."—"Sire, your family is ours."—"The king, on ascending the throne, promised to consecrate to us his whole existence, to do nothing except for the glory and the happiness of France; France has promised to him fidelity: the king has kept his oaths; what Frenchman could forget or betray his?" The Deputies said, "Between France and you the alliance is indissoluble." This was the language of a majority; but there was a strong party in the Chamber, and it displayed itself as usual on the question of the secret-service money, and the affairs of Tahiti. The supplementary credits, which were annually voted, had become a kind of supplementary budget, and gave occasion for the discussion of political questions in

general. The king's speech said nothing on the question of dotations, a question which threatened every ministry with ruin; but an article in the 'Moniteur' (30th of June), the responsibility of which Guizot accepted for all the ministry, was a kind of appeal to the nation to come to the relief of the royal family. It was ill received; and the ministers learned, by feeling their way, that they were on dangerous ground. The king's speech spoke of the cordial understanding between Great Britain and France; but before the end of the session it was in danger of being broken. There were French settlers at Tahiti, and apostolic missionaries. Their alleged ill-treatment by the government of Tahiti brought a French naval force there to demand reparation; and a convention was concluded between admiral Dupetit-Thouars and queen Pomaré (September, 1838). Fresh complaints of the French residents led to fresh demands and to new negotiations, which resulted in the protectorate of the Society Islands being offered to France by the queen and the chiefs, and accepted by Dupetit-Thouars (9th September, 1842). An English consul, named Pritchard, arrived at Tahiti in 1843, whom the French charged with preaching a crusade against the French, with exciting the natives to revolt. Pritchard was arrested by the French governor, and sent out of the island. His arrest and expulsion caused a great ferment in England. The facts of the case are many and complicated: Pritchard denied the truth of the French allegations, and invited the strictest examination into his conduct. It is enough here to state that England and France were near finding materials for a quarrel at the distance of half the globe. In Africa, also, difficulties arose. Abd-el-Kader, driven to the frontiers of Marocco, endeavoured to bring the emperor into his quarrel with France; and the emperor, seeking or having a good pretext in the presence of some French troops on territory which he claimed as his, and the French claimed as belonging to Algeria, attacked the French troops. After some fruitless attempts at negotiation, France and Marocco were at open war. The French fleet, under the prince de Joinville, bombarded Tangier (6th August) and Mogador; and on the 14th of August, marshal Bugeaud completely defeated the troops of Marocco at the battle of Isly. If the war with Marocco had led to the extension of the French conquests in Africa, it might have been the cause of a serious misunderstanding between France and England; but, fortunately, the French were satisfied with chastising the emperor; and a convention was made (10th September). The affair of Pritchard was settled by the French government justifying the expulsion of Pritchard, but expressing their disapprobation of certain circumstances which attended the arrest and imprisonment of Pritchard, and offering him some indemnity. The English ministry accepted the apology, if it may be so called, but the indemnity was declined. Both sides were glad to get out of the quarrel. The king of the French came to England in September, to pay a visit to queen Victoria; and the favourable reception which he met with in the country promised a continuance of the cordial understanding. The duc d'Angoulême died this year in his exile (June) at Goritz, and Joseph, the elder brother of Napoleon.

The king's speech, on the opening of the session in December, 1844, announced the termination of the dispute with Great Britain, the prosperous condition of the country, and the establishment of an equilibrium between the receipts and the expenditure: it also announced the marriage of the duc d'Aumale, one of the king's sons. In their answer, the Deputies assured the king, that "the honour of his reign was associated with the happiness of France." But the ministers carried the address by only a small majority; and they were attacked on their general policy, on the English alliance, and on the affair of Pritchard. On the 18th of March, 1845, the Chamber of Deputies modified the way of voting, and it established three ways: first, the summary proceeding, by sitting and rising; second, by division, in which case a member received only one ball, and deposited it either in a white or a black urn; thirdly, the secret vote, when twenty members called for it, which was a continuance of the former practice. The annual question '*des incompatibilités*' was reproduced, but the proposition was not even taken into consideration. Ledru-Rollin's proposition to abolish the pecuniary qualification of the Deputies, and to give the Deputies daily pay, did not even reach a reading. The question of the '*adjonction des capacités*,' brought forward by Crémieux, was rejected by a majority of 28 out of 330 votes. The expenditure for the year 1846 was fixed at 1,434 millions.

The right of search, given by the conventions of 1831 and 1834 between France and Great Britain, for the purpose of suppressing the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, caused great dissatisfaction in France; and Guizot had influence enough with the British cabinet to induce them to consent to a new convention for ten years (29th of May, 1845), by which the right of search was abolished, after certain conditions were complied with by the French government. The French and English governments also agreed to send each a naval force of twenty-six ships to the west coast of Africa, to co-operate for the prevention of the slave-trade. The 10th Article, among other things, declared, that "in the course of the fifth year the two high contracting parties shall consult anew, and decide according to circumstances, if it is fit to put in effect the whole or part of the present convention." After the close of the session, the committee of the opposition, called the *gauche constitutionelle*, published a manifesto (12th of July), which was a declaration of hostility to the ministry of the 29th of October, who were charged with weakness in their foreign relations, corruption at home, and opposition to the most necessary reforms. For the last two years the question of education had involved a struggle between the University and the Church, which became a struggle between the Church and the State. It was proved by incontestible evidence, that though the law prohibited the corporation

of the Jesuits, the society was re-organizing itself all over France, and that more than twenty houses of the order were re-established. The government could not refuse to enforce the law; but wishing to effect the object by quiet means, they sent M. Rossi to Rome to the Holy Father, who, after some negotiation, yielded to the wishes of the French government, and sent an order to the superior of the houses in France to comply with the terms of the law. In this year, general comte Moline de Saint-You took the department of war in place of marshal Soult, who still retained the presidency of the council; and Salvandy succeeded Villemain as minister of public instruction, whose health obliged him to resign. The prosperity of the country appeared to be indicated by the steady increase of the revenue from indirect taxation, which is stated to have been, in 1845, double of what it was in 1830, though there had been great reductions of taxation in two of the most important articles of indirect income, the customs, and wines, and other drinks. From the amount of 333 millions in 1840, the revenue from indirect taxation had increased to near 390 millions in 1845; an improvement which promised the means of reducing the national debt, and of accomplishing the extensive railway undertakings.

The queen of England again paid a visit, on her return from Germany, to Louis-Philippe, at the Château d'Eu. The royal family was increased this year by two births. The wife of the duc d'Aumale, a Sicilian princess, was delivered of a son in the month of November; and in the same month a son was presented to the prince de Joinville by his wife, the Brazilian princess, with more than regal length of name, Françoise-Caroline-Jeanne-Charlotte-Léopoldine-Romaine-Xavière-de-Paula-Michelle-Gabrielle-Raphaelle-Gonzaga.

The king's speech on the opening of the session (27th December, 1845) was followed by long debates on the whole policy of the government; but the ministers had a majority. The speech was short, and in general terms: it expressed the king's hope that the policy which had maintained peace in the midst of so many storms, would one day honour the memory of his reign. The answer of the Deputies told the king "that the affection of the country was secured to him for ever, and that every day rendered more indissoluble the intimate union between the king's family and the country." The question *des incompatibilités* was again presented to the Chamber of Deputies by M. de Rémusat (March 16th, 1846), and the discussion of the several heads of the proposition was again rejected. It was the last session of the legislature, which was looking forward to the elections. The session terminated on the 3rd of July; and preparations were already made for the electoral struggle. There was an apparent fusion of the *centre gauche* and the *gauche constitutionelle;* and the manifesto which they agreed in publishing said: "The question for every elector is not to choose the man whom he prefers, but, by naming an independent man, to whatever shade of opposition he may belong, to prevent the success of the ministerial candidate." The elections were more favourable to the ministers than they could have expected; and probably the attempts again made on the king's life helped to secure this result. On the 16th of April, as the king and queen were going in their carriage near one of the walls of the park of Fontainebleau, a man named Lecomte fired twice on the carriage, and one of the balls fell at the queen's feet. Again, on the 29th of July, while the king was on a balcony of the Tuileries, a man, who was at some distance, discharged two pistol-shots at him. The session opened on the 17th of August, and was prorogued on the 4th of September. The warmth with which the Deputies expressed their devotion to the king's person was sufficiently explained by the recent attempts on his life. The close of the year 1846 was unfortunate for France. In 1845 the crops of grain were hardly an average, and the potato failed in some places, though not so extensively as in England and Ireland. In 1846 the failure of the potato was more extensive in France; and the crops of grain were short. Provisions were dear all over Europe. Great floods devastated the valleys of the Rhône, the Saône, and other rivers. From the Puy-de-Dôme (18th October) a torrent of melted snow descended into the basins of the Allier and the Loiret, affluents of the Loire, and rolling over the plains of Touraine, swept away bridges, villages, cattle, crops, and everything which opposed its irresistible force. The railroad speculations, into which greediness had precipitated many persons, led to jobbing, fraud, loss of fortune by some, and the transfer of their money to the pockets of others. A panic came: the supplies of money from England did not arrive; for the same causes had produced a like effect there also. People had parted with their ready cash to the various companies, and were engaged to pay more. Shares fell, the money-market was deranged, and there was a financial crisis.

The marriage of Isabella, queen of Spain, had long engaged the attention of the chief cabinets of Europe; but the French and English ministry were, as usual, the busiest in looking after other people's affairs. The French and English could not agree; for, besides the queen of Spain, there was her sister Louisa, who might one day come to the throne, and her marriage was almost as grave an affair as that of Isabella. This long-debated affair was settled by both the queen and her sister being married at Madrid on the same day (10th October, 1846). The queen was married to her cousin, the duke of Cadiz, don Francisco de Assis, and her sister to the duc de Montpensier, the youngest son of the king of the French. The British cabinet protested against the marriage of this young girl to a French prince, both before and after the event. They founded their objections on the Treaty of Utrecht and the law of Spain; but, independent of these objections, it was said by the British cabinet, that the British government could not consider this marriage simply as an arrangement between two royal families, but as a political com-

bination between two great powers, which tended to ally one to the other in the external relations of both, and in such a manner as would be dangerous to other states. This Spanish marriage cooled the *entente cordiale;* a circumstance which probably encouraged Austria to submerge the petty republic of Cracow (11th November) in its own ill-digested body political. The English and French governments protested severally against this violation of the Treaty of Vienna, which Austria had committed in concert with Prussia and Russia. The marriage of the duc de Bordeaux (7th November) to the elder sister of the reigning duke of Modena, the only European prince who had refused to acknowledge Louis-Philippe, was not an event of any political importance. The invader of Strassburg and of Boulogne, Louis-Napoleon, another pretender to the throne of France, made his escape in disguise (25th of May, 1846) from the fortress of Ham, in which he had been confined since his last unlucky attempt. His father, Louis, once king of Holland, died this year at Leghorn (25th of July).

The session of 1847 commenced on the 11th of January, 1847, under unfavourable circumstances. Food was dear, and it was necessary to import largely from abroad, which drained France of its metallic currency. The railroad undertakings were checked, for more had been undertaken than could be accomplished at present in the financial state of the country. The king's speech said nothing of the ill will on the side of England, caused, or supposed to be caused, by the Spanish marriage; and it spoke of the continuance of the concert between the two countries for settling the troubled affairs of La Plata. The marriage of the duc de Montpensier was said to be "a new pledge of those good and intimate relations which had so long subsisted between France and Spain." As to the affair of Cracow, the king said that he had protested against the infraction of treaties. The Peers, in their answer to the speech, declared that the king's dynasty "daily fixed its roots deeper in the heart of the French." The Chamber of Deputies said, "Like your majesty, we wish to found in our country an indissoluble alliance between the monarchy and liberty." The ministers carried the address by a very great majority, the largest that a ministry had commanded for seventeen years. The question of electoral reform was again brought forward; and one part of the proposition was to reduce the electoral qualification to 100 *francs*, and to increase the number of Deputies by 100. The ministry opposed the discussion of the measure; and Guizot said, "We do not say that the electoral law is perfect—but at present, under the actual circumstances, we oppose the proposal as bad and inopportune." The question of the '*prise en considération*' was rejected by a majority of 98. The diminution of the duty on salt, which was loudly demanded by the country, was still deferred, though it was carried in the Chamber of Deputies.

The high price of food, and the financial difficulties of 1847, caused great distress, and grievous disturbances broke out in many departments, particularly in the west; but the government promptly repressed these disorders, and endeavoured to alleviate the sufferings of the people. One of the measures (28th of January) was equivalent to the allowing of the free importation of foreign cerealia for the space of six months; and two ordonnances were designed to keep certain articles of food from being exported. In the month of February, M. Martin (du Nord), minister of justice and worship, died, and was succeeded by M. Hébert. In May, M. Dumon took the department of finance in place of Lacave-Laplagne; M. Trézel had the department of war in place of Saint-Yon; the duc de Montebello had the marine, in place of admiral Mackau; and M. Jayr took the department of public works, in place of M. Dumon, who had become minister of finance. The session closed in August. Soult had long been merely the nominal president of the council, and his nullity was more conspicuous after he had given up the department of war. He asked leave to retire, which the king allowed; but he conferred on him the distinction of maréchal-général de France, a title which Turenne and Villars had enjoyed. Guizot became president of the council on the 19th of September; the man who gave hopes of reform in his address at Lisieux, but had lately declared that the French must still wait for what they expected. The opposition this year began a system of agitation for electoral reform, which was to be effected by a union of all the shades of opposition. Above 1,200 electors of Paris and a great number of Deputies dined together at Paris on the 9th of July: this was called the banquet of the Château Rouge. At a dinner at Mâcon (18th of July), Lamartine declared himself in favour of universal suffrage, and of the unlimited liberty of the press. At some of the reform banquets the usual toast of the king was omitted. In the interval between the two sessions, about seventy reform banquets were held in various parts of France, all of which passed off quietly; but they were evidence that public opinion was declaring itself on the question of reform. Several cases of gross malversation in public functionaries were detected, which furnished the opposition journals with weapons against the ministry. A suit among the shareholders in the salt-mines of Gouhenans brought to light a letter of general Despans-Cubières, which contained the following passage: "We must not hesitate about the means of procuring for ourselves an interested support even in the council: I have the means of obtaining this support — do not forget that the government is in greedy and corrupt hands." M. Teste, formerly minister of public works, and now a peer and president at the court of Cassation, felt that this passage was applicable to himself, and he denied, before the Chamber of Peers, in the most solemn manner, that he was in any way whatever implicated in so scandalous a matter. Cubières, Teste, and a man named Parmentier, were arrested and tried before the Chamber of Peers. A fourth, named Pellapra, who was involved in the same accusation, made his escape.

The trial began on the 8th. Cubières admitted that he had given Pellapra a considerable sum, which, as Pellapra told him, Teste had received. Teste, being overwhelmed with the evidence, made two attempts at suicide. On the 17th of July, Teste was found guilty of corruption in 1842 and 1843, when he was minister of public works; and Cubières and Parmentier were found guilty of having bribed a minister of state, in order to obtain the concession of a mine. Teste was condemned to civic degradation, to pay a fine of 94,000 francs, and to three years' imprisonment: he was also condemned to pay to the treasury of the hospitals of Paris the sum of 94,000 francs, the price of his integrity. Cubières and Parmentier were condemned to civic degradation, and Cubières to pay a fine of 10,000 francs. The course of justice was prompt and severe: no persons were implicated except the accused, and yet party spirit, which is never just, attempted to throw on the administration the scandal of an offence which might be committed under any form of government. A general feeling of distrust was spread, and the word 'Corruption' was associated with the policy of the actual administration. A horrible tragedy that occurred at Paris on the night of the 18th of August, shocked still further the state of opinion. The duchess de Praslin, the only daughter of marshal Sebastiani, and the mother of nine children, was murdered in her own house; and the evidence soon showed that the murderer could be no other than the duke her husband. As the duke was a peer of France, he could not be arrested until the Chamber of Peers was constituted as a court of justice by a royal ordonnance; and in the interval he took poison, and died before his trial. Four journals were seized for having made the crime of an individual the ground of general remarks upon the government and the state of society. On the last day of 1847 the king lost his sister Adelaide, who had shared with him the earliest and most painful years of his exile, and who, both in his adversity and in his prosperity, had been a faithful friend and counsellor.

The long war in Algiers was terminated in 1847; and on the 30th of May, marshal Bugeaud, having reduced the country to submission, resigned the governorship. In the beginning of September the duc d'Aumale was appointed governor-general of Algeria. But Abd-el-Kader, who was still on the frontiers of Marocco, threatened the existence of the emperor's power; and a rival claimant to the throne of Marocco made his escape to the emir. An attack by Abd-el-Kader on some Marocco cavalry roused the emperor to activity, and his troops being assembled in overwhelming force, drove Abd-el-Kader over the river Malouia, upon the French frontier. General Lamoricière was looking for the emir; and though he might have escaped, yet being weary of the contest, and seeing the "hour come which was marked by God," he surrendered himself to the French general, on condition of being taken to St. Jean d'Acre or to Alexandria. On the 23rd of November he was presented to the duc d'Aumale, who confirmed the promise of the general;* and on the 25th, the emir, with his women, his children, and his servants, was shipped for Toulon.

The session opened on the 28th of December, 1847. The king's speech promised the reduction of the tax on salt, and the charge on letters. It concluded by saying, "In the midst of the agitation, fermented by hostile or blind passions, one conviction animates and supports me; we possess in the constitutional monarchy, in the union of the great powers of the State, the certain means of surmounting all these obstacles, and of satisfying all the moral and material interests of our dear country." These words contained an allusion to the agitation for reform, which was still going on. There was a great reform banquet on the 19th of December, at Grenoble, at which one thousand persons were present. There was another at Cambrai, on the 9th of January, 1848, at which the first toast was, "To electoral and parliamentary reform." The minister of instruction had already stopped two of the courses of lectures at the Collège de France; and in the beginning of January, 1848, M. Michelet received official notice, that, by virtue of a decree of the government, his course also was suspended; but he was not informed of the reason for this order. The pupils of Michelet declared, in a protest, that the sole object of the suspension of the three professors was, that "their animated, ardent, and truthful language, roused the generous sentiments of their pupils, and their love of country, of liberty, and of humanity." On the 19th of January the address of the Peers was carried by a great majority. One of the paragraphs of the address was directed against the reform banquets: "Noisy manifestations," said the Peers, "in which are blindly mingled vague ideas of reform and of progress, passions hostile to our monarchical constitution opinions subversive of social order, and detestable reminiscences, have rather disquieted than disturbed men's minds: the government was bound to direct its attention to them: we are persuaded that such agitation, tolerated by a free government, is powerless against public order." During the debates on the address in the Chamber of Deputies, petitions were presented for electoral and parliamentary reform. The debates turned, among other matters, on the foreign policy of the ministers in Italy, and more particularly with regard to Switzerland, which was violently attacked by Thiers (4th February). In the debate on the last paragraph of the proposed address, which stigmatized the reform banquets, and consequently the Deputies who were present at them, Duchâtel (9th February) maintained, that ever since the year '90, the authority of the government to prevent meetings which it might consider dangerous to order, had been undisputed; and he added, that the government would not yield on

* Dispatch of the governor-general to the minister of war. The convention, which was made orally, was ratified in writing by Lamoricière. "I ratified," says the governor-general in his dispatch, "the promise of general Lamoricière; and I confidently hope that the government of the king will sanction it."

a question, where it had right on its side. This tenth and last article of the *projet d'addresse* caused a long and violent discussion. An amendment of M. Sallandrouze, which expressed a wish for parliamentary reform, was rejected, but only by 222 votes against 189, or by 16 votes only of the absolute majority (February 12). After this, the opposition left the ministry and their friends to vote the paragraph and the address. The address was carried by 241 votes out of 244, the whole number that voted on the occasion.

There was to be a reform banquet in the twelfth arrondissement of Paris, but the declaration of the minister caused it to be deferred several times. It was finally arranged that it should take place on the 22nd of February. On the morning of the 21st the journals of the opposition published a reform manifesto from the committee appointed to make arrangements for the banquet; which fixed the Place de la Madelaine as the rendezvous for the guests, and prescribed the direction which the procession should take to the banquet. The préfet of police answered by a proclamation to the people of Paris; in which they were requested to obey the law, and not to join any assemblages. On the same day Odilon-Barrot addressed the Chamber on the question of the right of assembling. The minister of the interior denied the right; but he maintained it, provided notice was given to the authorities, and there was no tumult, and no arms were carried. Duchâtel declared that the ministry might have prevented the banquet by the employment of force, but they had always been willing, and still were willing, to let matters go so far as to raise the legal question, which might be decided judicially as soon as the fact of an alleged contravention of the law could be established. but he added, that the manifesto of the committee was not limited to inviting persons to repair to the banquet; it had requested the National Guards to assemble, as National Guards, and it invited students to attend, and it regulated the form of procession; this was a violation of the law against "attroupemens," and also of the law which regulated the National Guard. Upon this the principal members of the opposition published an address to the citizens, which announced, that in consequence of the declaration of the minister, the banquet was adjourned. This notice did not calm the agitation, and it was ill-received by many.

The morning of the 22nd of February was wet and gloomy, but the streets were crowded from an early hour. It was the day appointed for the banquet, and a great number of persons directed their way towards the Place de la Madeleine, which had been fixed as the point of assemblage. About mid-day a crowd surrounded the Chamber of Deputies, but it was soon protected against any risk of attack. Some of the windows of the hotel of the minister of foreign affairs were broken, and "Down with Guizot" was the cry; but in a short time the house was surrounded with troops. The crowd and the agitation went on increasing, and in some parts the shops were closed. In the afternoon, attempts to construct barricades were made in the Rue Rivoli and the Rue St. Honoré; and arms were got from one or two shops. The day was tumultuous and threatening; but in the evening all was again quiet in the parts where there had been most disturbance. During the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies, Odilon-Barrot, in the name of fifty-three Deputies, gave notice of their intention to impeach the ministry of mal-administration.*

On Wednesday, the 23rd, at seven in the morning, the rappel beat in several quarters, and the National Guard responded to it. Both the government and the people were busy during the night. Troops were bivouacked on the public places; cannon had been brought from Vincennes, and planted on the Places du Carrousel and La Concorde, and around the Tuileries. The people had erected barricades at numerous points. Everything was ready for a struggle. The contest began at the barricades, and lasted, at some of them, during the greater part of the day. But the disposition of the National Guard was not for battle: it was for conciliation, but still against the ministry, and for electoral reform. The lieutenant-colonel of the second legion of the National Guard informed the duc de Nemours, in the afternoon of the 23rd, that if the concessions demanded by public opinion were not made, he could not answer for his men. At four in the afternoon the report of the resignation of the ministers was carried to different parts of Paris; and between five and six, people were again moving about freely. But the fighting was not yet over in the Rue du Temple and other places. The people, now in arms, said that the resignation of the ministers was not enough. In the evening, however, there were illuminations on the boulevards and most of the streets; and the rejoicing was over the fall of Guizot. But a terrible catastrophe turned joy into mourning. At ten in the evening a crowd was in front of the hotel of the minister of foreign affairs, singing the Marseillaise and 'Mourir pour la Patrie.' All at once a discharge of fire-arms from the military who guarded the place stretched fifty-two, or, according to other accounts, sixty-three persons, of both sexes and all ages, dead or dying on the ground. It is said that a shot fired by some unknown person against the soldiers, was the cause of this murderous discharge. The dead were carried off by the exasperated people, whose cry was "Vengeance, and To arms!" "To arms, and Vengeance!" was the shout which responded to the mournful procession of the dead.

At six in the morning of the 24th, Paris was covered with barricades, some of them immense works. Behind the barricades, on which floated the tricolour flag, stood the men to defend them, armed with muskets, sabres, pistols, and pikes. The tocsin rung the signal for battle, and the fight began in the faubourg Montmartre; and about an hour afterwards at the boulevard

* There were seven heads of impeachment; some of them vague enough.

St. Denis, between the people and the soldiers of the line. But the troops were ill-disposed to shed the blood of their brethren. At half-past ten a regiment was fraternizing with the people, and the soldiers were giving up their arms. Just at this time, a proclamation, signed by Odilon-Barrot and Thiers, appeared on the walls. It announced that orders were given to suspend the firing; that Odilon-Barrot and Thiers were empowered by the king to form a ministry; that the Chamber would be dissolved; and that general Lamoricière was named commander-in-chief of the National Guard. The command of the troops had been given to marshal Bugeaud during the night of the 23rd, but it was taken from him in the morning of the 24th, after the king had sent for Thiers. The marshal was not a popular man, and he was in favour of energetic measures against the insurrection. The proclamation announcing the advent of a new ministry was torn in pieces. There were in the court of the palace 3,000 men, with six pieces of cannon; but the tide of insurrection was flowing rapidly towards the Tuileries. About noon, the people, headed by numerous detachments of the National Guard, attacked the Palais Royal, took it, and sacked the royal apartments. The barricades were pushed nearly to the Tuileries, on the side of the Rues Richelieu and Rivoli; the proposed change of ministry had not calmed the troubled sea of agitation; an attack on the Tuileries was imminent. Rumour spread through Paris that the king had abdicated in favour of his grandson. Louis-Philippe yielded to the tempest which gathered round his head, and left the Tuileries in one carriage with the queen, followed by the duchess of Nemours in another. An officer of the National Guard made his way to the duc de Nemours, and told him that the Tuileries were surrounded, and that the attack would commence immediately. The duke went out, and the people walked in. The former occupants had left so hastily, that they had not even breakfasted. The new comers made merry with the adventure. A *gamin* of Paris, one of the first who entered under the vestibule, turned round to the people, and putting his hand on his heart, said in royal phrase, "Messieurs, it is always with the greatest pleasure that I see myself surrounded by my people." At the first invasion of the Tuileries, furniture was broken or burnt; but the indignation of the people was mainly directed against the emblems of royal power. The throne was carried along the boulevards, to the sound of drums, by people mingled with the National Guard, and burnt at the foot of the column of July.

The Chamber of Deputies met at half-past twelve in the afternoon of the 24th. Between one and two o'clock the duchess of Orléans entered the Chamber, leading her two sons by the hand, and accompanied by the duc de Nemours. M. Dupin announced the abdication of Louis-Philippe, and the transmission of the royal power to the comte de Paris, and the regency to the duchess of Orléans. He urged that an entry should be made on the minutes of the acclamations which had accompanied to the Chamber, and greeted on their arrival the comte de Paris as king of France, and the duchess of Orléans as regent, under the protection of the national wishes. The president said, that the Chamber by its unanimous acclamations—— but here he was interrupted on the right and on the left, and by the spectators. All was confusion. Lamartine moved that the sitting be suspended, out of respect to the national representation and to the presence of the duchess of Orléans. The president announced the suspension of the sittings until the duchess of Orléans and the new king retired. After some hesitation, the duchess and her children, with those around her, retired to the back of the benches of the centre gauche. Odilon-Barrot entered the Chamber while M. Marie was at the tribune recommending a provisional government of five members. Odilon-Barrot said, "Our duty is clear: the crown of July rests on the head of a child and of a woman—the regency of the duchess of Orléans, a ministry selected from among men of the most tried opinions, will give the best security for liberty: he could not undertake the responsibility of anything else." A crowd of armed men, National Guards, students, and workmen, broke into the Chamber, many of them carrying colours; they called for the dethronement of the king. A man, who was not a member, ascended the tribune, and said, "Take care that you do not proclaim the comte de Paris without having a right to do so." A voice called out, "The Republic." When the crowd broke in, the duchess of Orléans retired with her children. Crémieux, Ledru-Rollin, and Lamartine, were all at the tribune. A voice said, "No more Bourbons;" "Down with the traitors;" "A provisional government." Many of the Deputies retired. Ledru-Rollin obtained a hearing. He declared that a regency was impossible: he protested, in the name of the people, against this new usurpation: he called for a provisional government, not named by the Chamber, but by the people; and an immediate appeal to a convention, to settle the rights of the people. Lamartine spoke: he would also have a provisional government, which should prejudge nothing as to the definitive form of government which it should please the nation to adopt. Several lists of members of the provisional government were handed to Lamartine. One of the doors of the galleries burst open, and armed men entered, mixed with the National Guards, crying, "Down with the Chamber; no Deputies." The Chamber was already down. The president, M. Sauzet, said, "that as he could not command silence, the sitting was at an end." The Chamber of Deputies no longer existed. The people armed with guns and sabres, and mingled with the National Guards, and some Deputies of the gauche remained. Dupont de l'Eure took the chair; and amidst this tumultuous assemblage of people, a list of members of the provisional government was made. There were cries of "Vive la République," and for Ledru-Rollin. At four o'clock the Chamber was empty.

In the evening the names of the members of the provisional government were announced. They were, Dupont (de l'Eure), Lamartine, Crémieux, Fr. Arago, Ledru-Rollin, Garnier-Pagès, Marie; and Armand Marrast, Louis Blanc, F. Flocon, and Albert, secretaries. The provisional government declared that the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved; that a National Assembly should be convoked; and the members of the "ex-Chamber of Peers" were forbidden to assemble. On the 25th, a proclamation, addressed by the provisional government to the citizens of Paris, was headed, "République Française." Another proclamation, of the same day, signed by Garnier-Pagès and Louis Blanc, declared that the provisional government undertook to secure the existence of the workman by labour; to guarantee labour to all citizens; and it recognized the association of workmen for the purpose of enjoying the legitimate advantages of their industry. The provisional government presented themselves to the people on the 26th, before the Hôtel de Ville; and Lamartine announced the abolition of royalty, the proclamation of the Republic, the exercise of their political rights by the people, and the opening of national workshops for the unemployed workmen. A note was addressed to the editors of journals by the provisional government, which, after stating that "the public and several journals had expressed a desire to see, in the different journals, the real members of the provisional government," gave the following list of them: Dupont (de l'Eure), Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Garnier-Pagès, Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux, A. Marrast, Louis Blanc, F. Flocon, Albert, Bouvier, secretary; but the name of Bouvier was fraudulently inserted by himself and three self-elected sub-secretaries, all of whom were expelled from the Hôtel de Ville. On the 27th, marshal Bugeaud addressed a note to "Monsieur le ministre," in which he placed his sword at the service of the new government. On the same day the Republic was solemnly proclaimed at the column of July.

The ministers and the royal family were dispersed. The government which rose out of the insurrection of July melted away before the insurrection of February.

Nobody thought that it was so near its end, neither friends nor enemies. The history of the last few months of Louis-Philippe remains to be written.

Nothing was heard of the king for several days. On the 3rd of March he reached England with the queen, in an English packet-boat from Hâvre, and landed at Newhaven, in Sussex.

The 'Revolutions of France' might be comprised within moderate limits, if a man had the talent, the knowledge, and the leisure necessary for a full examination and a critical judgment of all the materials. But such a work, though brief in its results, would require the steady uninterrupted labour of many years. With the complete mastery of a subject, a man throws away all that incumbers it, and presents the truth in a few plain words. It is only in this way that a durable historical monument is raised. A work written with imperfect information, and in a limited time, will be faulty, both as to what it omits and what it contains; and nobody will be more sensible of these faults than he who has attempted, with impartial temper, to retrace the events of a Revolution which has agitated, and still agitates, all European societies.



LOUIS-PHILIPPE LEAVING FRANCE.

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

INDEX.